

HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN M.DCC.LXXXIX.

TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN M.DCCC.XV.

BY ARCHIBALD ALISON, F.R.S.E.

ADVOCATE.

"BELLUM maxime omnium memorabile quæ unquam gesta sint me scripturum; quod Hannibale duce Cæthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit: et haud ignotas belli artes inter se, sed expertas primo Pumco conserebant bello; odium etiam prope majoribus certant quam viribus; et adeo varia belli fortuna, ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt."—TIT. LIV. lib. 21.

VOL. III.



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Napoléon advances against Würmser—Action near Primo Lano in the Val Sugana—Würmser

the Austrians

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 15th August, 1769. The Duke of Wellington was born in the same month. "Providence," said Louis XVIII, "owed us that counterpoise (1) "

^{Birth and}
^{family of}
Napoléon His family, though noble, had not been distinguished, and had suffered severely from misfortune. He was too great a man to attempt to derive distinction from any adventitious advantages which did not really belong to him, and could afford to discard all the lustre of patrician descent. When the Emperor of Austria endeavoured, after he became his son-in-law, to trace his connexion with some of the obscure Dukes of Treviso, he answered that he was the Rudolph of Hapsburg of his family; and when the genealogists were engaged in deducing his descent from an ancient line of Gothic princes, he cut short their labours by declaring, that his patent

hand during the civil dissensions which distracted the island at the time of his birth, and had recently before been engaged in some expeditions on horse-back with him. His father died at the age of thirty-eight, of a cancer in the stomach, a complaint hereditary in his family, and which also proved fatal to Napoléon himself; but the want of paternal care was more than supplied by his mother, to whose early education and solitude he, in after life, mainly ascribed his elevation (2). Though left a widow in the prime of life, his mother had already born thirteen children, of whom five sons and three daughters survived their father. She lived to see one of them wearing the crown of Charlemagne, and another seated on the throne of Charles X (3).

On the day of his birth, being the festival of the Assumption, she had been at Church, and was seized with her pangs during high mass. She was brought

(1) Bour. i 18. Scherer i. Las Cas. 137.

(2) Las Cas. i 103 112. Bour. i 23.

(3) "My opinion," said Napoléon, "is, that the future good or bad conduct of a child depends entirely on the mother"—O'Meara, ii 129.

(4) Las Cas. i 117, 119, 120. O'Meara, ii 100. D'Abr. ii 376 377.

(5) D'Abr. ii 317. Las Cas. i 125.

In the years of infancy he exhibited nothing remarkable, excepting irritability and turbulence of temper; but these qualities, as well as the decision with which they were accompanied, were so powerful, that they gave him the entire command of his eldest brother Joseph, a boy of a mild and unassuming character, who was constantly beaten, pinched, or tormented by the future ruler of the world. But even at that early period it was observed that he never wept when chastised; and on one occasion, when he was only seven years of age, having been suspected unjustly of a fault, and punished when innocent, he endured the pain, and subsisted in disgrace for three days on the coarsest food, rather than betray his companion, who was really in fault. Though his anger was violent, it was generally of short endurance, and his smile from the first was like a beam of the sun emerging from the clouds. But, nevertheless, he gave no indications of extraordinary capacity at that early age; and his mother was frequently heard to declare, that of all her children, he was the one whom she would least have expected to have attained any extraordinary eminence (1).

His character, residence, and habits, when in Corsica. The winter residence of his father was usually at Ajaccio, the place of his birth, where there is still preserved the model of a cannon, weighing about thirty pounds, the early plaything of Napoléon. But in summer the family retired to a dilapidated villa near the isle Sanguiniere, once the residence of a relation of his mother's, situated in a romantic spot on the sea-shore. The house is approached by an avenue, overhung by the cactus and acacia, and other shrubs, which grow luxuriantly in a southern climate. It has a garden and a lawn, showing vestiges of neglected beauty, and surrounded by a shrubbery permitted to run to wilderness. There, enclosed by the cactus, the elematis, and the wild olive, is a singular and isolated granite rock, beneath which the remains of a small summer-house are still visible, the entrance to which is nearly closed by a luxuriant fig-tree. This was the favourite retreat of the young Napoléon, who early showed a love of solitary meditation during the periods when the vacations at school permitted him to return home. We might suppose that there were perhaps formed those visions of ambition and high resolves, for which the limits of the world were ere long felt to be insufficient, did we not know that childhood can hardly anticipate the destiny of maturer years; and that, in Cromwell's words, a man never rises so high as when he does not know where his course is to terminate (2).

Removed to the Military School at Brienne; his character there. At an early age he was sent to the Military School of Brienne. His character there underwent a rapid alteration. He became thoughtful, studious, contemplative, and diligent in the extreme. His proficiency, especially in mathematics, was soon remarkable; but the quickness of his temper, though subdued, was not extinguished. On one occasion, having been subjected to a degrading punishment by his master, that of dining on his knees at the gate of the refectory, the mortification he experienced was so excessive that it produced a violent vomiting and a universal tremor of the nerves (3). But in the games of his companions he was inferior to none in spirit and agility, and already began to evince, in a decided predilection for military pursuits the native bias of his mind.

During the winter of 1785-4, so remarkable for its severity, even in southern latitudes, the amusements of the boys without doors were completely

(1) D'Abr. i. 49, 52, 54. Las Cas. i. 126.

(2) Benson, 4, 6. Scott, iii. 10.

(3) Las Cas. i. 127. Bour. i. 22.

stopped. Napoleon proposed to his companions to beguile the weary hours by forming intrenchments and bastions of snow, with parapets, ravelins, and horn-works. The little army was divided into two parties, one of which was intrusted with the attack, the other with the defence of the works; and the mimic war was continued for several weeks, during which fractures and wounds were received on both sides. On another occasion, the wife of the porter of the school, well known to the boys for the fruit which she sold, entered herself at the door of their theatre to be allowed to see the

camps," said the future ruler of the Revolution (1).

thematics and the four first rules of arithmetic. Pichegru early perceived the firm character of his little pupil, and when, many years afterwards, he had embraced the Royalist Party, and it was proposed to him to sound Napoleon, then in the command of the army of Italy, he replied, "Don't waste time upon him: I have known him from his infancy, his character is inflexible; he has taken his side, and will never swerve from it." The fate of these two illustrious men afterwards rose in painful contrast to each other. Pichegru was strangled in a dungeon when Napoleon was ascending the throne of France (2).

The speculations of Napoleon at this time were more devoted to political than military subjects. His habits were thoughtful and solitary; and his conversation, even at that early age, was so remarkable for its reflection and energy, that it attracted the notice of the Abbé Raynal, with whom he frequently lived in vacations, and who discoursed with him on government, legislation, and the relations of commerce. He was distinguished by his Italian complexion, his piercing look, and the decided style of his expression: a peculiarity which frequently led to a vehemence of manner, which rendered him not generally popular with his school-fellows. The moment their play-time arrived, he flew to the library of the school, where he read with avidity the

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(2) Les Cas 1 129, 131, O'Hearr, f. 210

(3) Boor 1 27, 32, 33, 35 Les Cas 1 136.
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During the vacations of school, he returned in general to Corsica; where he gave vent to the ardour of his mind, in traversing the mountains and valleys of that romantic island, and listening to the tales of feudal strife and family revenge by which its inhabitants are so remarkably distinguished. The celebrated Paoli, the hero of Corsica, accompanied him in some of these excursions, and explained to him on the road the actions which he had fought, and the positions which he had occupied during his struggle for the independence of the island. The energy and decision of his young companion, at this period, made a great impression on that illustrious man. "Oh, Napoléon!" said he, "you do not resemble the moderns—you belong only to the heroes of Plutarch (2)".

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At the age of fourteen, he was sent from the school of Brienne to the Ecole militaire at Paris, for the completion of his military studies. He had not been long there, when he was so much struck with the luxurious habits in which the young men were then brought up, that he addressed an energetic memorial to the governor on the subject, strongly urging, that instead of having footmen and grooms to wait upon their orders, they should be taught to do every thing for themselves, and inured to the hardships and privation which awaited them in real warfare. In the year 1783, at the age of sixteen, he received a commission in a regiment of artillery, and was soon promoted to the rank of first lieutenant, in a corps quartered at Valence. Shortly after, he gave a proof of the varied subjects which occupied his mind, by writing a History of Corsica, and an Essay for a prize, proposed by the Abbé Raynal, on the "Institutions most likely to contribute to Public Happiness." The prize was adjudged to the young soldier. These productions, as might have been expected, were distinguished by the revolutionary doctrines then generally prevalent, and very different from his maturer speculations. The essay was recovered by Talleyrand after Napoléon was on the throne; but the moment the Emperor saw it he threw it into the flames (5).

His character there.

At this period, Napoléon was generally disliked by his companions: he was considered as proud, haughty, and irascible; but with the few whose conversation he valued, and whose friendship he chose to cultivate, he was even then a favourite, and high expectations began to be formed of the future eminence to which he might rise. His powers of reasoning were already remarkable; his expressions lucid and energetic; his knowledge and information immense, considering his years, and the opportunities of study which he had enjoyed. Logical accuracy was the great characteristic of his mind; and his subsequent compositions have abundantly proved, that if he had not become the first conqueror, he would have been one of the greatest writers, as he assuredly was one of the profoundest thinkers of modern times (4).

His figure, always diminutive, was at that period thin and meagre in the highest degree; a circumstance which rendered his appearance somewhat ridiculous, when he first assumed the military dress. Mademoiselle Permon, afterwards Duchess of Abrantes, one of his earliest female acquaintances, and who afterwards became one of the most brilliant wits of the Imperial court,

(1) Bour. i. 37, 38.

(2) Las Cas. i. 136. ii. 318.

(3) O'Meara, ii. 168, 169. Las Cas. i. 43, 136, 141.
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It was the fortune of the school at Brienne at this time to possess among its scholars, besides Napoléon, another boy, who rose to the highest eminence in the Revolution, Pichegru, afterwards conqueror of Holland. He was several years older than Napoléon, and instructed him in the elements of mathematics and the four first rules of arithmetic. Pichegru early perceived the firm character of his little pupil; and when, many years afterwards, he had embraced the Royalist Party, and it was proposed to him to sound Napoleon, then in the command of the army of Italy, he replied, "Don't waste time upon him: I have known him from his infancy; his character is inflexible; he has taken his side, and will never swerve from it." The fate of these two illustrious men afterwards rose in painful contrast to each other: Pichegru was strangled in a dungeon when Napoléon was ascending the throne of France (2).

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(1) *Four* i 25 26

(2) *Las Cases* i 123, 131, *O'Hare*, l. 219

(3) *Four* i 27, 32, 33, 35 *Las Cases* i 134
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At the age of fourteen, he was sent from the school of Brienne to the Ecole militaire at Paris, for the completion of his military studies. He had not been long there, when he was so much struck with the luxurious habits in which the young men were then brought up, that he addressed an energetic memorial to the governor on the subject, strongly urging, that instead of having footmen and grooms to wait upon their orders, they should be taught to do every thing for themselves, and inured to the hardships and privation which awaited them in real warfare. In the year 1783, at the age of sixteen, he received a commission in a regiment of artillery, and was soon promoted to the rank of first lieutenant, in a corps quartered at Valence. Shortly after, he gave a proof of the varied subjects which occupied his mind, by writing a History of Corsica, and an Essay for a prize, proposed by the Abbe Raynal, on the "Institutions most likely to contribute to Public Happiness." The prize was adjudged to the young soldier. These productions, as might have been expected, were distinguished by the revolutionary doctrines then generally prevalent, and very different from his maturer speculations. The essay was recovered by Talleyrand after Napoléon was on the throne; but the moment the Emperor saw it he threw it into the flames (3).

His character there.

At this period, Napoléon was generally disliked by his companions: he was considered as proud, haughty, and irascible; but with the few whose conversation he valued, and whose friendship he chose to cultivate, he was even then a favourite, and high expectations began to be formed of the future eminence to which he might rise. His powers of reasoning were already remarkable; his expressions lucid and energetic; his knowledge and information immense, considering his years, and the opportunities of study which he had enjoyed. Logical accuracy was the great characteristic of his mind; and his subsequent compositions have abundantly proved, that if he had not become the first conqueror, he would have been one of the greatest writers, as he assuredly was one of the profoundest thinkers of modern times (4).

His figure, always diminutive, was at that period thin and meagre in the highest degree; a circumstance which rendered his appearance somewhat ridiculous, when he first assumed the military dress. Mademoiselle Permon, afterwards Duchess of Abrantes, one of his earliest female acquaintances, and who afterwards became one of the most brilliant wits of the Imperial court,

(1) Bour. i. 37, 38.

(2) Las Cas. i. 136. ii. 348.

(3) O'Meara, ii. 168, 169. Las Cas. i. 43, 136, 141. Bour. i. 44. D'Abr. i. 76.

(4) D'Abr. i. 111. Las Cas. i. 140, 1.

mentions, that he came to their house, on the day on which he first put on his uniform, in the highest spirits, as is usual with young men on such an occasion; but her sister, two years younger than herself, who had just left her

much as Puss in Boots. The stroke told; the libel was too true not to be felt: but Napoleon soon recovered his good-humour, and a few days afterwards, presented her with an elegantly bound copy of Puss in Boots, as a proof that he retained no rancour for her raillery (1)

He exposes with sagacity the great merit of the Revolution When the Revolution broke out, he adhered, like almost all the young officers of a subaltern rank, to the popular side, and continued a warm patriot during the whole time of the Constituent Assembly. But, on the appointment of the Legislative Assembly, he has himself declared that his sentiments underwent a rapid change; and he soon imbibed, under the Reign of Terror, that profound hatred of the Jacobins,

and that which overturned the throne on the 10th August, and on both he strongly expressed his sense of the ruinous consequences likely to arise from the want of resolution in the government. No man knew better the consequences of yielding to popular clamour, or how rapidly it is checked by proper firmness in the depositaries of power. From the weakness shown on the 20th June, he predicted the disastrous effects which so speedily followed on the next great revolt of the populace. When he saw the monarch, in obedience to the rabble, put on the red cap, his indignation knew no bounds. "How on earth," he exclaimed, "could they let those wretches enter the palace! They should have cut down four or five hundred with grape-shot, and the rest would speedily have taken to flight (2)

His first service in Corsica The first military exploit of Napoleon was in his native country. The disturbances in Corsica having led the revolutionary forces

besieged, and compelled to evacuate it (3). His talents, and the high character which he had received from the masters of the military academy, soon, however, led to a more important employment. At the siege of Toulon, the command of the artillery, after the operations had advanced a considerable length, was intrusted to his direction, and he soon communicated a new impulse to the hitherto languishing progress of the siege. By his advice, the forts on the *Hauteur de* the *Fort de la Maline* were so successful, that the being abandoned in despair, was speedily crowned with complete success. During this operation he was first struck by the firmness and intrepidity of a young corporal of artillery, whom he immediately recommended for promotion. Having occasion to send a despatch from the trenches, he called for some person who could write, that he might dictate the order. A young soldier

(1) D. A. 1. 112

(2) *Levee* 1. 12. *La Fayette* 1. 115

(3) *Revue*, 4. *Genet*, 1. 21

stepped from the ranks, and resting the paper on the breastwork, began to write as he dictated, when a shot from the enemy's batteries struck the ground close to him, and covered the paper with earth. "Thank you," said the soldier; "we shall have no occasion for sand on this page." Napoléon asked him what he could do for him. "Every thing," replied the young private, blushing with emotion, and touching his left shoulder with his hand; "you can turn this worsted into an epaulet." A few days after, Napoléon sent for the same soldier to order him to reconnoitre in the enemy's trenches, and recommended that he should disguise himself, for fear of his being discovered. "Never," replied he. "Do you take me for a spy? I will go in my uniform, though I should never return." And in effect he set out instantly, dressed as he was, and had the good fortune to return unhurt. Napoléon immediately recommended him for promotion, and never lost sight of his courageous secretary. He was Jexor, afterwards Marshal of France, and Duke of Abrantes (1).

On another occasion, an artilleryman having been shot while loading a gun, he took up the dead man's ramrod, and with his own hands served the piece for a considerable time. He first took notice, at the same siege, of another young soldier named Dumoc, whom he never afterwards lost sight of, made Marshal of the Palace, and ever treated with the most unlimited confidence, till he was killed by his side on the field of Bantzen. Duroc loved Napoléon for himself, and possessed, perhaps, a larger share of his confidence than any of his other generals; and none knew so well, in after years, how to let the first ebullitions of the imperial wrath escape without producing fatal effects, and allowing the better judgment of his sovereign to resume its sway in cooler moments (2).

The reputation which Napoléon acquired from the successful issue of this siege was very great. All the generals, representatives, and soldiers, who had heard the advice which he gave at the councils, three months before the capture of the town, and witnessed his activity at the works, anticipated a future career of glory to the young officer. Dugommier wrote to the Committee of Public Safety in these words:—"Reward and promote that young man; for, if you are ungrateful towards him, he will raise himself alone (3).

Is attached to Dumerbion's army in the Maritime Alps. This success procured for Napoléon the command of the artillery of the army of Italy during the campaign of 1794. Dumerbion, who was advanced in years, submitted all the operations to a council of younger officers, among whom Napoléon and Massena soon acquired a decided lead; and the former, from the force of superior talents, gradually came to direct the whole operations of the campaign; and it was his ability which procured for the French armies the capture of Saorgia, the Col di Tende, and all the higher chain of the Maritime Alps. These successes awakened in his ardent mind those lofty visions of ambition which he was so soon destined to realize; one night, in June 1794, he spent on the summit of the Col di Tende, from whence at sunrise he beheld with delight the blue plains of Italy, already to his prophetic eye the theatre of glorious achievement (4).

In July 1794, Napoléon was sent by the Commissioners of the Conven-

(1) *Duchess d'Abr.* ii. 191. *Las Cas.* i. 166. *Nap.* i. 10, 13.

So strongly did Napoléon's character impress Juntat at that time, that he quitted his regiment to devote himself to his fortunes as aide-de-camp, and wrote to his father in 1794, in answer to his enquiries, what sort of young man he was to whom he

had attached himself.—"He is one of those men of whom nature is sparing, and whom she does not throw upon the earth but with centuries between them." [*D'Abr.* ii. 193. *Las Cas.* i. 165.]

(2) *Las Cas.* ii. 156, 157. *Scott,* iii. 35.

(3) *Nap.* iii. 15.

(4) *Nap.* iii. 26, 34.

Sent to Genoa and there arrested & 1 h rated
 tion to Genoa upon a secret mission, in which he was connected with Robespierre's brother, then intrusted with the supreme command at Toulon. This mission saved his life, the younger Robespierre, for whom, at that period, he had conceived the highest admiration, earnestly entreated Napoleon to accompany him to Paris, whither he was returning to support his brother, but he was inflexible in his refusal. Had he yielded, he would infallibly have shared the fate of both, and the destinies of Europe would have been changed. As it was, he was exposed, from his connexion with these leaders, to no inconsiderable dangers even on his Italian mission. Within a month after, he was, in consequence of the fall of Robespierre, arrested by the new commissioners, whom the Thermidorien party sent out to the army of Italy, and made a narrow escape with his life. He addressed, in 6th Aug. 1794, consequence, an energetic remonstrance to the commissioners, remarkable for the strong sense, condensed thought, and powerful expression which it contains, while his friend Junot was so penetrated with grief at his 20th Aug. misfortune, that he wrote to the commissioners, protesting his innocence, and imploring to be allowed to share his captivity. It was attended with complete success, a fortnight afterwards, he was provisionally set at liberty, and immediately returned to Paris. He was 2d Sept. 1794, was de-

to the attack of the Sections on the Convention, in October 1793, he has himself described as the happiest in his life (2). Living almost without money, on the bounty of his friends, in coffee-houses and theatres, his ardent imagination dwelt incessantly on the future, and visions floated across his mind, tinged by the pathos of his mind itself, has in re-

plenishing the secret fountains from which the joys or sorrows of existence are drawn. During these days of visionary romance, he dwelt with peculiar pleasure on his favourite idea of repairing to Constantinople and offering his services to the Grand Signior, under the impression that things were too stable in the Western World, and that it was in the East alone that those great revolutions were to be effected, which at once immortalize the names of their authors. He even went so far as to prepare, and address to the French government, a memorial, in which he offered, with a few officers, who were willing to follow his fortunes, to go to Turkey, to organize its forces against Russia, a proposal which, if acceded to, would probably have changed the fate of the world. This impression never forsook him through life, it was, perhaps, the secret motive of the expedition to Moscow, and, even after all the glories of his subsequent career, he looked back with regret to these early visions (3); and, when speaking of Sir Sidney Smith and the check at Acre, repeatedly said—"That man made me miss my destiny."

It is a pity to see how low, however, were the fortunes of the future Emperor fallen at that period, that he was frequently indebted to his friends for a meal, which he could not afford to purchase himself. His brother Lucien and he brought the black bread received in their rations to Madame Bourrienne, and received in exchange loaves of white flour, which she had clandestinely,

(1) Bour 1 60 81 89 90 103 Cas 187 D Ale

(3) O'Meara II 135 141 Cas 1 112 Bour 1- 72 73

(2) O'Meara II 1 1

and at the hazard of her life, received during the law of the *Maximum*, from a neighbouring confectioner. At this period she lodged in a new house in the Rue des Marais. Napoléon was very anxious to hire, with the assistance of his uncle, afterwards Cardinal Fesch, the one opposite. "With that house," said he, "the society of yourself, a few friends, and a cabriolet, I should be the happiest of men (1)."

But another destiny awaited the young soldier. The approaching conflict of the Convention with the Sections was the first circumstance which raised him from the obscurity into which he had recently fallen. His great abilities being known to several persons of influence in government, he was, on the first appearance of the approaching struggle, taken into the confidence of administration, and had been consulted by them for some months before the contest began. When the attack by Menou on the

Receives the
command
from the
Directory,
on the 13th
Vendémiaire.

Section Le Pelletier failed, Napoléon was sent for. He found the Convention in the utmost agitation; and measures of accommodation with the insurgents were already talked of, when his firmness and decision saved the government. He painted in such vivid colours the extreme peril of sharing the supreme authority between the military commander and three commissioners of the convention, that the committee of public safety agreed to appoint Barras commander-in-chief, and Napoléon second in command. No sooner was this done than he dispatched at midnight a chief of squadron, named MURAT (2), with three hundred horse, to seize the park of artillery lying at Sablons. He arrived a few minutes before the troops of the sections, who came to obtain them for the insurgents; and, by this decisive step, put at the disposal of government those formidable batteries, which, next day, spread death through the ranks of the national guard, and, at one blow, extinguished the revolt. Barras declared in his report, that it was to Napoléon's skilful disposition of the posts round the Tuileries that the success of the day was owing; but he himself never ceased to lament, that his first success in separate command should have been gained in civil dissension; and often said, in after times, that he would give many years of his life to tear that page from his history (3).

(1) Bour. i. 76, 81, 86.

In those days Napoléon wore the grey great-coat, which has since become more celebrated than the white plume of Henry IV; he had no gloves, for, as he said himself, they were a useless expense; his boots, ill made, were seldom blackened; his yellow visage, meagre countenance, and severe physiognomy, gave as little indication of his future appearance, as his fortunes did of his future destiny. Salicetti had been the author of his arrest "He did me all the mischief in his power," said Napoléon; "but my star would not permit him to prevail." [D'Abr. i. 255, 256.] So early had the idea of a brilliant destiny taken possession of his mind. He afterwards made a generous return to his enemy: Salicetti was ordered to be arrested by the Convention after the condemnation of Rœmme, the chief of the conspirators, and he was concealed in the house of the mother of the future Duchess of Abrantes. Napoléon learned the secret in consequence of a love intrigue between his valet and their maid; but he concealed his knowledge, facilitated their escape, and sent a letter to his enemy on the road, informing him of the return he had made for his malevolence. [Ibid. 351]

(2) "Murat," said Napoléon, "was a most singular character. He loved, I may rather say, adored me; with me he was my right arm; as without me he was nothing. Order Murat to attack and destroy

four or five thousand men in such a direction, it was done in a moment; leave him to himself, he was an *imbécille* without judgment. In battle he was perhaps the bravest man in the world: his boiling courage carried him into the midst of the enemy, covered with plumes and glittering with gold; how he escaped was a miracle, for, from being so distinguished a mark, every one fired at him. The Cossacks admired him on account of his excessive bravery. Every day Murat was engaged in single combat with some of them, and returned with his sabre dripping with the blood of those he had slain. He was a Paladin in the field; but in the cabinet destitute of either decision or judgment." — O'MEARA, ii. 96.

(3) Bour. i. 90, 96. Nap. iii. 67, 74.

Though not gifted with the powers of popular oratory, Napoléon was not destitute of that ready talent which catches the idea most likely to divert the populace, and frequently disarms them even in the moment of their greatest irritation. When in command at Paris, after the suppression of this revolt, he was frequently brought in collision with the people in a state of the utmost excitement; and on these occasions his presence of mind was as conspicuous as his humanity was admirable. Above a hundred families, during the dreadful famine which followed the suppression of the revolt of the Sections in the winter 1795—6, were saved, from

The next event in Napoléon's career was not less important on his ultimate fortunes. On occasion of the general disarming of the inhabitants after the overthrow of the Sections, a boy of ten years of age came to request from Napoléon, as general of the interior, that his father's sword, which had been delivered up, should be restored to him. His name was EUGÈNE BEAUHARNAIS, and Napoleon was so much struck by his appearance, that he was induced not only to comply with the request, but to visit his mother, Joséphine Beauharnais. Her husband had been one of the most elegant dancers of his day, and from that quality was frequently honoured with the hand of Marie Antoinette at the court balls. Napoléon, whose inclination already began to revert to the manners of the old régime, used to look around if the windows were closed, and say, "Now let us talk of the old court, let us make a tour to Versailles." From thence arose the intimacy which led to his marriage with that lady, and ultimately placed her on the throne of France (1).

Her history had been very remarkable. She was born in the West Indies, and it had early been prophesied, by an old negress, that she should lose her first husband, be extremely unfortunate, but that she should afterwards be greater than a queen (2). This prophecy, the authenticity of which is placed beyond a doubt, was fulfilled in the most singular manner. Her first husband, Alexander Beauharnais, a general in the army on the Rhine, had been guillotined during the Reign of Terror, and she herself, who was also imprisoned at the same time, was only saved from impending death by the fall of Robespierre. So strongly was the prophecy impressed on her mind, that, while lying in the dungeons of the Conciergerie, expecting every hour to be summoned to the revolutionary tribunal, she mentioned it to her fellow prisoners, and to amuse them, named some of them as ladies of the bedchamber, a jest which she afterwards lived to realize to one of their number (3).

death by his beneficence [N. A. II. 28.] On one
of the benches of the Conciergerie, I saw a man in a black

feed only this look at me and say which of us

(2) The author heard this prophecy long before Napoléon's elevation to the throne. From the late Countess of Fath and the Countess of Aignan, who were educated in the same convent with Joséphine and had repeatedly heard her mention the circumstance in early youth.

(3) Mémoires de Joséphine par Madame de Crèverant, 231, 252, 253, Noct. I. 82, Note.

Joséphine herself narrated this extraordinary passage in her life in the following terms:—

"One morning the jailer entered the chamber where I slept with the ladies of Aignan and two other ladies, and told us he was going to take my mattress to give it to another prisoner. Why said Madame d'Aignan eagerly, 'Will not Madame de Beauharnais tell us a better one?' 'No,' he replied, 'he will send them to the Conciergerie and thence to the guillotine.'

"At these words my companions in misfortune

never doubted I was mad. But the truth was I was not filled with any extraordinary courage, but mistakenly persuaded of the truth of the oracle.

Madame d'Aignan some time after became unwell and drew her towards the window which I opened to admit through the bars all the fresh air. I there perceived a poor woman who knew us and who was making a number of gasps which I at first could not understand. She continually held up her gown (robe) and seeing that she had some object in view I called out, 'rode' to which she answered,

'yes.' She then lifted up a stone and put it in her lap, which she lifted up a second time; I called out, 'pierre' upon which she received the greatest joy at perceiving that her signs were understood. Joining then the stone to her robe she expressly insisted the most on lifting up off the neck and immediately began to dance and exude the most extravagant joy. This singular pantomime was answered to with an edifying hope that possibly Robespierre might be no more.

"At this moment when we were floating between hope and fear we heard a great noise in the air

Her character. Joséphine possessed all the qualities fitted to excite admiration; graceful in her manners, affectionate in her disposition, elegant in her appearance, she was qualified both to awaken the love, and form the happiness of the young general, whose fate was now united with her own. Her influence in subsequent times, when placed on the throne, was never exerted but for the purposes of humanity; and if her extravagance sometimes amounted to a fault, it was redeemed by the readiness with which she gave ear to the tale of suffering. Napoléon himself said, after he had tasted of all the greatness of the world, that the chief happiness he had known in life had flowed from her affection (1).

Marries her, and receives the command of the army of Italy. In the first instance, however, motives of ambition combined with a softer feeling to fix Napoléon's choice; madame Beaulieu had formed an intimacy in prison with Madame Fontenoy, the eloquent and beautiful friend of Tallien: and she was an acknowledged favourite of Barras, at that period the leading character of the Directory, though, with his usual volatility, he was not sorry of an opportunity of establishing her in marriage with the young general (2); and his influence, after the fall of Robespierre, promised to be of essential importance to the rising officer. He married her on the 9th March, 1796; he himself being in the twenty-sixth, and she in the twenty-eighth year of her age. At the same time, he laid before the Directory a plan for the Italian campaign, so remarkable for its originality and genius, as to attract the especial notice of the illustrious Carnot, then minister at war. The united influence of these two directors, and the magnitude of the obligation with Napoléon had conferred upon them, prevailed. With Joséphine he received the command of the Italian armies; and, twelve days after, set out for the Alps, taking with him two thousand louis-d'or for the use of the army, the whole specie which the treasury could furnish. The instructions of the Directory were, to do all in his power to revolutionize Piémont, and so intimidate the other Italian powers; to violate the neutrality of Genoa; seize the forts of Savona; compel the Senate to furnish him with pecuniary supplies, and surrender the keys of Gavi, a fortress, perched on a rocky height, commanding the pass of the Bocchetta. In case of refusal, he was directed to carry it by assault. His powers were limited to military operations, and the Directory reserved to themselves the exclusive power of concluding treaties of peace or truce; a limitation which was speedily disregarded by the enterprising genius of the young conqueror (3).

At this period, the military forces of the Italian states amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand men under arms, which could with ease have raised, from a population of nineteen millions, three hundred thousand. But, with the exception of the Piedmontese troops, this military array was of no real use; except when led on by French officers, the soldiers of the other Italian states have never been able to bear the sight of the French or Austrian bayonets (4).

Bitterly did Italy suffer for this decay in her national spirit, and extinc-

ridor, and the terrible voice of our jailer, who said to his dog, giving him, at the same time, a kick, 'Get on, you cursed Robespierre.' That coarse phrase at once taught us that we had nothing to fear, and that France was saved."—*Mém de Joséphine*, i. 252, 253.

(1) Bour. i. 101; viii. 372. Scott, iii. 83.

"Josephine," said Napoléon, "was grace personified. Everything she did was with a grace

and delicacy peculiar to herself. I never saw her act inelegantly the whole time we lived together. Her toilet was a perfect arsenal; and she effectually defended herself against the assaults of time."—*O'Meara*, ii. 101.

(2) Har. iii. 301.

(3) Har. iii. 302 303. Las Cas. i. 173, Bour. i.

103. Scott, iii. 83, 84.

(4) Th. viii. 220. Nap. iii. 129, 130.

Calamities
which the
French in-
vasion brought on
Italy

tion of her military courage. With the French invasion commenced a long period of suffering—tyranny, under the name of liberty, rapine, under the name of generosity; excitement among the poor, spoliation among themselves, clamour in public against the

...ers of freedom
...ose who aimed
...universal ex-
tinction of it in action, the stripping of churches; the robbery of hospitals; the levelling of the palaces of the great, and the destruction of the cottages of the poor,—all that military license has of most terrible, all that despotism has of most oppressive. Then did her people feel that neither the per-
...the per-
...vigour to

inherit, or the courage to defend them (1)

State of the
French
army when
Napoleon
took the
command
2d March
1797

When Napoleon assumed the command of the army in the end of March, he found every thing in the most miserable state. The efficient force under arms, and ready for offensive operations, did not exceed forty-two thousand men, but it was continually rein-
forced by troops from the dépôts in the interior, after Napoleon's

successes commenced, so that, notwithstanding the losses of the campaign, it was maintained throughout at that amount. The artillery did not exceed sixty pieces, and the cavalry was almost dismounted, but the garrisons in the rear, amounting to eight thousand men, could furnish supplies when the war was removed from the frontier and the arsenals of Nice and Antibes were well provided with artillery. For a very long period the soldiers of all ranks had suffered the extremity of want. Perched on the inhospitable summits of the Apennines, they had enjoyed neither tents nor shelter, magazines they

the effect of the depreciation of paper, had for years received only eight francs a month of pay; and the staff was entirely on foot. On one occasion the Directory had awarded a gratification of three louis-d'or to each general of division, and the future marshals and princes of the empire subsisted for long on the humble present. But, considered with reference to their skill and warlike qualities, the army presented a very different aspect, and were, beyond all question, the most efficient one which the republic possessed. Composed, for the most part, of young soldiers, whom the great levies of 1797 had brought into the field, they had been inured to hardship and privations during the subsequent campaigns in the Pyrenees and Maritime Alps; a species of warfare which, by leading detached parties continually into difficult and perilous situations, is singularly calculated to strengthen the frame, and augment the intelligence of the soldier. "Poverty," says Napoléon, "privations, misery, are the school of good soldiers." Its spirit had been greatly ele-

of their future habit (2)

Berthier, above forty years of age, son of a geographical artist, was chief of

Character of
his officers.
Berthier. the staff, a situation which he continued to hold in all the campaigns of Napoléon, down to the battle of Waterloo. Active, indefatigable alike on horseback and in the cabinet, he was admirably qualified to discharge the duties of that important situation, without being possessed of the originality and decision requisite for a commander-in-chief. He was perfectly master of the geography of every country which the army was to enter, understood thoroughly the use of maps, and could calculate with admirable precision the time requisite for the different corps to arrive at the ground assigned to them, as well as direct in a lucid manner the course they were to pursue (1).

Masséna. Masséna, a native of Nice, was a lieutenant in the regiment of Royal Italians when the Revolution broke out, but rose rapidly to the rank of general of division. Gifted by nature with a robust frame, indefatigable in exertion, unconquerable in resolution, he was to be seen night and day on horseback, among the rocks and the mountains. Decided, brave, and intrepid; full of ambition, his leading characteristic was obstinacy; a quality which, according as it is right or wrong directed, leads to the greatest successes, or the most ruinous disasters. His conversation gave few indications of genius; but at the first cannon-shot his mental energy redoubled, and when surrounded by danger, his thoughts were clear and forcible. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, Masséna was himself, and gave his orders with the greatest coolness and precision. Even after defeat, he recommenced the struggle as if he had come off victorious; and by these means saved the republic at the battle of Zurich. But these great qualities were disfigured by as great vices. He was rapacious, sordid; and avaricious; shared the profits of the contractors and commissaries, and never could keep himself clear from acts of peculation (2).

Angereau. Angereau, born in the faubourg St.-Marceau, shared in the opinions of the democratic quarter from which he sprung. He had served with distinction both in la Vendée and the Pyrenees. With little education, hardly any knowledge, no reach of mind, he was yet beloved by the soldiers, from the order and discipline which he always enforced. His attacks were conducted with courage and regularity, and he led his columns with invincible resolution during the fire; but he had not the moral firmness requisite for lasting success, and was frequently thrown into unreasonable dejection shortly after his greatest triumphs. His political opinions led him to sympathize with the extreme Republicans; but no man was less fitted by nature, either to understand, or shine in, the civil contests in which he was always so desirous to engage (3).

Serrurier. Serrurier, born in the department of the Aisne, was a major at the commencement of the Revolution, and incurred many dangers in its early wars, from the suspicion of a secret leaning to the aristocracy under which he laboured. He was brave in person, firm in conduct, and severe in discipline; but, though he gained the battle of Mondovi, and took Mantua, he was not in general fortunate in his operations, and became a marshal of France, with less military glory than any of his other illustrious contemporaries (4).

State of the
Allied for-
ces.

On the other hand, the Allies had above fifty thousand men, and 200 pièces of cannon; while the Sardinian army, of twenty-four

(1) Nap. iii. 185.

(2) Nap. iii. 187. O'Meara, i. 239.

(3) Nap. iii. 188.

(4) Ibid. 190.

And at Dego arms, with fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile, Napoléon himself, with the divisions of Masséna and La Harpe, attacked and carried Dego after an obstinate resistance, while Joubert made himself master of the heights of Biestro. The retreat of the Austrians was obstructed by the artillery, which blocked up the road in the defile of Spegno, and the soldiers had no other resource but to disperse and seek their safety on the mountains. Thirteen pieces of artillery and three thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. No sooner was this success achieved, than the indefatigable conqueror moved forward the division of Augereau, now disengaged by the surrender of Provera, to the important heights of Monte Zemolo, the occupation of which completed the separation of the Austrian and Piemontese armies. Beauchien retired to Aequi, on the road to Milan, and Colli towards Ceva, to cover Turin (1).

Meanwhile the brave Wukossowich, at the head of six thousand Austrian grenadiers, made a movement which, if supported, might have completely re-established the affairs of the Allies. Separated from the body of the Imperial forces, he advanced to Dego, with the intention of forming a junction with d'Argenteau, who he imagined still occupied that place. Great was his surprise when he found it in the hands of the enemy; but instantly taking his resolution, like a brave man, he attacked and carried

the destruction of the brave men who had achieved it. Napoléon instantly returned to the spot, and commenced a vigorous attack with superior forces. They were received with such gallantry by the Austrians, that the Republican columns were in the first instance repulsed in disorder, and the general-in-chief hastened to the spot to restore the combat, but at length General Lanusse, putting his hat on the

this action Napoléon was particularly struck by the gallantry of a young chief of battalion, whom he made a colonel on the spot, and who continued ever after the companion of his glory. His name was FAYVS, afterwards Duke of Montebello, and one of the most heroic marshals of the empire (2).

After the battle of Dego, La Harpe's division was placed to keep the shattered remains of Beauchien's forces in check, while the weight of the army was moved against the Sardinian troops. Augereau drove the Piemontese from the heights of Monte Zemolo, and soon

surrounded from afar the promised land. It was a sublime spectacle when the troops arrived on this elevated point, and the soldiers, exhausted with

which at
first success
but being
unsupported
at length
fails

Arrival of
the Republi-
cans on the
heights of
Monte
Zemolo

hundred combats. He was cool in the midst of fire, and possessed a clear, penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Valiant and brave in his temper, without ever given to my presence, he was yet ardently attached to me. As a general, he was greatly superior to other leaders of his time. — (G. Masséna, 23)

fatigue, and overwhelmed with the grandeur of the sight, paused and gazed on the plains beneath. These gigantic barriers, apparently the limits of the world, which nature had rendered so formidable, and on which art had lavished its treasures, had fallen as if by enchantment. "Hannibal," said Napoléon, fixing his eyes on the mountains, "has forced the Alps, but we have turned them." Soon after the troops descended the ridge, passed the Tanaro, and found themselves in the Italian plains (1).

Serrurier was now detached by the bridge of St.-Michael to turn the right of Colli, who occupied the intrenched camp of Cervo, while Masséna passed the Tanaro to turn his left. The Piedmontese, who were about eight thousand strong, defended the camp in the first instance with success; but, finding their communications on the point of being lost, they retired in the night, and took a position behind the deep and rapid torrent of the Cursaglia. There they were assailed, on the following day, by Serrurier, who forced the bridge of St.-Michael; while Joubert, who had waded through the torrent farther up, in vain endeavoured to induce his followers to pass, and was obliged, after incurring the greatest risks, to retire. Relieved now from all anxiety about his flank, Colli fell, with all his forces, on Serrurier, and, after a severe action, drove him back again over the bridge, with the loss of six hundred men (2).

This check exposed Napoléon to imminent danger. Colli occupied a strong position at Mondovi in his front, while Beaulieu, with an army still formidable, was in his rear, and might easily resume offensive operations. A council of war was held in the night, at which it was unanimously resolved, notwithstanding the fatigue of the troops, to resume the attack on the following day. All the dispositions, accordingly, were made for a renewed assault on the bridge, with increased forces; but, on arriving at the advanced posts at daybreak, they found them abandoned by the enemy, who had fought only in order to gain time for the evacuation of the magazines in his rear, and had retired in the night to Mondovi. He was overtaken, however, in his retreat, near Mondovi, by the indefatigable victor, who had seized a strong position, where he hoped to arrest the enemy. The Republicans immediately advanced to the assault, and; though Serrurier was defeated in the centre by the brave grenadiers of Dichtat, yet that courageous general having been struck dead by a cannon-ball at the moment when his troops, somewhat disordered by success, were assailed in flank by superior forces, the Piedmontese were thrown into confusion, and Serrurier, resuming the offensive, attacked and carried the redoubt of Bicoque, the principal defence of the position, and completed the victory. Colli retired to Cherasco, with the loss of two thousand men, eight cannon, and eleven standards. Thither he was followed by Napoléon, who occupied that town, which, though fortified, and important by its position at the confluence of the Stura and the Tanaro, was not armed, and incapable of resistance; and, by so doing, not only acquired a firm footing in the interior of Piémont, but made himself master of extensive magazines (3).

This important success speedily changed the situation of the French army. Having descended from the sterile and inhospitable summits of the Alps, they found themselves, though still among the mountains, in communication with the rich and fertile plains of

(1) Nap. iii. 147. Th. viii. 233.

(3) Th. viii. 234. Nap. iii. 150. Jom. viii. 92, 95.

(2) Th. viii. 233. Jom. viii. 88, 91. Hard. iii.

It is trium-
phant pro-
clamation to

At the same time, he despatched his aide-de-camp, Murat, with the standards taken, to Paris, and addressed to his soldiers one of

one-and-twenty standards, fifty-five pieces of cannon, many strong places, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont, you have made fifteen thousand prisoners, killed or wounded ten thousand men. Hitherto you have fought on sterile rocks, illustrious, indeed, by your courage, but of no avail to your country, now you rival, by your services, the armies of the Rhine and the North. Destitute at first, you have supplied every thing. You have gained battles without cannons, passed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without bread. The phalanxes of the Republic—the soldiers of liberty,—were alone capable of such sacrifices. But, soldiers, you have done nothing, while any thing remains to do. Neither Turin nor Milan is in your hands, the ashes of the conqueror of Tarquin are still trampled on by the assassins of Basseville. I am told that there are some among you whose courage is giving way, who would rather return to the summits of the Alps and the Apennines. No—I cannot believe it. The conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, of Mondovì, burn to carry still farther the glories of the French name (1)!

Intoxicated on
at Paris on
th a hotel
peace

When these successive victories, these proclamations, arrived day after day at Paris, the joy of the people knew no bounds. The first day the gates of the Alps were opened, the

next, the Austrians were separated from the Piedmontese, the third, the Sardinian army was destroyed, and the fortresses surrendered. The rapidity of the success, the number of the prisoners, exceeded all that had yet been witnessed. Every one asked, who was this young conqueror whose fame had burst forth so suddenly, and whose proclamations breathed the spirit of ancient glory? Three times the Councils decreed that the army of Italy had deserved well of their country, and appointed a fête to Victory, in honour of the commencement of the campaign (2).

Designs of
Napoleon.

Having secured his rear by this advantageous treaty, Napoleon lost no time in pursuing the discomfited remains of Beaulieu's army, which had retired behind the Po, in the hope of covering the Milanese territory. The forces of the Austrians were plainly now unequal to the struggle, a *coup de main*, which Beaulieu attempted on the fortresses of Alexandria, Tortona, and Valence, failed, and they were immediately after surrendered to the Republicans, while the army of Napoleon was about to be united to the corps of Kellermann, and the division of the Col di Tende now rendered disposable, by the conclusion of the armistice, a reinforcement of above twenty thousand men. Napoleon, on his side, indulged the most brilliant anticipations, and confidently announced to the Directory that he would cross the Po, expel the Austrians from the Milanese territory, traverse the mountains of the Tyrol, unite with the army of the Rhine, and carry the war, by the valley of the Danube, into the heart of the Imperial dominions (3).

(1) T5 v. 10

(2) T5 v. 211. Mar 1. 33

(3) T5 v. 110. 112. T5 v. 233. Mar 1

about — The King of Sardania surrendered at discretion, gave up three of his strongest fortresses, and the half of his domain. If you do not choose to accept his submission, let me see to it before him you must excuse him for a few

Napoleon wrote to the Directory at this time

By inserting a clause in the treaty with the King of Sardinia, that the French army was to be at liberty to cross the Po at Valence, he completely deceived the Austrians as to the place where the passage was to be effected. The whole attention of Beaulieu having been drawn to that point, the republican forces were rapidly moved to Placentia, and began to cross the river in boats at that place. Lannes was the first who effected the passage, and the other columns soon crossed with such rapidity that a firm footing was established on the opposite bank, and two days afterwards Napoléon arrived with the bulk of his forces and established a bridge. By this skilful march not only the Po was passed, but the Ticino turned, as Placentia is below its junction with the former river; so that one great obstacle to the conquest of Lombardy was already removed (1).

Beaulieu was now considerably reinforced, and his forces amounted to thirty-six battalions, and forty-four squadrons, besides 120 pieces of cannon, in all nearly forty thousand men. He was at Pavia, busily engaged in erecting fortifications, when he received intelligence of the passage at Placentia. He immediately moved forward his advanced guard, consisting of three thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, under General Liptay, to Combio, a small town a short distance from the republican posts. Napoléon, who feared that he might be strengthened in this position, and was well aware of the danger of fighting a general battle with a great river in his rear, lost no time in moving forward his forces to dislodge him. D'Allemagne, at the head of the grenadiers, attacked on the right; Lannes by the chaussée on the centre; and Lannes on the left. After a vigorous resistance, the Austrians were expelled from the town, with the loss of above a thousand men. Liptay fell back to Pizzighitone (2). Meanwhile, Beaulieu was advancing with the bulk of his forces; and the leading division of his army surprised General La Harpe in the night, who was killed while bravely fighting at the head of his division, but not before the Austrians had been compelled to retire.

The French troops having now entered upon the states of Parma, it was of importance to establish matters on a pacific footing in their rear before pressing forward to Milan. The Grand Duke had no military resources whatever; the victor, therefore, resolved to grant him terms, upon the surrender of what he had to give. He was obliged to pay 2,000,000 of francs in silver, and to furnish 1600 artillery-horses, of which the army stood in great need, besides great supplies of corn and provisions. But on this occasion Napoléon commenced another species of military contribution, which he has himself confessed was unparalleled in modern warfare, that of exacting from the vanquished the surrender of their most precious works of art. Parma was compelled to give up twenty of its principal paintings, among which was the celebrated S.-Jerome by Correggio. The Duke offered a million of francs as a ransom for that inestimable work of art, which many of his officers urged the French general to accept, as of much more service to the army than the painting; but Napoléon, whose mind was fixed on greater things, replied,—“The million which he offers us would soon be

weeks, and give me warning; I will get possession of Valence, and march upon Turin. On the other hand, I shall impose a contribution of some millions on the Duke of Parma, detach twelve thousand men to Rome, as soon as I have beaten Beaulieu and driven him across the Adige, and when I am assured that you will conclude peace with the King of Sar-

dinia, and strengthen me by the army of Kellermann. As to Genoa, by all means oblige it to pay fifteen millions.”—*Secret Despatch to Directory, 29th April, 1796. Corresp. Société de Napoléon, i. 103.*

1) Nap. iii. 165. Th. viii. 254, 257. Jom. viii. 116.

(2) Th. viii. 258. Nap. iii. 166. Jom. viii. 117.

ment of
Napoleon's
system of
levying con-
tributions on
the works
of art

the conquered states, which the French generals afterwards carried to such a height, and which produced the noble gallery of the Louvre. The French have since had good reason to congratulate themselves that the Allies did not follow their bad example; and that on occasion of the second capture of Paris, they had the generosity to content themselves with enforcing restitution of the abstracted spoils, without, like them, compelling the surrender of those that had been legitimately acquired. Certainly it is impossible to condemn too strongly a use of the powers of conquest, which extends the ravages of war into the peaceful domain of the fine arts, which transplants the monuments of genius from the regions where they have arisen, and where they can rightly be appreciated, to those where they are exotics, and their value cannot be understood; which renders them, instead of being the proud legacy of genius to its country, the mere ensign of a victor's glory; which exposes them to be tossed about by the tide of conquest, and subjected to irreparable injury in following the fleeting career of success; and converts works, destined to elevate and captivate the human race, into the subject of angry contention, and the trophies of temporary subjugation.

Terrible
Fate

On the 10th, Napoléon marched towards Milan; but, before arriv-

their forces had retired to Cassino, and the neighbourhood of Milan. By a rapid advance, he hoped to cut off the hulk of their troops from the hereditary states, and make them prisoners, but, as there was not a moment to be lost in achieving the movements requisite to attain this object, he resolved to force the bridge, and thus get into their rear. He himself arrived at Lodi, at the head of the grenadiers d'Allemagne; upon which, the Austrians withdrew from the town, and crossed the river; drawing up their infantry, with twenty pieces of cannon, at the further extremity of the bridge, to defend the passage. Napoléon immediately directed Beaumont, with all the cavalry of the army, to pass at a ford half a league further up, while he himself directed all the artillery which had come up against the Austrian battery, and formed six thousand grenadiers in close column, under cover of the houses at his own end of the bridge. No sooner did he perceive that the discharge of the Austrian artillery was beginning to slacken, from the effect of the French fire, and that the passage of the cavalry on their flank had com-

words to his soldiers, and gave
heid forward through a cloud of

both May grape-shot for a moment arrested their progress; but finding themselves supported by a cloud of tirailleurs, who waded the stream below the arches, and led on by their intrepid general, they soon recovered, and, rushing forward with resistless fury, carried the Austrian guns, and drove back their infantry. Had the French cavalry been ready to profit by the confusion, the whole corps of the imperialists would have been destroyed; but, as it had not yet come up, their numerous squadrons protected the retreat of the in-

fantry, which retired with the loss of two thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loss of the victors was at least as great. The object of this bold measure was indeed lost, for the Austrians, whom it had been intended to cut off, had meanwhile gained the *chaussée* of Brescia, and made good their retreat (1); but it contributed greatly to exalt the character and elevate the courage of the Republican troops, by inspiring them with the belief that nothing could resist them; and it made a deep impression on the mind of Napoléon, who ever after styled it “the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi.”

The victory at Lodi had an extraordinary effect on the French army. After each success, the old soldiers, who had at first been somewhat distrustful of their young commander, assembled, and gave him a new step of promotion. He was made a corporal at Lodi; and the surname of “*Le Petit Caporal*,” thence acquired, was long remembered in the army. When, in 1813, he was met by the battalion sent against him from the fortress of Grenoble, the soldiers, the moment they saw him, exclaimed, “Long live our little corporal! we will never oppose him.” Nor did this fearful passage produce a less powerful impression on the mind of the general, “The 15th Vendémiaire, and the victory of Montenotte,” said Napoléon, “did not induce me to believe myself a superior character. It was after the passage of Lodi that the idea shot across my mind, that I might become a decisive actor on the political theatre. Then arose, for the first time, the spark of great ambition (2).”

After this disaster, Beaulieu retired behind the Mincio, leaving Milan to its fate; and Pizzighitone, with its garrison of five hundred men, capitulated. Serrurier was placed at Cremona, from whence he observed the garrison of Mantua, while Angereau pushed on from Pizzighitone to Pavia. On the 13th, Napoléon entered Milan. Napoléon made his triumphal entry into Milan at the head of his troops, with all the pomp of war, to the sound of military music, amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of spectators, and through the lines of the national guard, dressed in three colours, in honour of the tricolor flag (3).

His proclamation there to his troops.

On this occasion the conqueror addressed to his soldiers another of those heart-stirring proclamations which so powerfully contributed to electrify the ardent imagination of the Italians, and added so much to the influence of his victories.—“Soldiers! you have descended like a torrent from the summit of the Apennines; you have overwhelmed and dispersed every thing which opposed your progress. Piedmont, delivered from the tyranny of Austria, has felt itself at liberty to indulge its natural inclination for peace, and for a French alliance: Milan is in your hands; and the Republican standards wave over the whole of Lombardy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their existence only to your generosity. The army which menaced you with so much pride, can now no longer find a barrier to protect itself against your arms: the Po, the Ticinio, the Adda, have not been able to stop you a single day; these boasted bulwarks of Italy have proved as nugatory as the Alps. Such a career of success has carried joy into the bosom of your country: fêtes in honour of your victories have been ordered by the National Representatives in all the communes of the Republic; there, your parents, your wives, your sisters, your lovers, rejoice at your success, and glory in their connexion with you. Yes, soldiers! you

(1) Jom. viii. 123, 126. Scott, iii. 131. Bot. iii. 351. Nap. iii. 172—174. Th. viii. 260, 261.

(2) Las Cas, i. 162, 182.

(3) Th. viii. 263. Nap. iii. 176. Jom. viii. 127.

have indeed done much, but much still remains to be done. Shall posterity say that we knew how to conquer, but not how to improve victory? Shall we find a Capua in Lombardy? The hour of vengeance has struck, but the people of all nations may rest in peace, we are the friends of every people, and especially of the descendants of Brutus, Scipio, and the other great men whom we have taken for examples. To restore the Capitol; to replace there the statues of the heroes who have rendered it immortal, to rouse the Romans from centuries of slavery—such will be the fruit of our victories. They will form an era in history; to you will belong the glory of having changed the face of the most beautiful part of Europe. The French people, free within and dreaded without, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify her for all the sacrifices she has made for the last six years. Then you will return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens will say of each of you in passing—“He was a soldier in the army of Italy (1)!”

Enthusiasm
excited by
these suc-
cesses
among the
Democratic
party in
Italy

Great was the enthusiasm, unbounded the joy, which these unparalleled successes and eloquent words excited among all that ardent and generous part of the Italian people, who panted for civil liberty and national independence. To them Napoléon appeared as the destined regenerator of Italy, the hero who was to achieve their liberation from Transalpine oppression, and bring back the glorious days of Roman virtue. His burning words, his splendid actions, the ancient cast of his thoughts, diffused an universal enchantment. Even the coolest heads began to turn at the brilliant career thus begun, by a general not yet six-and-twenty years of age, and the boundless anticipations of future triumph of which he spoke with prophetic certainty. From every part of Italy the young and the ardent flocked to Milan, balls and festivities gave token of the universal joy; every word and look of the conqueror was watched, the patriots compared him to Scipio and Hannibal, and the ladies on the popular side knew no bounds to their adulation (2).

Cruel dis-
pelling of
the illusion
by the
French con-
tributions

But this illusion was of short duration, and Italy was soon destined to experience the bitter fate and cruel degradation of every people who look for their deliverance to foreign assistance. In the midst of the general joy, a contribution of twenty millions of francs, or £, 800,000 sterling, struck Milan with astonishment, and wounded the Italians in their tenderest part—their domestic and economical arrangements. So enormous a contribution upon a single city seemed scarcely possible to be realized, but the sword of the victor offered no alternative. Great requisitions were of the same time made of horses for the artillery and cavalry in all the Milanese territory; and provisions were amassed on all sides, at the expense of the inhabitants, for which they received nothing, or Republican paper of no value. Nor did the Duke of Modena escape more easily. He was compelled to purchase peace by a contribution of ten millions of francs in money, or stores for the army, and to submit to the exaction of twenty paintings from his gallery for the Republican museum. Liberated Italy was treated with more severity than is generally the lot of conquered states (3).

War made
to support
war

Thus commenced the system of “making war support war,” which contributed so much to the early success of the Republican arms, which compensated for all the penury and exhaustion of the Republican ter-

(1) Nap. 11 118.

(2) Pol. 1 354-358 Th. viii 24

(3) Th. vi 1 225 Jour. viii 120 Nap. 11 112.

ritory, which raised to the clouds the glory of the empire, and occasioned with certainty its ultimate destruction. France, abounding with men, but destitute of resources,—incapable of supporting war, from the entire stoppage of domestic industry, but teeming with a restless and indigent population,—found in this system the means of advancement and opulence. While the other armies of the Republic were suffering under the horrors of penury, and could hardly find food for their support, or clothes for their covering, the army of Italy was rolling in opulence, and the spoils of vanquished states gave them every enjoyment of life. From that time there was no want of soldiers to follow the career of the conqueror; the Alps were covered with files of troops pressing forward to the theatre of glory, and all the chasms occasioned by the relentless system of war which he followed, were filled up by the multitudes whom the illusion of victory brought to his standard (1).

But the Republican soldiers were far from anticipating the terrible reverses to which this system of spoliation was ultimately to lead, or that France was destined to groan under exactions, as severe as those she now so liberally inflicted upon others. Clothed, fed, and lodged at the expense of the Milanese, the soldiers pursued with thoughtless eagerness the career of glory which was stretched before them. The artillery, the cavalry, were soon in the finest condition, and hospitals established for fifteen thousand sick in the different towns in the conquered territory; for to that immense number had the rapidity of the marches, and the multiplicity of the combats, swelled the hospital train. Having amply provided for his own army, Napoléon dispatched several millions by the route of Genoa for the service of the Directory, and one million over the Alps to Moreau, to relieve the pressing wants of the army of the Upper Rhine (2).

The Directory, jealous of his power, orders Napoléon to march to Rome—He refuses.

These great successes already began to inspire the French Government with jealousy of their lieutenant, and they in consequence transmitted an order by which Kellermann, with twenty thousand men, was to command on the left bank of the Pô, and cover the siege of Mantua, while Napoléon, with the remainder of the forces, was to march upon Rome and Naples. But he was both too proud to submit to any division of his authority, and too sagacious not to see that by thus separating the forces, and leaving only a small army in the north of Italy, the Austrians would speedily regain their lost ground, drive their inconsiderable opponents over the Alps, and cut off, without the possibility of escape, the corps in the south of the Peninsula. He, therefore, at once resigned his command, accompanying it with the observation, that one bad general is better than two good ones. The Directory, however, unable to dispense with the services of their youthful officer, immediately reinstated him, and abandoned their project, which was indeed in itself so absurd as would have thrown great doubts on the military capacity of Carnot, the minister at war, if it had not in reality been suggested by the wish to extinguish the rising ambition of Napoléon (3).

(1) Th. viii. 137. 265, 266.

(2) Th. viii. 266. Nap. Cor. Conf. i. 159.

(3) Th. viii. 269. Nap. iii. 184. Jom. viii. 133.

Napoléon on this occasion wrote to Carnot:—"Kellermann would command the army as well as I; for no one is more convinced than I am of the courage and audacity of the soldiers; but to unite us together would ruin every thing. I will not serve with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe; and it is better to have one bad general than two good ones. War is, like govern-

ment, decided in a great degree by tact." To the Directory he observed,—"It is in the highest degree impolitic to divide into two the army of Italy, and not less adverse to the interests of the Republic, to place at its head two different generals. The expedition to Leghorn, Rome, and Naples, is a very inconsiderable matter, and should be made by divisions in echelon, ready, at a moment's warning, to wheel about and face the Austrians on the Adige. To perform it with success, both armies must be under the command of one general. I have

which he was afterwards so strongly actuated, and which had so powerful a share in contributing to his downfall (1).

Massacre of the peasants at Lugo. After a short stay at Florence, Napoleon returned to Bologna, where Angereau took a severe vengeance on the inhabitants of the village of Lugo, which had taken up arms against the Republicans, and killed and wounded some soldiers in a detachment sent for its reduction. The village was carried by assault, burnt to ashes, and the unfortunate peasants, to the number of one thousand, put, with merciless severity, to the sword. This

with the battering train taken at the castles of Milan, Urbino, and Ferrara; but for the relief of which place Austria was making the most vigorous exertions (2).

The resolution of Napoleon to stir up a quarrel with Venice was more and more clearly evinced, as matters approached a crisis in the north of Italy. On the 23th July, he had a long and confidential conversation with Pesaro, the commissioner of that Republic; and such was the vehemence of his lan-

guage, that he declared his intention of attacking the Venetian Republic, and of compelling it to become a French province.

who never ceased to reproach them their partiality to France; that the Senate would do every thing in its power to restrain the public effervescence; and that the armaments, so much complained of, were directed as much against the English and Russians as the French (3). The determination of Napoleon in regard to the Venetian Republic is revealed in his secret despatches at this period to the Directory: "I have seized," said he, "the citadel of Verona, and armed it with the Venetian cannon, and summoned the Senate to dissolve its armaments. Venice has already furnished three millions for the service of the army; but, in order to extract more out of it, I have found myself under the necessity of assuming a menacing tone towards their communaries, of exaggerating the assassinations committed against our troops, of complaining bitterly of their armaments; and by these means I compel them, to appease my wrath, to furnish whatever I desire. That is the only way to deal with such persons. There is not, on the face of the earth, a more perfidious or cowardly government. I will force them to provide supplies for the army till the fall of Mantua, and then announce that they must farther make good the contributions fixed in your instructions (4)."

No sooner had they received intelligence of the defeat of Beaulieu, and the retreat of his forces into the Tyrol, than the Anbic Council resolved upon the most energetic measures to repair the disaster. The army of Beau-

(1) The rapine and pillage of the French as sometimes consequent on their irruption into Tuscany, knew no bounds. "If our administrators are conducted," said Napoleon, to the Directory, "as a detestable at Leyburn, our political conduct towards Tuscany has been no better."—*Secret Correspond. of Napoleon*, 25th July, 1796. His views extended even farther, for, on the 2nd, he wrote to the Directory, "Reports are in circulation that the Emperor is dying."

the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the heir to the throne, will instantly set out for Vienna. We must anticipate him, by taking military possession of the whole of Tuscany."—*Secret Despatch*, 25th July.

(2) *Ed. L. 579* *Nap.* i. 255.

(3) Letter of Lefebvre to Verdun, 24 July, 1796. *Corresp. Com. de Rep.* liard. 421.

(4) Secret Despatch of Napoleon, July, 22, 1796. *Corresp.* li 227.

Efforts of the Austrians for the relief of Mantua. lieu retired to Roveredo, where they threw up intrenchments to cover their position, while eight thousand Tyrolese occupied the crests of the mountains, which separated the valley of the Adige from the lake of Guarda. Meanwhile, Marshal Wurmser was detached from the Upper Rhine with thirty thousand men, to assume the chief command of the army destined for the relief of Mantua; which, Advance of Wurmser through the Tyrol with 30,000 men. by that great reinforcement, and numerous detachments drawn from the interior, was raised to sixty thousand effective troops. These great preparations, which were magnified by report, and had roused the aristocratic party throughout Italy to great exertions, filled Napoléon with the most lively apprehensions. To oppose them he had only fifty-five thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were engaged in the siege of Mantua, ten thousand in keeping up his communication and maintaining garrisons in the conquered territory; so that not above thirty thousand could be relied on for operations in the field. He had incessantly urged the Directory to send him reinforcements; but, although eight thousand men from the army of Kellermann had joined his standard, and numerous reinforcements from the dépôts in the interior, they were barely adequate to repair the losses arising from that wasteful campaign (1).

Nothing but the greatest ability on the part of the general, and courage among the soldiers, could have compensated for this inferiority in numbers; but the genius of Napoléon, and the confidence arising from a series of victories, proved adequate to the task (2). His success was mainly owing to the vicious plan of attack adopted by the Austrians, which, like all the others framed by the Aulic Council, was exposed to defeat from the division of their forces.

Description of the theatre of war. The waters which descend from the southern ridges of the Tyrol, unite into two streams, flowing nearly parallel to each other, and issuing in the same latitude into the plain of Lombardy, the Mincio, and the Adige. The first forms in its course, the noble sheet of water called the lake of Guarda, flows through the plain immortalized by the genius of Virgil, swells into the lakes which surround Mantua, and afterwards discharges itself into the Po. The latter, after descending from the snowy ridges of the Higher Alps, flows in an open valley to a narrow and precipitous pass above Verona, next emerges into the open country, winds in a deep and rocky bed to Legnago; after which it spreads into vast marshes, and is lost in the dikes and inundations of Lombardy. Three roads present themselves to an enemy proposing to issue from the Tyrol to the Italian plains:—The first, turning sharp to the left at Roveredo, traverses the romantic defiles of the Val Sugana, and emerges into the open country at Bassano. The second passes by the upper end of the lake of Guarda, and comes down by its western shore to Salò and Brescia; while the third descends the left bank of the Adige, and after traversing the gloomy pass of Calliano and Chiusa, reaches the town of Verona. The space between the Adige and the lake of Guarda, though only three leagues broad, is filled by the Montebaldo, whose precipices restrain the river on the one hand and the lake on the other. In this narrow and rocky space a road descends between the Adige and the lake, from Roveredo to the plain (5). It follows the right bank of the stream as far as Osteria della Dugana, when, meeting impracticable precipices, it turns to the right, and ascends the plateau of Rivoli.

(1) Jom. viii. 302, 303, Nap. iii. 231, 232. Th. viii. 360.

(2) Jom. iii. 305.

(3) Th. viii. 362, 364. Jom. viii. 305.

thrown into confusion, General Pégion, with three pieces of artillery, captured by the enemy, and Lonato taken. Upon this, the French general put himself at the head of his soldiers, and formed the centre into one formidable mass, while the Imperialists were extending themselves towards Salo, in the double view of enveloping the French, and opening a communication with Quasdanowich, whose artillery was already heard in that direction. Napoleon immediately perceived the error of his adversary, and made a desperate charge, with a column of infantry supported by cavalry, upon his centre, which, being weakened for the extension of the wings, speedily gave way. Lonato was retaken by assault, and the Austrian army cut asunder. One part of it effected its retreat under Bava-litch to the Mincio, but the other, which was moving towards Salo, finding itself irrecoverably separated from the main body of the army, endeavoured to effect a junction with Quasdanowich at Salo, but Goyeux, with a division of French, already occupied that place, and the fugitive Austrians, pressed between the dragoons of Junot, who assailed their rear, and the infantry at Salo, who stopped their advance, disbanded, and suffered a loss of three thousand prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon (1).

While the Austrians were experiencing these disasters at Lonato, Augereau, on the right, had maintained an obstinate engagement at Castiglione. In that quarter the Republicans were the assailants, and the French general had maintained the combat all day with great resolution against superior forces, when Napoleon, having defeated the centre of the enemy, hastened to his support. After a furious combat, Augereau succeeded in carrying the town, and the Austrians retired towards Mantua, with the loss of one thousand killed and wounded, besides as many prisoners (2). They had not proceeded far when they met the reinforcements which Wurmser was bringing up from that place for their relief.

As it was evident that the Austrian veteran was still disposed to contend for the empire of Italy in a pitched battle, Napoleon deemed it indispensable to clear his rear of Quasdanowich before engaging in it. On the following day he employed himself in collecting and organizing his forces at Lonato, with a view to the decisive conflict, while, by moving two divisions against Quasdanowich, whose troops were now exhausted by fatigue, he compelled him to remount the Val Sabbia towards Riva. A singular event at this time took place, highly characteristic both of the extraordinarily intersected situation of the two armies, and of the presence of mind and good fortune of Napoleon.

He had arrived at Lons to expedite the movement of his forces in the opposite directions where their enemies were to be found, and, from the dispersion which he had directed, only twelve hundred men remained at head quarters. Before he had been long there he was summoned to surrender by a corps of four thousand Austrians, who had already occupied all the avenues by which retreat was possible. They consisted of a part of the troops of Bayalitch, which, having been defeated in its endeavours to effect a junction with Gur danowich, was now, in desperation, endeavouring to regain the remainder of the army on the Mincio. Napoleon made his numerous staff mount on horseback, and, having ordered the officer bearing the flag of truce to be brought before him, directed the standard to be taken from his eyes, and immediately told the astonished Austrian, that he was in the middle of the French army, and in presence of

its general-in-chief, and that unless they laid down their arms in ten minutes, he would put them all to the sword. The officer, deceived by the splendid *cortége* by which he was surrounded, returned to his division, and recommended a surrender; and the troops, cut off from their companions, and exhausted by fatigue and disaster, laid down their arms. When they entered the town, they had the mortification of discovering not only that they had capitulated to a third of their numbers, but missed the opportunity of making prisoner the conqueror who had filled the world with his renown (1).

On the following day both parties prepared for a decisive engagement. The Imperialists under Wurmser were twenty-five thousand strong, the corps of Quasdanowich, and that which blockaded Peschiera, being detached, and unable to take any part in the battle; the French about twenty-three thousand. Both parties were drawn up in the plain at right angles to the mountains, on which each rested a wing; the French right was uncovered, while the Imperialists' left was supported by the mill of Medola. Augereau commanded the centre, Masséna the left, Verdier the right, but the principal hopes of Napoléon were rested on the division of Serrurier, which had orders to march all night, and fall, when the action was fully engaged, on the rear of the enemy. The soldiers on both sides were exhausted with fatigue, but all felt that on the result of this contest depended the fate of Italy (2).

Wurmser fell into the same error as Bayalitch had done in the preceding engagement, that of extending his right along the heights, in order to open a communication with Quasdanowich, who was within hearing of his artillery. To favour this movement, Napoléon drew back his left, while at the same time he accumulated his forces against the Austrians' right; Marmont, with a powerful battery of heavy artillery, thundered against the post of Medola, which Verdier, with three battalions of grenadiers, speedily carried. At the same time, General Fiorilla, who commanded the division of Serrurier, drawn off from Mantua, came up in rear of the Austrians, and completed their confusion by a vigorous attack, which had wellnigh carried off Wurmser himself. Seeing the decisive moment arrived, Napoléon ordered a general charge by all his forces; and the Austrians, pressed in front by Augereau and Masséna, threatened in rear by Fiorilla, and turned on their left by Verdier, fell back at all points. The excessive fatigue of the Republican troops prevented their pursuing the broken enemy far, who fell back behind the Mineio, with the loss of two thousand killed and wounded, one thousand prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon (3).

This action, the importance of which is not to be estimated by the number of troops engaged, was decisive of the fate of Italy. With a view to prevent Wurmser from reassembling his scattered forces, Napoléon, on the following day, sent Masséna to raise the siege of Peschiera, and after an obstinate engagement, he succeeded in routing the Austrian division before that place, with the loss of ten pieces of cannon, and five hundred prisoners. In this action a young colonel particularly distinguished himself, named SUCHET, afterwards Duke of Albufera. At the same time Napoléon advanced to Verona, which the Austrians abandoned on his approach; and Masséna, after some sharp skirmishing, resumed his old positions at Rivoli and the Montebaldo; while Wurmser, having revictualled Mantua, and raised its garrison to fifteen thousand men, composed chiefly of fresh troops, re-

Decisive
Battle at
Medola.

Aug. 6

Aug. 11.

(1) Nap. iii. 243, 245. Th. viii. 375. Jom. viii. 326, 327. Bot. i. 453.

(2) Jom. viii. 328. Th. viii. 378, 379.

(3) Nap. iii. 246. Th. viii. 379. Jom. viii. 334.

sumed his former station at Roveredo, and in the fastnesses of the Tyrol (1)

By this expedition Wurmser had relieved Mantua, and supplied it with a garrison of fresh troops, but he had lost nearly twenty thousand men, and sixty pieces of cannon, and the spirit of his soldiers was, by fatigue, defeat, and disaster, completely broken. The great successes which attended the French arms, are mainly to be ascribed to the extraordinary vigour, activity, and talent, displayed by their general-in-chief. The Austrian plan of attack was founded on an undue confidence in their own powers; they thought the main body under Wurmser would be able to defeat the French army, and raise the siege of Mantua, while the detachment under Quasdanovich would cut off their retreat: and it must be admitted, in favour of this plan, that it was on the point of being attended with complete success, and against a general and troops of less resolution, unquestionably would have been so.

Causes of
the success
of the
French

When opposed, however, to the vigour and activity of Napoleon, it offered the fairest opportunity for decisive defeat. The two corps of the Imperialists could communicate only by Roveredo and the

upper end of the lake of Garda, a circuit of above sixty miles, while the French, occupying a central station between them, at its southern extremity, were enabled, by a great exertion of activity, to bring a superior force, first against the one, and then against the other. Their successes, however, were dearly purchased: above seven thousand men had been killed and wounded; Wurmser carried with him three thousand prisoners into the Tyrol, and the whole siege equipage of Mantua had fallen into the hands of the enemy (2).

The democratic party in all the Italian towns were thrown into transports of joy at this success, and the rejoicings among them at Milan, Bologna, and Modena, were proportioned to the terror with which they had formerly been inspired. But Napoleon, judging more accurately of his position, and seeing the siege of Mantua was to be commenced anew, while Wurmser, with forty thousand men, was still on the watch in the Tyrol, deemed prudence and precaution more than ever necessary. He did not attempt, therefore, to collect a second battering train for the siege of that fortress, but contented himself with a simple blockade, in maintaining which during the autumnal months, his troops became extremely sickly, from the pestilential atmosphere of its marshes. To the powers in the southern parts of the Peninsula who hail,

Blockade of
Mantua re-
sisted—
Success of
the 10th
Legion

during the temporary success of the Austrians, given indication of hostile designs, he wrote in the most menacing strain, the king of Naples was threatened with an attack from seventy thousand French: if he violated the armistice, the Papal legate obtained pardon for a revolt at Ferrara only by the most abject submissions, the Venetians were informed that he was aware of their armaments, though he still kept up negotiations, and continued to live at their expense, while the king of Piedmont received commands to complete the destruction of the guerilla parties which infested the mountainous parts of his dominions. To the Milanese, on the other hand, who had remained faithful to France during its transient reverses, he wrote in the most flattering terms, and gave them leave to raise troops for their common defence against the Imperial forces. The most ardent of the youth of Lombardy were speedily enrolled under their banners; but a more efficient force was formed out of the Poles, who, since the last partition of their unhappy country (3), had wandered without a home

(1) Nap. 21st 218 Jour. 335 333
12 N. 1 1 215 230 Trav. 291

(2) Nap. 1 211 231, Trav. 212 211 Jour. 1
234 Jour. 1 235

through Europe, and now flocked in such numbers to the Italian standard, as to lay the foundation of the Polish legion which afterwards became so renowned in the Imperial wars.

The troops on both sides remained in a state of repose for three weeks after this terrible struggle, during which Wurmser was assiduously employed in reorganizing and recruiting his forces, while Napoléon received considerable reinforcements from the army of Kellermann and the interior of France. The numbers on both sides were, at the end of August, nearly equal; Wurmser's forces having been raised to nearly fifty thousand men, by additions from the hereditary states, and Napoléon's to the same amount by the junction of part of Kellermann's forces (1). Untaught by former disasters, of the imprudence of forming plans at a distance for the regulation of their armies, the Aulic Council again framed and transmitted to Wurmser a plan for the expulsion of the French from the line of the Adige. According to this design, he was to leave twenty thousand men under Davidowich, to guard Roveredo and the valley of the Adige, and descend himself, with thirty thousand, by the gorges of the Brenta to Bassano, and so reach the plains of Padua. Thus, notwithstanding their former disasters, they were about again to commit the same error, of dividing their force into two columns, while Napoléon occupied a central position equidistant from both (2); with this difference that, instead of a lake, they had now a mass of unpassable mountains between them.

Wurmser again advances, and the French issue forth to meet him.

Napoléon, at the same time, resolved to resume the offensive, in order to prevent any detachments from the Imperial army into Bavaria, where the Archduke Charles was now severely pressed by Moreau. The two armies broke up at the same time, Wurmser descending the Brenta, and Napoléon ascending the Adige. Foreseeing the possibility of a descent upon Mantua during his absence, the French general left Kilmaine, with three thousand men, to occupy Legnago and Verona, while ten thousand still maintained the blockade of Mantua, and he himself, with thirty thousand, ascended the Tyrol by the two roads on the banks of the Adige, and that on the western side of the lake of Garda (3).

3d Sept. The French were the first to commence operations. Early in September, Vaubois, with the division of Sauret, ascended the lake, and, after several combats, reached Tortola, at its upper extremity. On the same day Napoléon, with the divisions of Masséna and Augereau, arrived in front of the advanced posts of the Austrians at Serravalle, on the Adige, and on the following day attacked their position. The Imperialists stood firm; but Napoléon sent a cloud of light troops on the heights on either side of their columns, and, the moment they began to waver, he made so vigorous a charge along the chaussée with the hussards, that the Austrians were driven back in confusion, and the Republicans entered Roveredo pell-mell with the fugitives (4).

Davidowich rallied his broken divisions in the defile of Calliano, a formidable pass on the banks of the Adige, formed where the precipices of the Alps approach so closely to the river, that there is only the breadth of four hundred toises left between them. An old castle, which the Austrians had strengthened and mounted with cannon, was placed at the edge of the pre-

(1) The sick and wounded in the French army at this period were no less than fifteen thousand.—*Confidential Despatch, 25th Aug.—Corresp. Conf. i. 441.*

(2) Th. viii. 393, 394. Nap. iii. 256.

(3) Th. viii. 394. Rot. i. 460. Nap. iii. 256.

(4) Th. viii. 296. Nap. iii. 259.

Defeat of Napoleon threw his light troops on the mountains upon his own right, placed a battery, which commanded the Austrian cannon, and forming a close column of ten battalions, precipitated them along the high-road upon the enemy. Nothing could withstand their impetuosity, the Imperialists were routed, horse, foot, and cannon rushed in confusion through the narrow defile in their rear, and the Republican cavalry, charging furiously along the chaussée, drove them, in the utmost disorder, towards Trent. Seven hundred prisoners, and fifteen pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors, and the following

advanced against Wurmser. He now imagined that Napoleon intended to penetrate by Brixen and the Brenner into Germany, in order to co-operate with Moreau in the plains of Bavaria, and the Austrian veteran immediately conceived the bold design of hastening, with his whole disposable force, down the Val Sugana into the plain of Bassano, turning rapidly to the right, seizing upon Verona, and both raising the siege of Mantua and preventing the return of Napoleon into Italy. The French general, who, by treachery at the Austrian headquarters, was uniformly put in possession of his adversary's plans before they could be put into execution, immediately perceived the danger which would result from this measure on the part of the enemy, and resolved to oppose it by another, equally bold, on his own side. This was, to leave the division of Vaubois alone in the Tyrol to make head against Davidovich, and descend himself, with twenty-four thousand men, the defiles of the Brenta, and attack Wurmser before he had got round to Verona. In doing this, he ran the risk, it is true, of being himself shut up in the terrible defiles of the Val Sugana, surrounded by precipices and peaks of a stupendous elevation, between Wurmser in front and Davidovich in rear, but he trusted to the resolution of his troops to overcome every obstacle, and hoped, by driving his antagonist back on the Adige, to compel his whole force to lay down their arms (2)

On the same day in which this action took place, in the gorges of the Val Sugana, the advanced guard of Wurmser, under Mezaros, had reached to Verona, and was already skirmishing with the posts of the Republicans on the fortifications which had been erected round that city, when they were recalled to make head against the terrible enemy which had assailed their rear. Wurmser collected all his forces at Bassano to endeavour to bar the passages, and throw the French back into the defiles; the heavy infantry and artillery were placed on a strong position in front of the town and round its mouldering towers, while six battalions of light troops occupied the opening of the valley into the plain. These were speedily overthrown, and the divisions of Masséna and Augereau, emerging from the defiles, found themselves in presence of a brilliant force of twenty thousand men, with a powerful artillery, drawn up in battle array. But the Austrians, discouraged by repeated defeats, made but a feeble resistance. Masséna speedily routed them on the right, while Augereau broke them on the left: the fugitives rushed in confusion into the town, where they were speedily followed by the victorious troops, who made four thousand prisoners, and captured thirty pieces of cannon, besides almost all the baggage, pontoons, and ammunition of the army (1).

During the confusion of this defeat the Austrians got themselves separated from each other; Quasdanowich, with three thousand men, was thrown back towards Friuli, while Wurmser, with sixteen thousand, took the road to Mantua. The situation of the veteran marshal was all but desperate: Masséna was pressing his rear, while Porto Legnago and Verona were both in the hands of the enemy, and the loss of all his pontoons at Bassano rendered it impossible to pass the Adige but at one or other of these places. Fortunately for him, the battalion which occupied Porto Legnago had been withdrawn to Verona during the attack on that place, and the one destined to replace it had not yet arrived. By a rapid march he reached that town before the Republicans, and thus got his troops across the Adige. Napoléon, following his prey with breathless anxiety, no sooner discovered that the passage at Legnago was secured, than he pushed Masséna across the river to Cerra, in order to cut him from the road to Mantua. But the Austrians fought with the courage of despair, and their cavalry, five thousand strong, who were unbroken, and whose spirit had not suffered by disaster, proved irresistible to their enemies. Napoléon himself, who had come up during the engagement, had great difficulty in saving himself by flight; and Wurmser, who arrived a few minutes after, deemed himself so secure of his antagonist that he recommended to his dragoons to take him alive. Having missed so brilliant a stroke, the old marshal continued his march, passed the Molenilla, cut to pieces a body of eight hundred infantry which endeavoured to interrupt his progress, and entered Mantua in a species of triumph which threw a ray of glory over his long series of disasters (2).

14th Sept. Encouraged by these successes, he still endeavoured to keep the field with twenty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, and soon his cuirassiers destroyed a regiment of light infantry at Due Castelli. But this was the termination of his transient gleam of prosperity. Napoléon brought up the greater part of his forces, and soon after Augereau drove him from Legnago, and made prisoners a thousand men, and fifteen pieces of cannon. A stroke which, by depriving Wurmser of the means of passing the river,

(1) Th. viii. 401, 402. Nap. iii. 255, 256. Eccl. i.

(2) Th. viii. 401. Nap. iii. 256. Eccl. i. 457, 459.

threw him back on Mantua. On the 19th he was attacked by the divisions of Angereau and Masséna with an equal force. The Austrian cavalry at first drove back Angereau, and the battle seemed for a time doubtful, but a vigorous charge of Masséna in the centre restored affairs, and Wurmser was at length driven back into Mantua, with the loss of three thousand men and twenty pieces of cannon. Two days afterwards, he threw a bridge over the Po, and attacked Governolo, one of the fortresses erected by the French at the conclusion of the dikes, with the design of cutting his way through to the Adige; but he was repulsed with the loss of six hundred men, and four pieces of cannon, and in the beginning of October, Kilmaine resumed his old lines round the town, and the Austrians were shut in on every side within its walls. Wurmser killed the horses of his numerous and splendid cavalry, salted their carcasses, and made every preparation for a vigorous defence, while Napoléon dispatched his *ride-de-camp*, Marmont, afterwards Duke of Ragusa, with the standards taken in these glorious actions, to lay at the feet of the French government (1)

Results of these actions By the result of these conflicts the Austrian army in the field was reduced from fifty thousand to fifteen thousand men, of whom twelve thousand, under Davidowich, had taken refuge in the defiles leading to Mount Bremer, while three thousand, under Quasdanowich, were in the mountains of Friuli. Wurmser, it is true, had brought sixteen thousand into Mantua, but this force, accumulated in a besieged and unhealthy town, was of no real service during the remainder of the campaign, and rather, by increasing the number of useless mouths within the place, accelerated the period of its ultimate surrender. Before the end of October, ten thousand of the garrison were in the hospitals, so that the besieged were unable either to make any use of their superfluous numbers, or get quit of the unserviceable persons who consumed their scanty provisions. But these successes, great as they were, had not been purchased without a very heavy loss to the French army, who, in these rapid actions, were weakened by above fifteen thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners (2)

Visit to the hospitals Both parties remained in inactivity for a considerable time after these exhausting efforts, during which the Austrians were energetically engaged in repairing their losses, and the Republicans in drawing forces from the other side of the Alps. They took advantage of the delay to organize Revolutionary powers throughout all the north of Italy. Bologna and Ferrara were united under a provisional government, Republican forces, and Jacobin clubs established, and all the machinery of democracy put in full operation, Modena was revolutionized, the old government replaced by a popular assembly, and French troops admitted within its walls, while legions of national guards were organized throughout the whole of Lombardy (3)

But more efficient auxiliaries were approaching. Twelve battalions from the army of la Vendée, besides the remainder of the forces of Kellermann, joyfully crossed the Alps, happy to exchange the scene of utter penury and inglorious warfare, for the luxurious quarters and shining achievements of the Italian army. In the end of October, Alvinzi, who had assumed the command of the army in Friuli, had assembled forty thousand men under his standards, while the corps of Davidowich was raised, by the junction of a

(1) N. p. i. 273. Pot. i. 472. 473. Th. v. 405.

(3) Jour. ix. 133. 145.

(2) Harl. iii. 450. Nap. ii. 273. Jour. ix. 176.

large body of the Tyrolese militia, a force admirably adapted for mountain warfare, to eighteen thousand men. To oppose this mass of assailants, Napoléon had twelve thousand men under Vaubois, on the Lavis, in front of Trent; twenty thousand on the Brenta and the Adige observing Alvinzi, and ten thousand guarding the lines round Mantua. The disproportion, therefore, was very great in every quarter, and Napoléon, justly alarmed at his situation, and chagrined at the Directory for not putting a larger force at his disposal, wrote to the government that he was about to lose the whole of his Italian conquests (1).

Nov. 6.
Alvinzi
again ad-
vances.

The Austrian preparations being completed, Alvinzi, on the 1st November, threw two bridges over the Piave, and advanced against Masséna, whose headquarters were at Bassano. At the approach of

the Imperialists in such superior force, the French fell back to Vicenza, and Napoléon hastened, with the division of Angereau and the reserve, to their support. On the 6th, a general battle took place. Masséna overthrew the Austrian left, commanded by Provera and Liptay, and drove them with loss over the Brenta; while Napoléon himself defeated the right, under Quasdanowich, and would have carried the town of Bassano, which the Imperialists occupied in force, had not Hohenzollern, who advanced at the head of the Austrian reserve, made good the place till nightfall. But early on the following morning, the general received intelligence from Vaubois, in the Tyrol, which not only interrupted his career of success, but rendered an immediate retreat on the part of the whole Republican army unavoidable (2).

Nov. 1.
Defeat of
Vaubois by
the Impe-
rialists.

In obedience to the orders he had received, that general, on the same day on which the Austrians crossed the Piave, commenced an attack on their position on the Lavis; but he was not only received with the utmost intrepidity, but driven back in disorder, through the town of Trent, to the defile of Calliano, with the loss of four thousand men. There he made a stand; but Davidowich, having caused a large part of his forces to cross to the right bank of the Adige, passed that post, and was moving rapidly down on Montebaldo and Rivoli, so as to threaten his communications with Verona, and the remainder of the army. Nothing was left for Vaubois but to retire in haste towards Verona (3), which was seriously menaced by the increasing forces of the Tyrolese army, while their progress on the Montebaldo could only be arrested by bringing up Joubert in the utmost haste from the lines of Mantua.

Napoléon
hastens in
person to
the Plateau
of Rivoli.

No sooner was this disastrous intelligence received by Napoléon, than he drew back his whole force through Vicenza to Verona, while Alvinzi, who was himself preparing to retire, after his check

(1) Th. viii. 448, 449. Jom. ix. 158. Nap. iii. 345, 346.

8th Oct. Napoléon's letter was in these terms:—1796. "Mantua cannot be reduced before the middle of February; you will perceive from that how critical our situation is; and our political system is, if possible, still worse. Peace with Naples is indispensable; an alliance with Genoa and Turin necessary. Lose no time in taking the people of Lunenburg, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara under your protection, and, above all, send reinforcements. The Emperor has thrice reformed his army since the commencement of the campaign. Every thing is going wrong in Italy; the *prestige* of our forces is dissipated; the enemy now count our ranks. It is indispensable that you take into your instant consideration the critical situation of the Italian army, and forthwith secure it friends both among kings

and people. The influence of Rome is incalculable; you did wrong in breaking with that power; I would have temporized with it, as we have done with Venice and Genoa. Whenever the general in Italy is not the centre of negotiation as well as military operations, the greatest risks will be incurred. You may ascribe this language to ambition; but I am satiated with honours, and my health is so broken, that I must implore you to give me a successor. —I can no longer sit on horseback; my courage alone is unshaken. *Every thing was ready for the explosion at Genoa*; but Faypoult thought it expedient to delay. We must conciliate Genoa till the new order of things is more firmly established."—*Confident. Despatches*, Oct. 8, 1796, ii. 92, 93.

(2) Nap. iii. 437. Th. viii. 543.

(3) Nap. iii. 348, 349. Th. viii 453, 455.

on the preceding day, immediately resumed the offensive. Napoleon in person proceeded, with such troops as he could collect, in the utmost haste to the Montebaldo, where he found the division of Vaubois all assembled on the plateau of Rivoli, and so much reinforced as to be able to withstand an attack. He here deemed it necessary to make a severe example of the regiments whose panic had so nearly proved fatal to the army. Collecting the troops into a circle, he addressed them, with a severe tone, in these words — "Soldiers, I am displeased with you. You have evinced neither discipline, nor valour, nor constancy. You have allowed yourselves to be chased from positions, which you might have arrested an army. Soldiers of

with a menacing voice, the regiments with consternation. The laws of discipline could not restrain the sounds of grief which burst from their ranks. They broke their array, and, instead of that he would lead them into action,

ing to yield to their prayers, promised to suspend after they behaved with uncommon gallantry, and regained their place in his esteem

Notwithstanding his check on the Brenta, the operations of Alvinzi had hitherto been crowned with the most brilliant success. He had regained possession of the whole of the Italian Tyrol, and of all the plain of Italy between that river and the Adige. But the most difficult part still remained, which was, to pass the latter stream in the face of the enemy, and effect a junction with the right wing under Davidowich, which had achieved such important advantages.

Republicans, who took a position on defend the road to Verona to the very uttermost. Napoleon directed one of the 10th and resolved to attack Alvinzi

had neglected to occupy, but the Imperialists occupied the post, and made the brigade prisoners. The action continued the remainder of the day along the whole line, without decisive success to either party, but the rain, which fell in torrents, and the mud which clogged their wheels, prevented the French artillery from being brought up to meet the fire of the Austrian cannon, which, in position, thundered with terrible effect upon the Republican columns (2). Wearied and dispirited, they drew back at night, yielding, for the first time in the campaign, the victory in a pitched battle to their enemies.

The situation of Napoleon was now, to all appearance, utterly desperate. He had lost four thousand men under Vaubois, three thousand in the recent actions with Alvinzi, his troops, dispirited with these disasters, had lost much of their confidence and courage, and a depressing feeling of the great strength of the enemy had gained every breast. The army, it was true, had

still the advantage of a central position at Verona, in the midst of their enemies; but they could resume the offensive in no direction with any appearance of success. In the north they were arrested by the defiles of the Tyrol; in the east by the position of Caldiero, known by recent experience to be impregnable; in the south the blockading force was hardly able to make head against the frequent sorties of the garrison of Mantua. The peril of their situation rapidly gained the minds of the French soldiers, more capable than any others in Europe of judging of the probable course of events, and extremely susceptible of strong impressions; and it required all the art of the general, aided by the eloquence of his lieutenants, to hinder them from sinking under their misfortunes. Napoléon wrote in the most desponding terms to the Directory, but in public he assumed the appearance of confidence; and the wounded in the city, hearing of the peril of the army, began to issue, with their wounds yet unstanch'd, from the hospitals. (1).

His new
designs.

But the genius of Napoléon did not desert him in this eventful crisis. Without communicating his design to any one, he ordered the whole army to be under arms at nightfall, on the 14th November, and they began their march in three columns, crossed the Adige, and took the road to Milan. The hour of departure, the route, the universal ignorance in regard to their destination, all inspired the belief that they were about to retreat, and relinquish to their insulting rivals the plains of Italy. Breathless with anxiety, the troops defiled through the gates of Verona; not a word was spoken in the ranks; grief filled every heart; in the dark columns, the measured tread of marching men alone was heard; when suddenly the order was given to turn rapidly to the left, and all the corps, descending the course of the Adige, arrived before daybreak at Ronco. There they found a bridge of boats prepared, and the whole army was rapidly passed to the other side, and found itself in an immense sea of morasses. A general feeling of joy was immediately diffused over the army: the soldiers now perceived that the contest for Italy was not abandoned, and passing quickly from one extreme to another, prepared with alacrity to follow the footsteps of their leader, without any regard to the fearful odds to which they were exposed (2).

(1) Th. viii. 458, 460. Nap. iii. 356, 357.

The gloomy anticipations of Napoléon at this period are strongly depicted in the following interesting secret despatch to the Directory:—"If the events I have to recount are not propitious, you will not ascribe it to the army; its inferiority, and the exhaustion of its brave men, give me every reason to fear for it. Perhaps we are on the eve of losing Italy. None of the promised succours have arrived; they are all arrested at Lyoo or Marseille. The activity of our government at the commencement of the war can alone give you an idea of the energy of the Court of Vienna; hardly a day elapses that they do not receive five thousand men, and for two months I have only been joined by a single battalion. I do my duty; the army does its part; my soul is lacerated, but my conscience is at ease. I never received a fourth part of the succours which the Minister of War announces in his despatches.

"To-day I shall allow the troops to repose; but to-morrow we shall renew our operations. I despair of preventing the raising the blockade of Mantua; should that disaster arrive, we shall soon be behind the Adda, if not over the Alps. The wounded are few, but they are the *élite* of the army. Our best officers are struck down; the Army of Italy, reduced

to a handful of heroes, is exhausted. The heroes of Lodi, of Millesimo, of Castiglione, of Bassano, are dead, or in hospital; there remains only their reputation, and the pride they have given to the soldiers. Joubert, Laouise, Victor, Murat, Charlot, are wounded: we are abandoned in the extremity of Italy.

"I have lost few soldiers, but those who have fallen are the flower of the army, whom it is impossible to replace. Such as remain have devoted themselves to death. Perhaps the hour of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Masséna, of Berthier, is about to strike; what then will become of these brave soldiers? This consideration renders me circumspect; I know not how to brave death, when it would so certainly be the ruin of those who have so long been the object of my solicitude.

"In a few days we shall make a last effort; should fortune prove favourable we shall take Mantua, and with it Italy. Had I received the 83d, three thousand five hundred strong, I would have answered for every thing; in a few days forty men will perhaps not give me the same

Confidential Despatch, 14th Nov., ii.

(2) Th. viii. 461. Nap. iii. 357.

He mov
down the
Adige to
turn the
position of
Caldiero by
Arcola

Having perceived, during the former action at Caldiero, that the position was too strong to be carried by an attack in front, Napoleon had resolved to assail it in flank, by the village of Arcola, and for that purpose placed his army in the midst of the morasses, which stretched from thence to the banks of the Po. He thought with reason that, on the narrow causeways which traversed these marshes, the superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy would be unavailing, every thing would come to depend on the resolution of the heads of columns, and he hoped that the courage of his soldiers, restored by being thus brought to combat on equal terms with the enemy, and animated by this novel species of warfare, would prevail over the discipline and tenacity of the Germans. The position which he had chosen was singularly well adapted for the purpose in view. Three chaussees branch off from Ronco, one, following the left bank of the Adige, remounts that river to Verona, one in the centre leads straight to Arcola, by a stone bridge over the little stream of the Alpon, the third, on the right, follows the descending course of the Adige to Albando. Three columns were moved forward on these chaussees, that on the left was destined to approach Verona, and observe that town, so as to secure it from any sudden attack of the enemy, that in the centre, to attack the flank of their position by the village of Arcola, that on the right, to cut off their retreat (1).

1800 Nov
Deadful
actions
the 6

At daybreak on the 15th, Massena advanced on the first chaussée as far as a small eminence, which brought him in sight of the steeples of Verona, and removed all anxiety in that quarter. Augereau, with the division in the centre, pushed, without being perceived, as far as the bridge of Arcola, but his advanced guard was there met by three battalions of Croats, who kept up so heavy a fire on the head of the column, that, notwithstanding the greatest exertions on the part of the soldiers, they were driven back. In vain Augereau himself hastened to the spot, and led them back to the charge: the fire at the bridge was so violent, that he was overthrown, and compelled to halt the column. Meanwhile, Alvinzi, whose attention was fixed on Verona, where he imagined the bulk of the enemy's forces to be, was confounded in the morning at hearing a violent fire in the marshes. At first he imagined that it was merely a few light troops, but soon intelligence arrived from all quarters that the enemy were advancing in force on all the dikes, and threatened the flank and rear of his position. He immediately dispatched two divisions along the chaussees by which the enemy was approaching, that commanded by Mitrouski advanced to defend the village of Arcola, while that under Provera marched against the division of Massena. The latter column soon commenced an attack on their antagonists, but they were unable to withstand the impetuous shock of Massena's grenadiers, and were driven back with heavy loss. Mitrouski, at the same time, passed through Arcola, crossed the bridge, and attacked the corps of Augereau, but they also were repulsed and followed to the bridge by the victorious French. There commenced a desperate struggle, the Republican

were received with
line of infantry sta-
y staggered and fell
dispensable not only

to his future operations, but to the safety of his own army, put himself

with his generals at the head of the column, seized a standard, advanced without shrinking through a tempest of shot, and planted it on the middle of the bridge; but the fire there became so violent that his grenadiers hesitated, and, seizing the general in their arms, bore him back amidst a clond of smoke, the dead and the dying. The Austrians instantly rushed over the bridge, and pushed the crowd of fugitives into the marsh, where Napoléon lay up to the middle in water, while the enemy's soldiers for a minute surrounded him on all sides. The French grenadiers soon perceived that their commander was left behind; the cry ran through their ranks, "Forward to save the general," and, returning to the charge, they drove back the Austrians, and extricated Napoléon from his perilous situation. During this terrible strife, Lannes received three wounds. His aide-de-camp, Meuron, was killed by his side, when covering his general with his body, and almost all his personal staff were badly wounded (1).

Meanwhile Guicux, who commanded the column which had been directed against Albaredo, had arrived at that place, and was directly in rear of the village of Arcola: but it was too late. During the desperate stand there made by the Austrians, Alvinzi had gained time to draw off his haggage and artillery, and it was no longer possible to take the enemy in rear. Towards evening, the Austrians abandoned Arcola, and drew up their army, facing the marshes, at the foot of the heights of Caldiero (2).

16th Nov. During the night, Napoléon, on his side, drew back his forces to the right bank of the Adige, leaving only an advanced guard on the left bank; while the Austrians re-occupied the village of Arcola, and all the ground which had been so vehemently disputed on the preceding day. They even advanced, in the confidence of victory, along the dikes, to within six hundred yards of the village of Ronco; but when they were thus far engaged in the defiles, the French attacked them with the bayonet, and drove back their columns, after an obstinate engagement, to the vicinity of Arcola. The battle continued the whole day, with various success, and at nightfall both parties retired, the Austrians over the Alpon, the Republicans across the Adige (3).

During the whole of these eventful days, big with the fate of Italy and the world, the conduct of the Austrian generals was timid, and unworthy of the brave troops whom they commanded. Davidowich, while the contest was raging on the lower Adige, remained in total inactivity on the upper part of that stream; while Alvinzi, fettered by secret instructions from the Aulic Council to attempt nothing hazardous, and rather keep on the defensive, in order to facilitate the hidden negotiations which were going forward or about to commence, repeatedly halted in the career of success, and lost the fairest opportunities of crushing his adversary. Napoléon, aware, from the treachery which constantly prevailed at the Imperial headquarters, of these secret restrictions, augmented the irresolution of the commander-in-chief by privately dispatching intelligence from Verona to him of the approaching mission of Clarke to conduct negotiations for peace, of the conferences opened at Paris with England, and the probability of an immediate accommodation. Alvinzi rejected the proposal for an armistice which he made, but suspended his movements to join Davidowich, and paralysed every successful operation for fear of injuring the negotiations: To such a length did this timidity proceed, that when, after the repulse of the French from Arcola, his bravest

(1) Nap. iii. 361, 363. Th. viii. 463, 467. O'Meara, i. 216, and ii. 226.

(2) Nap. iii. 364. Th. viii
(3) Nap. iii. 366, 367. T

officers besought him instantly to form a junction with Davidowich, and
ad of following the

carnage, and both
parties advanced, with diminished numbers but unrelenting fury, to the

bridge of Ronco, where the action was restored by a regiment which Napoleon
had placed in ambuscade among the willows on the side of the road, and
which attacked the victorious column in flank, when disordered by success,
with such vigour, that they were almost all driven into the marshes. Mas-

was only enabled to
column, and leading
Towards noon, how-

ever, Napoleon, perceiving that the enemy were exhausted with fatigue,
while his own soldiers were comparatively fresh, deemed the moment for
decisive success arrived, and ordered a general charge of all his forces along
both chaussees, and, having cleared them of the enemy, formed his troops
in order of battle at their extremity, on the firm ground, having the right
towards Porto Legnago, and the left at Arcola. By the orders of Napoleon, the
garrison of that place issued forth with four pieces of cannon, so as to take the
enemy in rear, while a body of trumpeters was sent, under cover of the wil-
lows, to their extreme left flank, with orders to sound a charge, as soon as the
action was fully engaged along the whole line. These measures were com-
pletely successful. The Austrian commander, while bravely resisting in front,
hearing a cannonade in his rear, and the trumpets of a whole division of
cavalry in his flank, ordered a retreat, and, after a desperate struggle of three

in pieces, and declared
conduct brought dis-
this dreadful strife at

Arcola, had neither evinced the capacity nor the spirit of a general worthy
to combat with Napoleon,—not that he was in reality deficient in either, but
that the ruinous fetters of the Aulic Council paralysed all his movements;
and the dread of hazarding any thing on the eve of a negotiation, made him
throw away every chance of success (3)

While this desperate struggle was going forward in the marshes
of Arcola, Davidowich, who had opened the campaign with such
brilliant success, was far from following up his advantages with the vigour
which might have been expected. He merely advanced with his forces to
the neighbourhood of Verona on the 18th, following Vaubois,
who abandoned the positions of Corona and Rivoli on his approach, whereas,
had he pressed him hard on the preceding days, Napoleon would have been

(1) *Hard iv* 67, 75.
(2) *Nap iii* 358, 369, *Th viii* 470, 472 *Jom*
ix 172, 192

(3) *Hard iv*, 71, 77

compelled to cross the Adige, and raise the siege of Mantua. Without losing an instant, the French general returned with a large part of his forces through Verona, and compelled Davidowich to retire into the Tyrol, while the French resumed their old positions at Corona and Rivoli; and Augereau drove them from Dolce, with the loss of one thousand prisoners and nine pieces of cannon. The inhabitants of that town were lost in astonishment when they beheld the army which had left their walls by the gate of Milan three days before, return in triumph, after so terrible a combat, by the gate of Venice; and without halting, pass through the town to make head against the fresh enemies who approached from the Tyrol (1).

Alvinzi, when Napoléon was absent in pursuit of Davidowich, advanced towards Verona, now chiefly occupied by invalids and wounded men, and a universal joy pervaded the army when the order to march in that direction was given; but his old irresolution soon returned; the instructions of the Aulic Council prevailed over his better genius, and the final order to retire to Vicenza again spread grief and despair among his heroic followers (2).

Results of these actions. The results of the battle of Arcola, how glorious soever to the French arms, were by no means so decisive as those of the previous victories gained in the campaign. The actions had been most obstinately contested; and though the Imperialists ultimately retired, and Mantua was unrelieved, yet the victors were nearly as much weakened as the vanquished. The loss of the French in all, including the actions with Davidowich, was fifteen thousand men, while that of the Austrians did not exceed eighteen thousand. During the confusion consequent on such desperate engagements, the garrison of Mantua made frequent sorties; and Wurmser availed himself with such skill of the temporary interruption of the blockade, that considerable convoys of provisions were introduced into the place, and, by putting the garrison on half rations, and calculating on the great mortality among the troops, which daily diminished their number, he still held out hopes that he could maintain his position till a fourth effort was made for his relief (3).

Extraordinary joy at Paris. The intelligence of these hard-fought victories excited the most enthusiastic transports throughout all France. The battle of Arcola especially, with its desperate chances and perilous passages, was the object of universal admiration. The people never were weary of celebrating the genius which had selected, amidst the dikes of Ronco, a field of battle where numbers were unavailing and courage irresistible; and the heroic intrepidity which made the soldier forget the general, and recalled the exploits of the knights of romance. Every where medals were exhibited of the young general on the bridge of Arcola, with the standard in his hand, in the midst of the fire and smoke. The Councils decreed that the Army of Italy had deserved well of their country, and that the standards which Napoléon and Augereau had borne on that memorable occasion, should be given to them, to be preserved as precious trophies in their families (4).

Vast efforts of the Austrians. Nor were the Austrians less distinguished by patriotic feeling. While the triumphs of the Archduke Charles on the Danube had saved Germany, and raised to the highest pitch the ardour of the people, the reverses in Italy came to damp the general joy, and renew, in a quarter where it was least expected, the peril of the monarchy. With unconquerable resolution they prepared to face the danger; the affectionate ardour of the

(1) Nap. iii. 371. Th. viii. 472.

(2) Hard. iv. 75.

(3) Jom. ix. 231. Nap. iii. 371, 372. Th. viii. 472, 473.

(4) Th. viii. 473.

hereditary states showed itself in the moment of alarm, the people every where flew to arms, numerous regiments of volunteers were formed to repair the chasms in the regular forces, Vienna alone raised four regiments, which received standards embroidered by the hand of the Empress, and, before the end of the year, a fourth army was formed in the mountains of Friuli and Tyrol, nowise inferior either in numbers or resolution to those which had wasted under the sword of Napoleon (1)

After the battle of Arcola, the negotiation, the commencement of which had been attended with such fatal effects to the Imperial fortunes during the action, was continued with the greatest activity between the headquarters of the two armies. General Clarke, the Republican envoy, arrived at the headquarters of Napoleon, and it was at first proposed to conclude an armistice of three months, in order to facilitate the negotiations, but this the French general, who saw the command of Italy on the point of slipping from his grasp, and was well aware that the fate of the war depended on Mantua, resolutely opposed (2). Clarke, however, continued to argue in favour of the armistice, and produced the instructions of his government, which were precise on that point, but Napoleon, secure of the support of Barras, at once let him know that he was resolved not to share his authority with any one. "If you come here to obey me," said he, "I will always see you with pleasure, if not, the sooner you return to those who sent you the better (3)." Clarke felt he was mastered, he did not answer a word, from that moment the negotiation fell entirely into the hands of Napoleon, and came to nothing. So completely, indeed, did the Republican envoy fall under the government of the young

dalous depredations of the civil and military authorities, both on the Italian states and the funds of the Republic, an employment which soon absorbed all his time, and was attended with as little success as those of Napoleon himself had been. The conferences which were opened at Vicenza in December, were broken up on the 3d January, without having led to any result, and both parties prepared to try once more the fate of arms (5).

For two months after the battle of Arcola, and during this negotiation, both parties remained in a state of inactivity, and great efforts were made on

weather, and ten thousand men flocked to his standards from the interior, so that, by the beginning of January 1797, he had forty-six thousand men under arms. Ten thousand blockaded Mantua, and the remainder of the army was on the line of the Adige, from the edge of the Po to the rocks of Montebaldo (6).

(1) Toul v 142 Jon x 267 Mand iv 152

(2) *Ma terna of Mantua* said he there e y

lose the no ey (30 000 000 ve expert from Rome which canu t be i fluenced b t by the fall of Mant a and the Emperor be ug nearer the s e o of action will recru t his army much more effectually

just ow e to cut ourselves o t of a l elu ce of sure s—i s a word every t depends on the f i of Ma a *Monarchie Conf d* 1 423

(4) Mand iv 133 134

(5) Report Dec 1796 by Clarke *Conf d* Correspond

(6) Mand iv 136 140 149

(6) Jom iv 262 Th v li 507

It was high time that the Imperialists should advance to the relief of this fortress, which was now reduced to the last extremity, from want of provisions. At a council of war, held in the end of December, it was decided that it was indispensable that instant intelligence should be sent to Alvinzi of their desperate situation. The English officer attached to the garrison volunteered to perform in person the perilous mission, which he executed with equal courage and address. He set out, disguised as a peasant, from Mantua, on the 29th December, at nightfall, in the midst of a deep fall of snow, eluded the vigilance of the French patrols, and, after surmounting a thousand hardships and dangers, arrived at the head-quarters of Alvinzi, at Bassano, on the 4th January, the day after the conferences at Vicenza were broken up. Great destinies awaited this enterprising officer (1). He was Colonel Graham, afterwards victor at Barrosa, and the first British general who planted the English standard on the soil of France.

They make a fourth effort to relieve Mantua. The Austrian plan of attack on this occasion was materially different from what it had formerly been. Adhering still to their favourite system of dividing their forces, and being masters of the course of the Brenta from Bassano to Roveredo, they transferred the bulk of their troops to the Upper Adige, where Alvinzi himself took the command of thirty-five thousand men. A subordinate force of fifteen thousand was destined to advance by the plain of Padua to Mantua, with a view to raise the siege, extricate Wurmser, and push on to the Ecclesiastical States, where the Pope had recently been making great preparations, and from whose levies it was hoped the numerous staff and dismounted dragoons of the veteran marshal would form an efficient force. This project had every appearance of success; but, unfortunately, it became known to the French general, from the despatches which announced it to Wurmser falling into his hands, as the messenger who bore them was on the point of clearing the last lines of the blockade of Mantua (2).

12th Jan. 1797. They advance to. On the 12th January, 1797, the advanced guard of Alvinzi attacked the Republican posts on the Montehaldo, and forced them back to the plateau of Rivoli; while, on the same day, the troops in the plain pushed forward, drove in all the French videttes towards Porto Legnago, and maintained a desultory fire along the whole line of the lower Adige. For some time Napoléon was uncertain on which side the principal attack would be made, but soon the alarming accounts of the great display of force on the upper part of the river, and the secret intelligence which he received from treachery at the Austrian headquarters, left no doubt that the enemy's principal forces were accumulated near Rivoli; and accordingly he set out with the whole centre of his army to support Joubert, who was there struggling with immensely superior forces. He arrived at two in the morning on the plateau of Rivoli; the weather was clear and beautiful; an unclouded moon silvered the fir-clad precipices of the mountains; but the horizon to the northward was illuminated by the fires of innumerable bivouacs, and from the neighbouring heights his experienced eye could discover the lights of nearly forty thousand men. This great force was divided into five columns, which filled the whole space between the Adige and the lake of Guarda: the principal one, under Quasdanowich, composed of all the artillery, cavalry, and a strong body of grenadiers, followed the high-road on the right, and was destined to ascend the plateau by the zigzag and steep

(1) Hard. iv. 153, 154.

(2) Nap. iii. 408, 409.

ascent which led to its summit. Three other corps of infantry received orders to climb the amphitheatre of mountains which surrounded it in front, and, when the action was engaged on the high-road, descend upon the French as directed to wind round the base of rear, and cut off their retreat to Veron. The plan was duly concerted, and had nearly succeeded (1) with a general of inferior ability to Napoleon, and troops of less resolution than his army, it unquestionably would have done so.

To oppose this great force, Napoleon had only thirty thousand men, but he had the advantage of being in position on a plain, elevated among the mountains, while his adversaries must necessarily be fatigued in endeavouring to reach it, and he had sixty pieces of cannon, and a numerous body of cavalry, in excellent condition. He immediately perceived that it was necessary, at all hazards, to keep his ground on the plateau, and, by so doing, he hoped to prevent the junction of the enemy's masses, and overthrow them separately. Before daybreak he moved forward the tirailleurs of Joubert to drive back the advanced posts of the Imperialists, who had already ascended to the plateau, and, by the light of the moon, arranged his whole force with admirable precision on its summit (2).

The action began at nine o'clock, by the Austrian columns, which descended from the semicircular heights of the Montebaldo, attacking the French left. After a desperate resistance, the regiments stationed there were broken, and fled in disorder, upon which Napoleon galloped to the village of Rivoli, where the division of Masséna, which had marched all

a vigorous, had forced down upon the Imperial the plateau, where the

grenadiers appeared at the top of the zigzag windings of the high-road, having, by incredible efforts of valour, forced that perilous ascent, and to debouche upon the level surface at its on of Lusignan, which had wound unper-

their rear, army cer-

irrounding tain, gave so much cliffs, and clapped their hands, as they successively took up their ground. The Republicans, attacked in front, flank, and rear at the same time, saw their retreat cut off, and no resource from the bayonets of the Austrians but

as of the Alps (3)

ice of mind of Napoleon did not forsake

in consequence of the arrival of a co

were to be suspension, at istrians was

suspended at the very moment when it was so much, but Junot were ex- claiming—"We have them, we have them." Junot repaired to the Austrian headquarters, from whence, after a conference of an hour, he returned, as

(1) Th. v. 513 Nap. i. 414 Jour. ix. 275
(2) Th. v. i. 514 Nap. i. 414 Jour. ix. 275

(3) Nap. v. i. 416 Th. v. i. 516 Jour. xii. 277

might have been expected, without having come to any accommodation; but meanwhile the critical period had passed; Napoléon had gained time to face the danger, and made the movements requisite to repel these numerous attacks. Joubert, with the light infantry, was ordered to face about on the extreme right to oppose Quasdanowich, while Leclerc and Lasalle, with the light cavalry and flying artillery, flew to the menaced point; and a regiment of infantry was directed to the heights of Tiffaro, to make head against the corps of Lusignan. Far from being disconcerted by the appearance of the troops in his rear, he exclaimed, pointing to them, "These are already our prisoners;" and the confident tone in which he spoke soon communicated itself to the soldiers, who repeated the cheering expression. The head of Quasdanowich's division, which had so bravely won the ascent, received in front by a terrible fire of grape-shot, charged on one flank by Lasalle's horse, and exposed on the other to a close discharge of musketry from Joubert, broke and staggered backwards down the steep. The fugitives, rushing headlong through the column which was toiling up, soon threw the whole into inextricable confusion; horse, foot, and cannon struggled together, under a plunging fire from the French batteries, which blew up some ammunition-waggons, and produced a scene of frightful disorder. No sooner was the plateau delivered from this flank attack, than Napoléon accumulated his forces on the troops which had descended from the semicircle of the Montebaldo, and that gallant band, destitute of artillery, and deprived now of the expected aid from the corps in flank, soon gave way, and fled in confusion to the mountains, where great numbers were made prisoners (1).

During these decisive successes, the division of Lusignan had gained ground on the troops opposed to it, and came to the heights in rear of the army, in time to witness the destruction of the three divisions in the mountains. From that moment they foresaw their own fate. The victorious troops were speedily directed against this brave division, now insulated from all support, and depressed by the ruin which it had witnessed in the other parts of the army.

Decisive
Victory of
Napoléon.

For some time they stood firm; but the fire of fifteen pieces of heavy artillery, to which they had nothing to oppose, at length compelled them to retreat; and, before they had receded far, they met the division of Rey, the reserve of Masséna, which was approaching. Such was the consternation produced by this unexpected apparition, that the whole division laid down its arms; while Quasdanowich, now left to his own resources, retired up the valley of the Adige, and the broken remains of the centre divisions sought refuge behind the rocky stream of the Tasso (2).

He hastens
to the Lower
Adige.

Not content with these splendid triumphs, Napoléon, on the very night in which they were gained, flew to the assistance of the troops on the Lower Adige, with part of the division of Masséna, which had marched all the preceding night, and fought on the following day. It was full time that he should do so, for on the very day on which the battle of Rivoli was fought, Provera had forced the passage of the Adige at Anghiari, and marched between Augereau and the blockading force by Sanguinetto to the neighbourhood of Mantua, of which he threatened to raise the siege on the following morning. Augereau, it is true, had collected his forces, attacked the rear-guard of the Austrians during their march, and taken fifteen hundred prisoners and fourteen pieces of cannon; but still the danger was imminent that

(1) Jom. viii. 282, 283. Th. viii. 516. Nap. iii. 416.

(2) Th. 518, 519. Jom. viii. 283, 284. Nap. iii. 417.

15th Jan the main body of Provera's forces would gain the fort of St-George and put the blockading force between two fires Fully aware of the

On the 15th, at the gate of St -George, and being dressed in white cloaks, were nearly mistaken for a regiment of French, and admitted within the walls. But the error having been discovered by an old sergeant who was cutting wood near the gate, the drawbridge was suddenly drawn up, and the alarm communicated to the garrison. Hohenzollern advanced at the gallop, but before he could get in, the gates were closed, and a discharge of grape-shot repulsed the assailants. All that day, the garrison under Molis combated on the ramparts, and gave time for the succours from Rivoli to arrive. Provera sent a bark across the lake to warn Wurmser of his approach and concert a general attack, on the next day, upon the blockading force, and in pursuance of the summons, the brave veteran presented himself at the trenches on the following morning with a large part of the garrison. But the arrival of Napoleon not only frustrated all these preparations, but proved fatal to Provera's division. During the night he pushed forward four regiments, which he had brought with him, between the fort of Favorite and St -George, so as to prevent Wurmser from effecting a junction with the Austrians, who approached to raise the siege, and strengthened Serrurier at the former point, in order to enable him to repel any attack from the garrison. At day-break, the battle commenced at all points. Wurmser, after an obstinate conflict, was thrown back into the fortress, while Provera, surrounded by superior forces, and tracked in all his doublings, like a furious stag by ruthless hunters (2), was compelled to lay down his arms, with six thousand men. In this engagement the 37th regiment acquired the surname of the *Ferrible*, from the fury with which it threw itself on the Austrian line. It was commanded by Victor, afterwards Duke of Belluno.

Result of
those but
lies

Thus in three days, by his admirable dispositions, and the extraordinary activity of his troops, did Napoleon not only defeat two Austrian armies of much greater force, taken together, than his own, but took from them eighteen thousand prisoners, twenty-four standards, and sixty pieces of cannon. Such was the loss of the enemy besides, in killed and wounded, that the Austrians were totally disabled from keeping the field, and the French left in undisputed possession of the whole peninsula. History has few examples to exhibit of successes so decisive, achieved by forces so inconsiderable (3)

This was the last effort of which Austria was capable, and the immediate consequence of its defeat, the complete subjugation of the peninsula. The

(g) Jan val 290 Tb val 520

(2) Th van 521 Nap in 421 Jom vil 290

293

(3) Jona vi i 291 Nap m. 427

In their report on these disasters the Audit Commission seriously threw no blame on Alvinzi but

in fortunes. General Bonaparte himself says in his

remains of Alvinzi's corps retired in opposite directions; one part towards Trent, and another towards Bassano. Napoléon, whose genius never appeared so strongly as in pursuing the remains of a beaten army, followed them up without intermission. Loudon, who had taken post at Roveredo with eight thousand men, in order to defend as long as possible the valley of the Upper Adige, was driven by Joubert successively from that town and Trent, with the loss of five hundred prisoners, while Masséna, by a rapid march over the mountains, made himself master of Primolano, descended into the gorges of the Val Sugana, turned the position of Bassano, and drove the Austrians, with the loss of a thousand prisoners, through Treviso to the opposite bank of the Tagliamento; where Alvinzi at length, by the valley of the Drave, reunited the remnant of his scattered forces (1).

Notwithstanding these disasters, the public spirit of the Austrian monarchy remained unsubdued, and the cabinet of Vienna continued unshaken in its resolution to prosecute the war with vigour. On the other hand, the Directory were so much impressed with the imminent risk which the Italian army had run, both at Arcola and Rivoli, and the evident peril to the Republic, from the rising fame and domineering character of Napoléon, that they were very desirous of peace, and authorized Clarke to sign it, on condition that Belgium and the frontier of the Rhine were given to France, an indemnity secured to the Stadtholder in Germany, and all its possessions restored to Austria in Italy. But Napoléon again resolutely opposed these instructions, and would not permit Clarke to open the proposed negotiations. "Before Mantua falls," said he, "every negotiation is premature, and Mantua will be in our hands in fifteen days. These conditions will never meet with my approbation. The Republic is entitled, besides the frontier of the Rhine, to insist for the establishment of a state in Italy, which may secure the French influence there, and retain in its subjection Genoa, Sardinia and the Pope. Without that, Venice, enlightened at last as to its real dangers, will unite with the Emperor, and restrain the growth of democratic principles in its Italian possessions." The influence of Napoléon again prevailed; the proposed negotiation never was opened, and Clarke remained at Milan, occupied with his subordinate duty of investigating the rapacity of the commissaries of the army (2).

Surrender of Mantua. Mantua did not long hold out after the destruction of the last army destined for its relief. The half of its once numerous garrison was in the hospital; they had consumed all their horses, and the troops, placed for months on half rations, had nearly exhausted all their provisions. In this extremity Wurmser proposed to Serrurier to capitulate: the French commander stated that he could give no definitive answer till the arrival of the general-in-chief. Napoléon in consequence hastened to Roverbella, where he found Klenau, the Austrian aide-de-camp, expatiating on the powerful means of resistance which Wurmser enjoyed, and the great stores of provisions which still remained in the magazines. Wrapped in his cloak near the fire, he overheard the conversation without taking any part in it, or making himself known; when it was concluded, he approached the table, took up the pen, and wrote on the margin his answer to all the propositions of Wurmser, and when it was finished said to Klenau, "If Wurmser had only provisions for eighteen or twenty days, and he spoke of surrendering, he would have merited no favourable terms; but I respect the age, the valour,

(1) Jom. viii. 302, 304. Nap. iii. 421-422.

(2) Hard. iv. 170, 174.

and the misfortunes of the marshal, here are the conditions which I offer him, if he surrender to-morrow, should he delay a fortnight, a month, or two months, he shall have the same conditions, he may wait till he has consumed his last morsel of bread I am now about to cross the Po to march upon Rome return and communicate my intentions to your general" The aide-de-camp, who now perceived that he was in presence of Napoléon, was penetrated with gratitude for the generosity of the conqueror, and finding that it was useless longer to dissemble; confessed that they had only provisions left for three days The terms of capitulation were immediately agreed on, Napoléon set out himself to Florence to conduct the expedition against F

and too much grandeur of mind to insult the presence on the occasion, his delicacy was observed by all Europe, and, like the statues of Brutus and Cassius at the funeral of Junia, was the more present to the mind because he was withdrawn from the sight (1)

By this capitulation, Wurmser was allowed to retire to Austria with all his staff and five hundred men, the remainder of the garrison, which, including the sick, was still eighteen thousand strong, surrendered their arms, and was conveyed to Trieste to be exchanged Fifty standards, a bridge equipage, and above five hundred pieces of artillery, comprising all those captured at the raising of the first siege, fell into the hands of the conqueror (2)

Napoléon marches towards Rome

feeble for

refused to ratify the treaty of Bologna, and had openly engaged in hostile measures at the conclusion of the campaign, in conjunction with the forces of Austria The French troops, in consequence, crossed the Apennines, and

it to be frustrated The papal troops were routed on the banks of Senio: like the other Italian armies, they fled on the first onset, and Junot, after two hours' hard riding, found it impossible to make up with their cavalry. Ancona was speedily taken, with twelve hundred men, and one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, while a small column on the other side of the Apennines pushed as far as Foligno, and threatened Rome itself Nothing remained to the Vatican but submission, and peace was concluded at Tolentino, on the 19th February, on terms the most humiliating to the

19th Feb Treaty of Tolentino between France and the Pope

Holy See The Pope engaged to close his ports against the Allies, to cede Avignon and the Venaisin to France, to abandon Bologna, Ferrara, and the whole of Romagna to its allies in the Milanese; to admit a garrison of French troops into Ancona, till the conclusion of a general peace, and to pay a contribution of thirty millions of francs to the victorious Republic Besides this, he was obliged to surrender a hundred of his principal works of art to the French commissioners the trophies of ancient and modern genius were seized on with merciless rapacity; and

(1) Nap iii 423, 425 Th viii 323, 324 O'Meara. (2) Nap iii 423 Jom. viii. 305

in a short time the noblest specimens of the fine arts which existed in the world, the Apollo Belvidere, the Laocoon, the Transfiguration of Raphael, the Madonna del Foligno and the St.-Jérôme of Dominichino, were placed on the banks of the Seine (1).

Retrospect of the campaign. Such was the campaign of 1796—glorious to the French arms, memorable in the history of the world. Certainly on no former occasion had successes so great been achieved in so short a time, or powers so vast been vanquished by forces so inconsiderable. From maintaining a painful contest on the mountain ridges of their own frontier, from defending the Var and the Maritime Alps, the Republicans found themselves transported to the Tyrol and the Tagliamento, threatening the hereditary states of Austria, and subduing the whole southern powers of Italy. An army which never mustered fifty thousand men in the field, though maintained by successive reinforcements nearly at that amount, had not only broken through the barrier of the Alps, subdued Piedmont, conquered Lombardy, humbled the whole Italian states, but defeated, and almost destroyed, four powerful armies which Austria raised to defend her possessions, and wrenched the keys of Mantua from her grasp, under the eyes of the greatest array of armed men she had ever sent into the field. Successes so immense, gained against forces so vast, and efforts so indefatigable, may almost be pronounced unparalleled in the annals of war (2).

But although its victories in the field had been so brilliant, the internal situation of the Republic was in the highest degree discouraging; and it was more than doubtful whether it would continue for any length of time even so glorious a contest. Its condition is clearly depicted in a secret report, presented, by order of the Directory, on 20th December, 1796, by General Clarke to Napoléon:—"The lassitude of war is experienced in all parts of the Republic. The people ardently desire peace; their murmurs are loud that it is not already concluded. The legislature desires it, commands it, no matter at what price; and its continued refusal to furnish to the Directory the necessary funds to carry on the contest, is the best proof of that fact. The finances are ruined; agriculture in vain demands the arms which are required for cultivation. The war is become so universal, as to threaten to overturn the Republic; all parties, worn out with anxiety, desire the termination of the Revolution. Should our internal misery continue, the people, exhausted by suffering, having found none of the benefits which

(1) Jom. viii. 312, 313. Nap. iii. 425. O'Meara, ii. 127.

This treaty was concluded by the French under the idea that it would eventually prove fatal to the Holy See. Napoléon proposed to overturn at once the papal government:—"Can we not," said he, "unite Modena, Ferrara, and Romagna, and so form a powerful Republic? May we not give Rome to the King of Spain, on condition that he recognises the new Republic? I will give peace to the Pope on condition that he gives us 3,000,000 of the treasure at Loretto, and pays the 15,000,000 which remain for the armistice. Rome cannot long exist deprived of its richest possessions; a revolution will speedily break out there." [Corres. Secrète de Nap. ii. 543. Hard. iv. 181.]—On their side, the Directory wrote as follows to Napoléon: "Your habits of reflection, general, must have taught you, that the Roman Catholic religion is the irreconcilable enemy of the Republic. The Directory, therefore, invite you to do every thing in your power to destroy the papal government, without in any degree compromising

the fate of your army,—either by subjecting Rome to another power, or, what would be better still, by establishing in its interior such a government as may render the rule of the priests odious and contemptible, secure the grand object, that the Pope and the cardinals shall lose all hope of rejoining at Rome, and may be compelled to seek an asylum in some foreign state, where they may be entirely stripped of temporal power."—*Corres. Conf. de Napoléon*, ii. 349. Hard. iv. 181, 182.

(2) In his Confidential Despatch to the Directory of 28th December, 1796, Napoléon states the force with which he commenced the campaign at thirty-eight thousand five hundred men, the subsequent reinforcements at twelve thousand six hundred, and the losses by death and incurable wounds at seven thousand. There can be no doubt that he enormously diminished his losses and reinforcements; for the Directory maintained he had received reinforcements to the amount of fifty-seven thousand men.—*Corres. Conf.* ii. 312.

they expected, will establish a new order of things, which will in its turn generate fresh revolutions, and we shall undergo, for twenty or thirty years, all the agonies consequent on such convulsions (1)

Extraordinary com-
position of
the French
army Much of Napoleon's success was no doubt owing to the admirable character, unwearied energy, and indomitable courage of the troops which composed the French army. The world had never seen an array framed of such materials. The terrible whirlwind which had overthrown the fabric of society in France, the patriotic spirit which had brought its whole population into the field, the grinding misery which had forced all its activity into war, had formed a union of intelligence, skill, and ability, among the private soldiers, such as had never before been witnessed in modern warfare. The middling—even the higher ranks—were to be seen with a musket on their shoulders, the great levies of 1793 had spared neither high nor low, the career of glory and ambition could be entered only through the humble portals of the bivouac. Hence it was that the spirit which animated them was so fervent, and their intelligence so remarkable, that the humblest grenadiers anticipated all the designs of their commanders, and knew of themselves, in every situation of danger and difficulty, what should be done. When Napoleon spoke to them, in his proclamations, of Brutus, Scipio, and Tarquin, he was addressing men whose hearts thrilled at the recollections which these names awaken, and when he led them into action after a night-march of ten leagues, he commanded those who felt as thoroughly as himself the inestimable importance of time in war. With truth might Napoleon say that his soldiers had surpassed the far famed celerity of Cæsar's legions (2).

Great
genius of
Napoleon
is a system
of war But much as was owing to the troops who obeyed, still more was to be ascribed to the general who commanded in this memorable campaign. In this struggle is to be seen the commencement of the new system of tactics which Napoleon brought to such perfection, that of accumulating forces in a central situation, striking with the whole mass the

Montenotte he broke into the centre of the Austro-Sardinian army, when it was executing a difficult movement through the mountains, separated the Piedmontese from the Imperialists, accumulated an overwhelming force against the latter at Dego, and routed the former when detached from their allies at Monfalcone. When Wurmser approached Verona, with his army divided into parts separated from each other by a lake, Napoleon was on the brink of ruin; but he retrieved his affairs by sacrificing the siege of Mantua, and falling with superior numbers, first on Quasdanovich at Lonato, and then on Wurmser at Castiglione. When the second irruption of the Germans took place, and Wurmser still continued the system of dividing his troops, it was by a skilful use of his central position that Napoleon defeated these efforts, first assailing with a superior force the subsidiary body at Roveredo, and then pursuing with the rapidity of lightning the main body of the invaders through the gorges of the :

Vanbois was routed in the
perate, but the central

(1) Report by Clarke. *Conf. de Nap.* ii.

(2) *Tb.* vi. 1. 522

restored the balance; checking, in the first instance, the advance of Davidowich on the plateau of Rivoli, and next engaging in a mortal strife with Alvinzi in the marshes of Arcola. When Austria made her final effort, and Alvinzi surrounded Joubert at Rivoli, it was only by the most rapid movements, and almost incredible activity, that the double attack was defeated; the same troops crushing the main body of the Austrians on the steep slopes of the Montebaldo, who afterwards surrounded Provera on the lake of Mantua. The same system was afterwards pursued with the greatest success by Wellington in Portugal, and Napoléon himself at Dresden, and in the plains of Champagne.

But it will
not succeed
against
troops
equally
brave and
skilful.

But towards the success of such a system of operations it is indispensable that the troops who undertake it should be superior in bodily activity and moral courage to their adversaries, and that the general-in-chief can securely leave a slender force to cope with the enemy in one quarter, while he is accumulating his masses to overwhelm them in another. Unless this is the case, the commander who throws himself at the head of an inconsiderable body into the midst of the enemy, will be certain of meeting instead of inflicting disaster. Without such a degree of courage and activity as enables him to calculate with certainty upon hours, and sometimes minutes, it is impossible to expect success from such a hazardous system. Of this a signal proof occurred in Bohemia in 1815, when the French, encouraged by their great triumph before Dresden, threw themselves inconsiderately into the midst of the Allies in the mountains of Toplitz; but, meeting there with the undaunted Russian and Prussian forces, they experienced the most dreadful reverses, and in a few days lost the whole fruit of a mighty victory.

The disasters of the Austrians were mainly owing to the injudicious system which they so perseveringly adopted, of dividing their force into separate bodies, and commencing an attack at the same time at stations so far distant that the attacking columns could render little assistance to each other. This system may succeed very well against ordinary troops, or timorous generals, who, the moment they hear of their flank being turned, or their communications menaced, lay down their arms, or fall back; but against intrepid soldiers, and a resolute commander, who turn fiercely on every side, and bring a preponderating mass first against one assailant, and then another, it is almost sure of leading to disasters. The Allied Council were not to blame for adopting this system, in the first instance, against the French armies, because it might have been expected to succeed against ordinary troops, and had done so in many previous instances; but they were inexcusable for continuing it so long, after the character of the opponents with whom they had to deal had so fully displayed itself. The system of concentric attacks rarely succeeds against an able and determined enemy, because the chances which the force in the centre has of beating first one column and then another, are so considerable. When it does, it is only when the different masses of the attacking party, as at Leipzig and Dresden, are so immense, that each can stand a separate encounter for itself, or can fall back, in the event of being outnumbered, without seriously endangering, by such a retreat, the safety of the other assailing columns.

General
Reflections
on the
campaign.

The Italian campaign demonstrates, in the most signal manner, the vast importance of fortresses in war, and the vital consequence of such a barrier to arrest the course of military conquest. The surrender of the fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, and Tortona, by giving the

French a secure base for their operations, speedily made them masters of the whole of Lombardy, while the single fortress of Mantua arrested their victorious arms for six months, and gave time to Austria to collect no less than four powerful armies for its deliverance. No man understood this better than Napoleon, and accordingly, without troubling himself with the projects so earnestly pressed upon him of revolutionizing Piedmont, he grasped the fortresses and thereby laid the foundation for all his subsequent conquests. Without the surrender of the Piedmontese citadels, he would not have been able to push his advantages in Italy beyond the Po, but for the bastions of Mantua, he might have carried them, as in the succeeding campaign, to the Danube.

It is melancholy to reflect on the degraded state of the Italian powers during this terrible struggle. An invasion, which brought on all her people un-

men who were to be the reward of the strife. The country of Cæsar and Scipio, of Cato and Brutus, beheld in silent dismay the protracted contest of two provinces of its ancient empire, and prepared to bow the neck in abject submission to either of its former vassals which might prove victorious in the strife. A division of the French army was sufficient to disperse the levies of the Roman people. Such is the consequence of political divisions and long-continued prosperity, even in the richest and most favoured countries, and of that fatal policy which withers the spirits of men, by habituating them to degrading occupations, and renders them incapable of asserting their national independence, by destroying the warlike spirit by which alone it can be permanently secured.

Unconquerable tenacity of the Austrians. Finally, this campaign evinced, in the most signal manner, the persevering character and patriotic spirit of the Austrian people, and the prodigious efforts of which its monarchy is capable, when roused by real danger to vigorous exertion. It is impossible to contemplate, without admiration, the vast armies which they successively sent into the field, and the unconquerable courage with which they returned to a contest where so many thousands of their countrymen had perished before them. Had they been guided by greater, or opposed by less ability, they unquestionably would have been successful, and even against the soldiers of the Italian army, and the genius of Napoleon, the scales of fortune repeatedly hung equal. A nation, capable of such sacrifices, can hardly ever be permanently subdued, a government, actuated by such steady principles, must ultimately be triumphant. Such, accordingly, has been the case in the present instance. aristocratic firmness in the end asserted its wonted superiority over democratic vigour, the dreams of Republican equality have been forgotten, and, in the end, the French eagles have, after much bloodshed, has finally

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1796 IN GERMANY.

ARGUMENT.

Great Difficulties of the French Government at the commencement of this year—But her Foreign Relations had signally improved Triple Alliance of Austria, Russia, and England—Painful division of Opinion in England on the War—Violence of the parties in the close of 1795—Attack on the King when going to Parliament—Arguments of the Opposition on the War—Answer of the Government—Real objects in view by the different Parties—Supplies voted by Parliament—Bills against Public Meetings—Arguments against and for them—They pass into Laws—Reflections on these Statutes—Proposals for Peace by the British government, which are rejected by the Directory—Operations of Hoche in la Vendée—Previous Successes of Charette and Stofflet during the Winter—Death of Stofflet—Heroic conduct of Charette—But he is at length taken and Shot His Death and Character—Fine Observations of Napoléon upon him—Termination of the war in la Vendée—Preparations of the Austrians—Archduke Charles put at the head of the Army in Germany—Forces of the contending Parties on the Rhine—Designs of the Aulic Council—Plan of the Republicans—They cross the Lower-Rhine, and gain some Success—But are driven back across that River by the Archduke—Operations of Moreau on the Upper-Rhine—His Origin and Character—Organization of his Army—Passage of the Rhine by Moreau—Admirable skill shown in that Operation—Cautious Movements of Moreau—He advances towards the Black Forest—The Archduke hastens to the scene of Danger—Indecisive Action on the Rhine—The French gain Success on the Imperial Right—The Archduke resolves to Retreat into Bavaria—Operations on the Lower-Rhine—Erroneous Plan of the Campaign by the Directory—Admirable Plan of the Archduke to counteract it—He retires through the Black Forest—Indecisive Action at Neresheim—Operations of Jourdan—He advances into Franconia—The Archduke joins Wartensleben, and falls with their united Force on Jourdan—Who is defeated at Amberg—He is again routed near Wurtzburg—Great effects of this Victory—Continued and disastrous Retreat of Jourdan—Archduke again defeats him, and drives him across the Rhine—Severe struggle of Latour with Moreau on the Danube—Archduke threatens Moreau's retreat at Kehl—Moreau resolves to retreat, which he does in the most firm and methodical manner—Defeats Latour at Biberach—And retires leisurely through the Black Forest—Battle of Emmendingen, between Moreau and the Archduke—Retreat of Moreau—Austrians refuse an Armistice on the Rhine—Long and bloody siege of Kehl—Fall of the Tête-de-pont at Hunningen—Reflections on this Campaign—Prodigious Contributions levied by the Republicans in Germany—Disgust consequently excited there—Noble and patriotic spirit of the Austrian people—New Convention between France and Prussia—Deplorable State of the French Marine—Successes of the English in the East and West Indies—Capture of Ceylon—General joy which these Conquests diffuse in England—Continued Deplorable State of St.-Domingo—Treaty of Alliance between France and Spain—Overtures for a General Peace made by Great-Britain which prove unsuccessful—alarming State of Ireland—Designs of the Directory, and Hoche, against that Country—The Expedition sets Sail—It is dispersed by Tempests—And regains Brest—Reflections on the Failure of this Expedition—Death of the Empress Catharine—Her Character—Retirement of Washington from Public Life—His perfect Character, and admirable Valedictory Address to his Countrymen.

Great difficulties of the French Government at the commencement of this year. WHEN the Directory were called, by the suppression of the insurrection of the Sections, and the establishment of the new constitution, to the helm of the state, they found the Republic in a very critical situation, and its affairs externally and internally involved in almost insurmountable difficulties. The finances were in a state of increasing and inextricable confusion; the assignats, which had for long constituted the sole resource of government, had fallen almost to nothing; ten thousand francs in paper were hardly worth twenty francs in specie, and the

On the other hand, it was argued by the Administration, that it was necessary to consider the bill attentively before representing it in such odious colours, that it imposed restrictions only on public assemblies, and left unfettered the press, the great palladium of liberty in every representative monarchy; that public meetings required to be narrowly watched in turbulent times, because it was in such great assemblages that the passions took fire, and men were precipitated, by mutual applause, into violent

levelling, was notorious, being nothing less than the overthrow of a monarchy, and the formation of a republican constitution similar to that established with such disastrous effects in France; that the proposed enact-

ordinary remedies; and that no danger was to be apprehended to the freedom, as long as the press was unfettered, and juries regarded with so much jealousy, as they now did, all the measures which emanated from the authority of government. The bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of two hundred and fourteen to forty-two, and the House of Lords by sixty-six to seven (1)

So exasperated were the Opposition with the success of Ministers on this occasion, that Mr. Fox, and a large part of the minority, withdrew altogether for a considerable time from the House, a rumour on its duration to three years, and, after passing both Houses, received the royal assent (2).

On coolly reviewing the subject of such vehement contention in the Parliament and the nation, it is impossible to deny that it is beset with difficulties; and that nothing but the manifest danger of the times could have furnished an excuse for so wide a deviation from the principles of British freedom. At the same time, it is manifest that the bills, limited as they were in their duration, and partial in their operation, were not calculated to produce the mischiefs which their opponents so confidently predicted. The proof of this is decisive: the bills were passed, and the liberties of England not only remained entire, but have since that time continually gone on increasing. In truth, the management of a country which has become infected with the contagion of democratic ambition, is one of the most difficult matters in government and of which the principles are only now beginning to be

but the passion springing from popular ambition, and founded in reason and justice, is easily dealt with: it subsides

of power, is insatiable; it multiplies desires, and

conducts the nation, through blood and suffering, by a sure and rapid process, to military despotism. The same danger to freedom is to be apprehended from the prevention of the expression of real suffering, as from the concession of fuel to democratic ambition. Reform and redress are the remedies suited to the former; resistance and firmness the regimen adapted to the latter. In considering, therefore, whether the measures of Mr. Pitt at that period were justifiable or not, the question is, did the public discontents arise from the experience of real evils, or the contagion of democratic ambition? and when it is recollected from what example, in the neighbouring kingdom, these passions were excited, how much the liberties of England have subsequently augmented, and what a career of splendour and prosperity has since been opened, it is evident that no rational doubt can be entertained on the subject. And the event has proved, that more danger to freedom is to be apprehended from concession than resistance in such circumstances; for British liberty has since that time steadily increased, under all the coercion applied by a firm government to its excesses; while French enthusiasm has led to no practical protection of the people; and the nation has perpetually laboured under a succession of despots, in the vain endeavour to establish a chimerical equality.

8th March, 1796. Proposals for peace by the British government — which are rejected by the Directory. Previous to the opening of the campaign of 1796, the British government, in order to bring the French Directory to the test, authorized their agent in Switzerland, Mr. Wickham, to make advances to their minister on the subject of a general peace. The Directory replied, that they could only treat on the footing of the constitution; in other words, that they must insist on retaining the Low-Countries. This at once brought matters to an issue, for neither Austria nor England was as yet sufficiently humbled to consent to such terms. The declaration of this resolution, however, on the part of the Directory, was of great service to the English cabinet, by demonstrating the impossibility of treating without abandoning all the objects of the war, and putting France permanently in possession of a salient angle, from which it threatened the liberties of all Europe, and which experience has proved cannot be left in its hands, without exposing them to imminent hazard. Mr. Pitt accordingly announced the resolution of the Directory to the British Parliament, and immediately obtained further supplies for carrying on the war,—an additional loan of L.7,500,000 was negotiated, upon as favourable terms as the former, and echequer bills, to the amount of L.6,000,000 more, put at the disposal of government, out of which L.5,000,000 was granted to Austria (1).

Feb. 15 and April 19, 1796. Operations of Hoche in la Vendée. The first active operations of this memorable year took place in la Vendée, where the Republican general, Hoche, commanded an army of 100,000 men. This vast force, the greatest which the Republic had on foot, composed of all the troops in the west of France, and those drawn from Biscay and the western Pyrenees, was intrusted to a general of twenty-seven years of age, whose absolute power extended over all the insurgent provinces. He was every way qualified for the important but difficult duty with which he was charged. Endowed by nature with a clear judgment, an intrepid character, and an unconquerable resolution; firm, sagacious, and humane, he was eminently fitted for that mixture of gentleness and resolution which is necessary to heal the wounds and subdue the passions of civil war. This rare combination of civil and military qualities might have ren-

had he lived, to have followed the example of the steps of Cæsar or Cromwell (1)

Hoché's plan, which was approved of by the Directory, was to reduce la Vendée and all the provinces to the south of the Loire, before making any All the Republic's hostilities were continued, and to levy the necessary requisitions on the peasantry, of the Republicans were to be Pardon was proclaimed for those who continued the contest were ordered to be shot (2)

^{Successors of Charette} During the absence of Hoché at Paris, in the depth of winter, the Royalist chiefs, Stofflet, gained considerable successes, and the provinces had made little progress; in the rear of the Republic restored vigour and unanimity to their operations. Charette was closely pursued under the command of General Travot; while Stofflet, with the other Royalists, was driven back. As a last resource, Charette collected all his forces, and attacked his antagonist at the passage of La Vie. The Royalists, seized with a sudden panic, did not combat with their accustomed vigour; their ranks were speedily broken, their artillery, ammunition, and sacred standard, all fell into the hands of the enemy; Charette himself ^{Charette is defeated} with difficulty made his escape, with forty or fifty followers, and, wandering through forests and marshes, owed his safety to the incorruptible fidelity of the peasants of the Marais. In vain he endeavoured to elude his pursuers and join Stofflet, that intrepid chief, himself pressed by the forces of the Republic, after escaping a thousand perils, was betrayed by one of his followers at the farm of Pegrimaud, where he was seized, gagged, and conducted to Angers. He there met death with the same ^{Death of Stofflet} determination which he had distinguished his life (3)

disgusted with his situation, that he refused to accept the command. But Carnot, aware of his abilities, instead of accepting his resignation, confirmed him in his appointments, and, as a mark of the esteem of government, sent him two fine horses, a present not only highly acceptable, but absolutely necessary to the young general. For though at the head of one hundred thousand men, and master of a quarter of France, he was reduced to such straits by the fall of the paper in which the whole pay of the army was received, that he was absolutely without horses, or equipage of any kind, and was glad to supply his immediate necessities by taking half-a-

(1) Th vii 206
(2) Th vii 207

(3) Jour viii 26 Th viii 212

dozen bridles and saddles, and a few bottles of rum, from the stores left by the English in Quiberon bay (1).

Heroic conduct of Charette. Charette was now the only remaining obstacle to the entire subjugation of the country; for as long as he lived, it never could be considered as pacified. Anxious to get quit of so formidable an enemy on any terms, the Directory offered him a safe retreat into England with his family and such of his followers as he might select, and a million of francs for his own maintenance. Charette replied—"I am ready to die with arms in my hands; but not to fly and abandon my companions in misfortune. All the vessels of the Republic would not be sufficient to transport my brave soldiers in England. Far from fearing your menaces, I will myself come to seek you in your own camp." The Royalist officers, who perceived that further resistance had become hopeless, urged him to retire to Britain, and await a more favourable opportunity of renewing the contest at the head of the princes and nobility of France. "Gentlemen," said he, with a severe air, "I am not here to judge of the orders which my sovereign has given me: I know them; they are the same which I myself have solicited. Preserve towards them the same fidelity which I shall do; nothing shall shake me in the discharge of my duty (2)."

He is at length taken prisoner, and shot. This indomitable chief, however, could not long withstand the immense bodies which were now directed against him. His band was gradually reduced from seven hundred to fifty, and at last, ten followers. With this handful of heroes he long kept at bay the Republican forces; but at length, pursued on every side, and tracked out like a wild-beast by blood-hounds, he was seized, after a furious combat, and conducted, bleeding and mutilated, but unsubdued, to the Republican headquarters.

General Travot, with the consideration due to illustrious misfortune, treated him with respect and kindness, but could not avert his fate. He was conducted to Angers, where he was far from experiencing from others the generous treatment of this brave Republican general. Maltreated by the brutal soldiery, conducted along, yet dripping with blood from his wounds, before the populace of the town, weakened by loss of blood, he had need of all his fortitude of mind to sustain his courage; but, even in this extremity, his firmness never deserted him. On the 27th March he was removed from the prison of Angers to that of Nantes. He entered into the latter town, preceded by a numerous escort, closely guarded by gendarmes and generals glittering in gold and plumes; himself on foot, with his clothes torn and bloody, pale and extenuated; yet more an object of interest than all the splendid throng by whom he was surrounded. Such was his exhaustion from loss of blood, that the undaunted chief fainted on leaving the Quarter of Commerce; but no sooner was his strength revived by a glass of water, than he marched on, enduring for two hours, with heroic constancy, the abuse and imprecations of the populace. He was immediately conducted to the military commission. His examination lasted two hours; but his answers were all clear, consistent, and dignified; openly avowing his Royalist principles, and resolution to maintain them to the last. Upon hearing the sentence of death, he calmly asked for the succours of religion, which were granted him, and slept peaceably the night before his execution (3).

(1) 7h. viii. 214.

(2) Lac. xiii. 73, 75.

(3) Beau. iv. 201, 202.

On the following morning he was brought out to the scaffold. The rolling of drums, the assembly of all the troops and national guard, a countless multitude of spectators, announced the great event which was approaching. At the stairs of the prison the execution was to be advanced to the ap-

Thus perished Charette, the last and most indomitable of the Vendean chiefs. Though the early massacres which stained the Royalist cause at Machecoul were perpetrated without his orders, yet he had not the romantic generosity, or humane turn of mind, which formed the glorious characteristics of Lescure, Larochejaquelem, and Bonchamps. His mind, cast in a rougher mould, was steeped in deeper colours; and in the later stages of the contest, he executed, without scruple, all the severities which the terrible war in which he was engaged called forth on both sides. If his jealousy of others was sometimes injurious to the Royal cause, his unconquerable firmness prolonged it after every other chance of success was hopeless; his single arm supported the struggle when the bravest of his followers were sinking in despair, and he has left behind him the glorious reputation of being alike invincible in resolution, inexhaustible in resources, and unsubdued in disaster (2).

The death of Charette terminated the war in the west of France, and gave more joy to the Republicans than the most brilliant victory over the Austrians. The vast army of Hoche spread over the whole country from the Loire to the British Channel, gradually pressed upon the insurgent provinces, and drove the peasantry back towards the shores of the ocean. The policy pursued by the Republican general on this occasion was a model of wisdom; he took the utmost pains to conciliate the parish priests, who had so powerful an influence over the minds of the people, and as his columns advanced, seized the cattle and grain of the peasantry, leaving at their dwellings a notice that they would be restored to them when they gave up their weapons, but not till then. The consequence was, that the poor people, threatened with famine, if these their only resources were withheld, were compelled universally to surrender their arms. The army, advancing slowly, completed in this way the disarming of the peasantry as they proceeded, and left nothing in their rear from which danger was to be apprehended. At length they reached the ocean; and though the most resolute of the insurgent bands fought with the courage of despair when they found themselves

(1) Beau 201 202 Lac xiii 76, 79 Jom viii native energy of his mind. While still a youth, he

39 Ti viii 216

(2) Th viii 217 Lac x i 79 Beau iv 203
The character of this illustrious chief
can not be better given than in the words
of Napoleon — "Charette," said he
"was a great character: the true hero of
him

driven back to the sea-coast, yet the great work was at length accomplished, the country universally disarmed, and the soldiers put into cantonments in the conquered district. The people, weary of a contest from which no hope could now be entertained, at length every where surrendered their arms, and resumed their pacific occupations; the Republicans, cantoned in the villages, lived on terms of friendship with their former enemies, mutual exasperation subsided, the clergy communicated openly with a leader who had first treated them with sincerity and kindness, and before the end of the summer, Hoche, instead of requiring new troops, was able to send great reinforcements to the Directory for the support of the armies on the Rhine and in Italy (1).

Meanwhile, the cabinet of Vienna, encouraged by the brilliant achievements of Clairfait at the conclusion of the last campaign, and aware, from the incorporation of Flanders with the French Republic, that no accommodation was to be hoped for, was making the utmost efforts to prosecute the war with effect. A new levy of twenty-five thousand men took place in the hereditary states; the regiments were universally raised to their full complement; and every effort was made to turn to advantage the military spirit and numerous population of the newly acquired province of Galicia. Clairfait, the conqueror of the lines of Mayence, made a triumphal entry into Vienna with unprecedented splendour; but the Aulic Council rewarded his achievements by the appointment of the Archduke Charles to the command of the armies on the Rhine; a step which, however ill deserved by his gallant predecessor, was soon justified by the great military abilities of the young prince (2).

The character of this illustrious chief cannot be better given than in the words of his great antagonist. "Prince Charles," said Napoléon, "is a man whose conduct can never attract blame. His soul belongs to the heroic age, but his heart to that of gold. More than all, he is a good man; and that includes every thing when said of a prince (3)."

The forces of the contending parties on the Rhine were nearly equal; but the Imperialists had a great superiority in the number and quality of their cavalry. On the Upper Rhine, Moreau commanded 71,000 infantry and 6,500 cavalry; while Wurmser, who was opposed to him, was at the head of 62,000 foot and 22,000 horse; but, before the campaign was far advanced, 50,000 men were detached from this army to reinforce the broken troops of Beaulieu in Italy. On the Lower Rhine, the Archduke was at the head of 71,000 infantry and 21,000 cavalry; while the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, numbered 65,000 of the former arm, and 11,000 of the latter. The disproportion between the numerical strength on the opposite sides, therefore, was not considerable; but the superiority of the Germans in the number and quality of their cavalry gave them a great advantage in an open country, both in profiting by success and arresting disaster. But, on the other hand, the French were in possession of the fortresses of Luxemburg, Thionville, Metz, and Sareouis, which rendered the centre of their position almost unassailable; their right was covered by Huningen, new Brisach, and the fortresses of Alsace, and their left by Maestricht, Juliers, and the iron barrier of the Netherlands; while the Austrians had no fortified point whatever to support either of

(1) Th. viii. 218. Jom. viii. 41, 49.

(2) Jom. viii. 51. Th. viii. 307.

(3) D'Abr. iv. 384.

AUSTRIANS.—sage of the Moselle, carry the war into Flanders, and rescue that flourishing province from the grasp of the Republicans, and for this purpose they had brought the greater mass of their forces to the Lower Rhine. On the Upper, they proposed to lay siege to Landau, and, having driven the Republicans over the mountains on the west of the valley of the Rhine, blockade Strasburg. But for some reason which has never been divulged, they remained in a state of inactivity until the end of May, while Beauharnais with fifty thousand men was striving in vain to resist the torrent of Napoleon's conquests in Lombardy. The consequences of this delay proved fatal to the whole campaign. Hardly was the armistice denounced in the end of

1st May, May, when an order arrived to Wurmser to detach twenty-five thousand of his best troops by the Tyrolese Alps into Italy; a deduction which, by necessarily reducing the Imperialists on the Upper Rhine to the defensive, rendered it hardly possible for the Archduke to push forward the other army towards the Moselle. There still remained, however, one hundred and fifty thousand Imperialists on the frontiers of Germany, including above forty thousand superb cavalry, a force which, if earlier brought into action, and placed under one leader, might have changed the fate of the war. The French inferiority in horse was compensated by a superiority of twenty thousand foot soldiers. The Austrians had the im-

port at Dusseldorf, so far removed to the north as to be of little service in commencing operations.

The events of this struggle demonstrate in the most striking manner the great importance of early success in war, and by what a necessary chain of consequences an inconsiderable advantage at first often determines the fate of a campaign. A single victory gained by the Austrians on the Sarre or the Moselle would have compelled the French armies to dissolve themselves in order to garrison the frontier towns, and the Directory, to defend its own territories, would have been obliged to arrest the career of Napoleon in the Italian plains, while, by taking the initiative, and carrying the war into Germany, they were enabled to leave their fortresses defenceless, and swell, by their garrisons, the invading force, which soon proved so perilous to the Austrian monarchy (3).

Plan of the The plan of the Republicans was to move forward the army of the Sambre and Meuse by Dusseldorf, to the right bank of the Rhine, in order to threaten the communication of the Archduke with Germany, induce him to recross it, and facilitate the passage of the upper part of the stream by Moreau. In conformity with this design, Kleber, on the 30th May, crossed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, and, with twenty-five thousand men, began to press the Austrians on the Sieg, where the Archduke had only twenty thousand, the great bulk of his army, sixty thousand strong, being on the right bank, in front of Mayence. The Republicans succeeded in

(1) Archduke, ii. 10, 12. *Join* viii. 170 73
viii. 309 307

(2) Archduke Charles, ii. 201
(3) *Join* viii. 173

June 4.
They cross
the Lower
Rhine and
gain some
success.

defeating the advanced posts of the Imperialists, crossed the Sieg, turned the position of Ukerath, and drove them back to Altenkirchen. There the Austrians stood firm, and a severe action took place. General NEY, with a body of light troops, turned their left, and threatened their communications; while Kleber, having advanced through the hills of Weyersbuseh, assailed their front; and SOULT menaced their reserve at Kropach. The result of these movements was, that the Austrians were driven behind the Lahn at Limburg, with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon (1).

They are
driven back
across the
Rhine by
the Arch-
duke.

16th June.

This victory produced the desired effect, by drawing the Archduke, with the greater part of his forces, across the Rhine, to succour the menaced points. On the 10th, he passed that river with thirty-two battalions and eighty squadrons, arrived in the neighbourhood of Limburg four days after, and moved, with forty-five thousand infantry and eighteen thousand cavalry, against the Republicans on the German side. Jourdan, upon this, leaving Marceau with twenty thousand men near Mayence, crossed the Rhine at Neuwied, with the bulk of his forces, to support Kleber. His intention was to cover the investment of Ehrenbreitzen, and, for this purpose, cross the Lahn and attack Wartensleben, who commanded the advanced guard of the Imperialists; but the Archduke, resolved to take the initiative, anticipated him by a day, and commenced an attack with all his forces. The position of the Republicans was in the highest degree critical, as they were compelled to fight with the Rhine on their right flank, and between them and France, which would have exposed them to utter ruin in case of a serious reverse. The Archduke judiciously brought the mass of his forces against the French left, and, having overwhelmed it, Jourdan was compelled to draw back all his troops, to avoid being driven into the river, and completely destroyed amidst its precipitous banks. He accordingly retired to Neuwied, and recrossed the Rhine, while Kleber, received orders to retire to Dusseldorf, and regain the left bank. Kray pursued him with the right wing of the Austrians, and a bloody and furious action ensued at Ukerath, which at length terminated to the disadvantage of the French; in consequence of the impetuous charges of the Imperial cavalry. Kleber indignantly continued his retreat, and regained the intrenched camp around the *tête-de-pont* at Dusseldorf (2).

Operations
of Moreau
on the Up-
per Rhine.
His origin
and charac-
ter.

Meanwhile the army on the Upper Rhine, under the command of MOREAU, had commenced offensive operations. This great general, born in 1763, at Morlaix in Brittany, had been originally bred to the bar, but, during the public dangers of 1793, having been called to the profession of arms, he rapidly rose to the rank of general of division. His talents, his virtues, and his misfortunes, have secured him a distinguished place in the page of history. Gifted with rare sagacity, an imperturbable coolness in presence of danger, and a rapid *coup d'œil* in the field of battle, he was eminently qualified for military success; but his modesty, moral indecision, and retiring habits, rendered him unfit to cope in political life with the energy and ambition of Napoléon. He was, accordingly, illustrious as a general, but unfortunate as a statesman; a sincere Republican, he disdained to accept elevation at the expense of the public freedom;

(1) Journ. viii. 182, and Pièces Just. No. 12. Th. viii. 308. Ney, i. 155, 177. Arch. Ch. ii. 64, 74.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 74, 92. Journ. viii. 185, 194. Th. viii. 309. Ney, 180, 197.

had considerably weakened. The French centre, thirty thousand strong, cantoned at the foot of the Vosges mountains, was placed under the orders of DESAIX (2); the left wing, under St-Cyr, had its headquarters at Deuxponts, while the right, under Moreau in person, occupied Strasburg and Huningen. The Austrians, in like manner, were in three divisions; the right wing, twenty-two thousand strong, was encamped in the neighbourhood of Kayerslautern, and communicated with the Archduke Charles, the centre, under the orders of Starray, amounting to twenty-three thousand infantry and nine thousand horse, was at Muesbach and Mannheim, while the left wing, comprehending twenty-four thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry, extended along the course of the Rhine from Philipsburg to Bâle. Thus, notwithstanding all their misfortunes, the Imperialists still adhered to the ruinous system of extending their forces; a plan of operations destined to bring about all but the ruin of the monarchy (3).

Moreau resolved to pass the Rhine at Strasburg, as that powerful fortress was an excellent point of departure, while the numerous wooded islands which there interrupted the course of the river, afforded every facility for the concealment of the project. The fortress of Kehl on the opposite shore, being negligently guarded, lay open to surprise, and, once secured, promised the means of a safe passage to the whole army. The Austrians on the Upper Rhine were, from the very beginning of the campaign, reduced to the defensive, in consequence of the large detachment made under Wurmser to the Tyrol, while the invasion of Germany by the army of Jourdan, spread the belief that it was in that quarter that the serious attack of the Republicans was to be made. To mislead the Imperialists still further from his real design, Moreau made a general attack on their intrenchments at Mannheim, which had the effect of inducing them to withdraw the greater part of their forces to the right bank, leaving only fifteen battalions to guard the *tête-de-pont* on the French side. Meanwhile, Wurmser having departed at the head of twenty-eight thousand choice troops for Italy, the command of both armies devolved on the Archduke. Moreau deemed this juncture favourable for the execution of his design upon Kehl, and accordingly, on the evening of the 25d, the gates of Strasburg were suddenly closed, all intercourse with the German shore was rigidly prohibited, and columns of troops marched in all directions towards the point of embarkation (4).

The points selected for this hazardous operation were Gambsheim and Kehl. Twelve thousand men were collected at the first point, and sixteen thousand at the second, both detachments being under the orders of Desaix, while the forces of the Imperialists were so scattered, that they could not

(1) Th. viii. 307, 310. Jour. vi. 152, 193. Arch. Ch. ii. 19.

(2) "If all the generals I ever had under me, and Napo^eon, Desaix and Kl^eber possessed the greatest talents together, as Kl^eber only lived, war as it was the means of procuring his riches and pleasures, whereas Desaix loved glory for itself and despised every thing else, Desaix was wholly wrapt up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasures were useless, nor did he give them

a moment's thought. He desired comfort and convenience, wrapt in a cloak, he threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as in a palace. I fought and fought till all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs the Just Sultan. Kl^eber and Desaix were insupportable hosts to the French army." — O'Meara i. 237, 238.

(3) Arch. Ch. ii. 24. Jour. vi. 196, 197. St-Cyr i. 33, 37.

(4) Th. viii. 310, 311. Jour. viii. 192, 202.

assemble above seventeen thousand men in forty-eight hours in any quarter that might be menaced. At midnight, the troops defiled in different columns and profound silence towards the stations of embarkation; while false attacks, attended with much noise and constant discharges of artillery, were

Admirable
skill shown
in the pas-
sage.

made at other places, to distract the attention of the enemy. At half-past one Desaix gave the signal for departure; two thousand five hundred men embarked in silence, and rowed across the arm of the Rhine to the island of Ehslar Rhin, which was occupied by the Imperialists. They fell, without firing a shot, with so much impetuosity upon their videttes, that the Germans fled in disorder to the right bank, without thinking of cutting the bridges of boats which connected the island with the shore. Thither they were speedily followed by the Republicans, who, although unsupported by cavalry or artillery, ventured to advance into the plain, and approach the ramparts of Kehl. With heroic resolution, but the most prudent in such circumstances, the commander sent back the boats instantly to the French side, to bring over reinforcements, leaving this little band alone and unsupported, in the midst of the enemy's army. Their advanced guard was speedily assailed by the Swabian contingent, greatly superior in numbers, which were encamped in that neighbourhood; but they were repulsed by the steadiness of the French infantry, supported by two pieces of artillery, which they had captured on first landing on the shore.

Which
proves suc-
cessful.

Before six o'clock in the morning, a new detachment of equal strength arrived, a flying bridge was established between the island and the left bank, and the Republicans found themselves in such strength, that they advanced to the attack of the intrenchments of Kehl, which were carried at the point of the bayonet, the troops of Swabia, intrusted with the defence, flying with such precipitation, that they lost thirteen pieces of cannon and seven hundred men (1). On the following day, a bridge of boats was established between Strasburg and Kehl, and the whole army passed over in safety.

Such was the passage of the Rhine at Kehl, which at the time was celebrated as an exploit of the most glorious character. Without doubt, the secrecy, rapidity, and decision with which it was carried into effect, merit the highest eulogium. But the weakness and dispersion of the enemy's forces rendered it an enterprise of comparatively little hazard; and it was greatly inferior, both in point of difficulty and danger, to the passage of the same river in the following campaign at Dursheim, or the passages of the Danube at Wagram, and of the Berezina at Studenki by Napoléon (2).

Cautious
movements
of Moreau.

Moreau had now the fairest opportunity of destroying the Austrian army on the Upper Rhine, by a series of diverging attacks, similar to those by which Napoléon had discomfited the army of Beaulieu in Piedmont. He had effected a passage, with a superior force, into the centre of the enemy's line; and, by rapid movements, might have struck right and left as weighty blows as that great captain dealt out at Dego and Montenotte. But the French general, however consummate a commander, had not the fire or énérgy by which his younger rival was actuated, and trusted for success rather to skilful combinations or methodical arrangements, than those master-strokes which are attended with peril, but frequently domineer over fortune by the intensity of the passions which they awaken among mankind (3).

(1) Th. viii. 342. Jom. viii. 209, 211. St.-Cyr, iii. 33, 46. Arch. Ch. ii. 102, 110.

(3) St.-Cyr, iii. 54, 55. Th. viii. 314. Jom. viii. 212. Arch. Ch. ii. 121.

(2) Jom. viii. 211. Th. viii. 313.

He advances reau, at the end of June, advanced to the foot of the mountains of the Black Forest, at the head of seventy-one thousand men. This celebrated chain forms a mass of rocky hills covered with fir, separating the valley of the Rhine from that of the Neckar. The Swabian contingent, ten thousand strong, was already posted at Renchen, once so famous in the wars of Turenne, occupying the entrance of the defiles which lead through the mountains. They were there attacked by the Republicans, and driven from their position with the loss of ten pieces of cannon, and eight hundred men (1).

Meanwhile, the Imperialists were collecting their scattered forces with the utmost haste, to make head against the formidable enemy who had thus burst into the centre of their line. The Archduke Charles had no sooner received the intelligence, than he resolved to hasten in person, to arrest the advance of an army threatening to fall upon his line of communications, and possibly get the start of him on the Danube. For this purpose he set off on the 26th, with twenty-four battalions and thirty-nine squadrons, from the banks of the Lahn, and advanced by forced marches towards the Black Forest, while the scattered divisions of Wurmser's army were converging towards the menaced point (2).

Moreau's plan was to descend the valley of the Rhine, with his centre and left wing, under the command of Desaix and St-Cyr, while his right, under Ferino, attacked and carried the defiles of the Black Forest, and pushed to the banks of the Neckar. The Austrians on the Upper Rhine and the Murg were about forty-eight thousand strong, while the Archduke was hastening with half that number to their support. Previous to advancing to the northward, Moreau detached some brigades from his centre to clear the right flank of the army, and drive the enemy from the heights of the Black Forest, which was successfully accomplished. Meanwhile, the left wing continuing to descend the valley of the Danube, through a broken country intersected with woods and ravines, approached the corps of Latour, who defended the banks of the Murg with twenty-seven thousand men. He was attacked there by the centre of the Republicans, with nearly the same force, the left under St-Cyr, not having yet arrived, and after an indecisive engagement, the Austrians retired in the best order, covered by their numerous cavalry, leaving to their antagonists no other advantage but the possession of the field of battle. Important reinforcements speedily came up on both sides, the Archduke arrived with twenty-four thousand men to the support of the Imperialists, while Moreau counterbalanced the acquisition, by bringing up St-Cyr, with his whole left wing, to his aid. The forces on the two sides were now nearly equal, amounting on either to about fifty thousand men, and their situation was nearly the same, both being at right angles to the Rhine, and extending from that stream through a marshy and wooded plain, to the mountains of the Black Forest (3).

The Archduke, who felt the value of time, and was apprehensive of being suddenly recalled to the defence of the Lower Rhine, resolved to commence the attack, and, in order to render his numerous cavalry of service, to engage as much as possible in the plain. For

(1) Jour. v. l. 218. Th. v. 315. Arch. Ch. l. (2) Th. v. l. 315. Arch. Ch. l. 134. 135. Jour. 116.

(*) Arch. Ch. l. 135. St-Cyr. l. 50. Th. Jour. 719.

this purpose he advanced the Saxons on his left to turn the French right in the mountains, and threatened their rear, strengthened the plateau of Rothen-sol, where his left centre rested, advanced his centre to Malsch, and arranged his formidable cavalry, supported by ten battalions, so as to press the left of the Republicans in the plain of the Rhine. His attack was fixed for the 10th July; but Moreau, who deemed it hazardous to remain on the defensive, anticipated him by a general attack on the preceding day. Wisely judging that

5th July. it was of importance to avoid the plain, where the numerous cavalry of the Austrians promised to be of such advantage, he entirely drew back his own left, and directed the weight of his force by his right against the Austrian position in the mountains. St.-Cyr, who commanded the Republicans in that quarter, was charged with the assault of the plateau of the Rothen-sol, an elevated plain in the midst of the rocky ridges of the Black Forest, the approaches to which were entangled with shrubs, scurs, and underwood, and which was occupied by six Austrian battalions. These brave troops repulsed successive attacks of the French columns; but, having on the defeat of the last, pursued the assailants into the rugged and woody ground on the declivity of the heights, their ranks became broken, and St.-Cyr, returning to the charge, routed the Imperialists, carried the position, and drove back their left towards Pforzheim. Meanwhile Desaix, with the French centre, commenced a furious attack on the village of Malsch, which, after being taken and retaken several times, finally remained in the power of the Austrians. Their numerous cavalry now deployed in the plain; but the French kept cautiously under cover of the woods and thickets with which the country abounded; and the Austrians, notwithstanding their great superiority in horse, were unable to obtain any further success than repulsing the attacks on their centre and right, towards the banks of the Rhine (1).

The Arch-
duke re-
solves to
retreat.

The relative situation of the contending parties was now very singular. Moreau had dislodged the Imperialists from the mountains, and by throwing forward his right, he had it in his power to cut them off from the line of communication with the Hereditary States, and menace their retreat to the valley of the Danube. On the other hand, by so doing, he was himself exposed to the danger of being separated from his base in the valley of the Rhine, seeing Desaix crushed by the victorious centre and numerous cavalry of the Austrians, and St.-Cyr isolated and endangered in the mountains. A general of Napoleon's resolution and ability would possibly have derived from this combination of circumstances, the means of achieving the most splendid successes; but the Archduke was prevented from following so energetic a course by the critical circumstances of the Austrian dominions, which lay exposed and unprotected to the attacks of the enemy, and the perilous situation in which he might be placed in case of disaster, with a hostile army on one side, and a great river lined with enemy's fortresses on the other. For these reasons he resolved to forego the splendid to pursue the prudent course; to retire from the frontier to the interior of Germany, and to regain by the valleys of the Maine and the Neckar the plain of the Danube, which river, supported by the fortresses of Ulm and Ratisbon, was the true frontier of Austria, and brought him as much nearer his own, as it withdrew the enemy from their resources. With this view he retired, by a forced march, in the evening, to Pforzheim, without being disquieted in his movement; and, after throwing garrisons into Philipsburg and Mannheim, prepared

(1) Th, viii. 320. Jom. viii. 227, 233. Arch. Ch. ii. 138, 149. St.-Cyr, iii. 68, 69.

to abandon the valley of the Rhine, and retreat by the Neckar into the Bava-

the Imperialists broke up on the 14th from lowly and in the best order, towards Stuttgart. By so doing, they drew nearer to aimed the great object of obtaining a central and interior line of communication, from which the Archduke soon derived the most brilliant advantages. Meanwhile Moreau advanced his right centre under St.-Cyr, through the mountains to Pforzheim, while the right wing, under Lemoine, spread itself through the Black Forest to the frontiers of Switzerland. The result was, that by the middle of July, the Republican army covered a space fifty leagues broad, from Stuttgart to the Lake of Constance (2).

Operations on the Lower Rhine. No sooner was Jourdan informed of the passage of the Rhine at Kehl, and the departure of the Archduke to reinforce the army of Wurmser, than he hastened to recross the same river at Düsseldorf and Neuwied, advancing, as he had always before done, towards the Lahn, with a view to debouche into the valley of the Maine. The Imperialists, un-

might have been easily beaten in detail by an enterprising enemy; but Jourdan allowed them to concentrate their troops behind the Lahn, without deriving any advantage from his superiority of force. After some inconsiderable skirmishing, the Republicans crossed that river, and the Austrians having stood firm in the position of Friedberg, a partial action ensued, which terminated to the disadvantage of the latter, who, after a vigorous resistance, finding their right flank turned by Lefebvre, retreated with the loss of two pieces of cannon and twelve hundred men. After this success, Jourdan advanced to the banks of the Maine, and by a bombardment of two great cities of Frankfurt, and The Austrians now drew all their force, and raised their force under Wartensleben to thirty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry, while Jourdan's army on the right bank of the Maine was swelled by the addition of some of the blockading corps to forty-six thousand of the former arm, and eight thousand of the latter (3).

The Directory, in prescribing the conduct of the campaign to the generals, were constantly influenced by the desire to turn at once both flanks of the enemy - an injudicious design, which, by giving them the means of concentrating their forces, and preventing them from communicating with each other, which signified giving a concentric movement, arriving at a point where he could fall, with an overwhelming force, on either adversary, ably prepared all the triumphs which effaced its early disasters. In conformity

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 118, 142. Jour. viii. 231. Th. (3) Th. vi. 273. Jour. vi. 264, 273. Arch. Ch. viii. 372, 376. St.-Cyr, ii. 51, 59. Th. 150, 175. St.-Cyr, i. 89, 92.

(2) Jour. viii. 237. Arch. Ch. ii. 178.

with these different plans—while Moreau was extending his right wing to the foot of the Alps, pressing through the defiles of the Albis and the Black Forest into the valley of the Danube, and Jourdan was slowly advancing up the shores of the Maine towards Bohemia—the Archduke regained the right bank of the Neckar, and Wartensleben the left bank of the Maine; movements which, by bringing them into close proximity with each other, rendered unavailing all the superiority of their enemies. In truth, nothing but this able direction of the retreating, and injudicious dispersion of the advancing force, could have enabled the Imperialists at all to make head against their enemies: for, independent of the deduction of twenty-eight thousand men dispatched under Wurmser into Italy, the Austrians were weakened by thirty thousand men, whom the Archduke was obliged to leave in the different garrisons on the Rhine; so that the force under his immediate command consisted only of forty thousand infantry, and eighteen thousand cavalry, while Moreau was at the head of sixty-five thousand of the former force, and six thousand of the latter. But the admirable plan of operations which that able general sketched out at Pforzheim, “to retreat slowly, and disputing every inch of ground, without hazarding a general engagement, until the two retiring armies were so near, that he could fall with a superior force upon one or other of his adversaries,” ultimately rendered abortive all this great superiority, and brought back the French forces with disgrace and disaster to the Rhine (1).

Admirable plan of the Archduke to counteract it. He retires through the Black Forest.

14th July. Having assembled all his parks of artillery, and thrown provisions into the fortresses, which were to be left to their own resources
27th, 28th, and 29th July. during his short stay at Pforzheim, the Archduke commenced his retreat, during which his force was still further weakened by the withdrawing of the Saxon and Swabian contingents, amounting to ten thousand men, the government of whose states, alarmed by the advance of the Republicans, now hastened to make their separate submissions to the conquerors. By the 28th July, the Austrian forces were concentrated on the right bank of the Neckar, betwixt Cronstadt and Esslingen. They were there attacked, on the following morning, by Moreau, with his whole centre and left wing; and after an obstinate engagement, both parties remained on the field of battle. Next day, the Imperialists retired in two columns, under the Archduke and Ilotze, through the mountains of Alb, which separate the valley of the Neckar from that of the Danube. The one followed the valley of the Rems and the route of Schorndorf, the other the valley of the Filz. Their united force did not now exceed twenty-five thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. Moreau followed them nearly in a parallel march; and on the 25d debouched into the plains near the sources of the Danube, and the upper extremity of the valley of Rems (2).

The Archduke took a position at the top of the long ridge of Böminkirch, with the design of falling upon the heads of the enemy's columns, as they issued from the valleys into the plain, and to gain time for the evacuation of the magazines of Ulm; and the formidable nature of his position, compelled Moreau to halt for several days to concentrate his forces. Six days afterwards, he resumed his retreat, which was continued with uncommon firmness, and in the best order till he reached the Danube, where he prepared to resume the offensive. He there found himself in communication with his left wing,

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 176, 179. Jom. viii. 282, 283. St.-Cyr, iii. 93, 100.

(2) Jom. viii. 238, 241. Archduke, iii. 191 215. St.-Cyr, iii. 105, 113.

under Frolich, which had retired through the Black Forest, and amounted to 10,000 infantry, and four thousand cavalry, while the corres-

ensued His design in so doing, was to gain time for the evacuation of his magazines at Ulm, and he enabled to continue his retreat with more leisure towards Wartensleben, who was now falling back towards the Naab; but as he gave battle with his rear to the river, he ran the risk of total destruction in case of defeat. By a rapid movement, he succeeded in forcing back and turning the right of Moreau, and pressing forward with his left wing, got into his rear, and caused such an alarm, that all the parks of ammunition retreated in haste from the field of battle. But the centre, under St.-Cyr, stood firm, and the Austrian force being disseminated into several columns, over a space of ten leagues, the Archduke was unable to take advantage from his success, so as to gain a decisive victory. Meanwhile Moreau, nowise intimidated by the defeat of his right wing, or the alarm in his rear, strengthened his centre by his reserve, and vigorously repulsed all the attacks of the enemy, and at two o'clock in the afternoon the firing ceased at all points, without any decisive success having been gained by either party, both

followed by Ferino, between whose forces several bloody actions took place (2). But more important events were now approaching, and those decisive strokes about to be struck, which saved Germany, and

and levied to resume advance into the empire. On the 1st of July, 1805, the emperor's army, consisting of 150,000 men, up the valley of the Maine, on the great road to Wurtzbourg; while Wartensleben retired, with a force somewhat inferior, through the forest of Thuringia, to the town of Wurtzbourg soon after sur- general retired successively to Zeil, and then to Bamberg. On the 10th of August, the two armies, in which the French honourably resisted a superior force. From thence he continued his retreat towards the Naab, and after crossing the river, he arrived at Wolfenbuttel, in which

river, The converging direction of the Austrian army, which had surprised so experienced an officer as Jourdan of the object of the Directory; and instead of attacking the French armies, continued his eccentric movement to turn their outermost flank (3).

(1) Th. viii. 337. Arch. Ch. ii. 215, 219. Jour. viii. 220, 255. St.-Cyr, iii. 141, 174. (2) Jour. viii. 350, 360. Arch. Ch. ii. 231. (3) Arch. Ch. ii. 260, 261. Jour. viii. 283, 301. Jourdan 30, 32.

The time had now arrived when the Archduke deemed it safe to put in practice his long meditated movement for the relief of Wartensleben. In the middle of August he set out from the environs of Neuburg on the Danube, with twenty-eight thousand men, and moved northward towards the Naab, leaving General Latour with thirty-five thousand to make head during his absence against Moreau. He arrived on that river on the 20th, and orders were immediately given for attacking the enemy. By the junction of the corps

The Arch-
duke joins
Wartensle-
ben.

under the Archduke with that under Wartensleben, their united force was raised to sixty-three thousand men, while the troops of Jourdan's army opposed to them, did not exceed, after the losses it had sustained, above forty-five thousand. Thus this young prince had solved the most difficult and important problem in war, that of accumulating, with forces upon the whole inferior, a decided superiority at the decisive point (1).

Bernadotte, who commanded the advanced guard of Jourdan's army, which had crossed the ridge of hills which forms the northern boundary of the valley of the Danube, had taken post at Teining. He was there

22d Aug.

attacked by the Archduke, and after an obstinate resistance, driven back into the mountains he had recently passed, which separate the valley of the Maine from that of the Danube; while Hotze, who came up towards the close of the action, pursued his discomfited troops to the gates of Neumark. Early on the following morning the Austrians resumed the pursuit, and drove the Republicans from that town, so far back that they found themselves on the flank of

23d Aug.

Jourdan's army on the Naab, which was no sooner informed of these disasters, than it retired to Ainberg. Leaving Hotze to pursue the remains of Bernadotte's army towards Altdorf, the Archduke turned with the

24th Aug.

bulk of his forces upon Jourdan; and having put himself in communication with Wartensleben, concerted with him a general attack upon the

Who is
defeated at
Amberg.

main body of the Republicans at Amberg. The Austrians, under the Archduke, advanced in three columns; and when the soldiers perceived, far distant on the horizon to the northward, the fire of Wartensleben's lines, the importance of whose co-operation the whole army understood, opening on the enemy's flank, nothing could restrain their impetuosity, and loud shouts announced the arrival of the long wished-for moment of victory. The French made but a feeble resistance; assailed at once in front and flank, they fell back to the plateau in the rear of their position, and owed their safety to the firmness with which General Ney sustained the attacks of the enemy with the rearguard (2).

Dangerous
situation of
Jourdan.

The situation of Jourdan was now in the highest degree critical. By this success at Amberg, the Archduke had got upon his direct road to Nuremberg, through which his retreat necessarily lay, and he was in consequence compelled to fall back through the mountains which separate the Naab from the Maine by cross roads, with all his baggage and parks of artillery. During this critical operation, the firmness and discipline of the French troops alone saved them from the greatest disasters. Ney with the rearguard, continued to make head against the numerous cavalry of the enemy, and after a painful passage of six days, during which they were pressed with the utmost vigour, and incurred great dangers, they at length extricated themselves from the mountains, and reached Schweinfurt on the

(1) Arch. Ch. iii. 2, 23. Jom. ix. 11, 12.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 26, 43. Jom. ix. 16, 17. Jour. dan. 90, 110.

forces to the right bank of the river. Jourdan, deeming an action indispensable in order to obtain some respite for his retreating columns, prepared himself for a general attack on his pursuers, at the same time that the Archduke was collecting his forces for an action on his own part. The courage and vi-

He is again routed near Wurtzburg The French army was drawn up on the right bank of the Maine, from Wurtzburg to Schweinfurt, partly on a series of heights which formed the northern barrier of the valley, and partly on the plains which extended from their foot to the shores of the river. Jourdan imagined that he had only to contend with a part of the Austrian force, and that the Archduke had returned in person to make head against the Republicans on the Danube; but instead of that, he had rapidly brought his columns to the right bank, and was prepared to combat his antagonist with superior forces. A thick fog, which concealed the armies from each other, favoured the motions of the Imperialists, and when the sun broke through the clouds at eleven o'clock, it glittered on the numerous squadrons of the Austrians, drawn up in double lines on the meadows adjoining the river. The action commenced by Kray attacking the left flank of the French, while Lichtenstein spread himself out in the plain, followed by Wartensleben, who threw himself at the head of the cavalry into the river, and followed close after the infantry, who had defiled along the bridge. The French general, Grenier, who was stationed at the menaced point, made a vigorous resistance with the Republican cavalry and

pulsed, but the reserve of Austrian cuirassiers having assailed the Republican squadrons, when disordered by success, they were broken, thrown into confu-

sion of Kray. Victory declared for the Imperialists at all points, and Jourdan esteemed himself fortunate in being able to reach the forests which stretched from Gramschatz to Arnheim, without being broken by the redoubtable Austrian squadrons (2).

Great effects of this victory Such was the Battle of Wurtzburg, which delivered Germany and determined the fate of the campaign. The trophies of the victors were by no means commensurate to these momentous results, amounting only to seven pieces of cannon, and a few prisoners. But it produced a most

the Rhine. Disastrous as it was in its consequences, the battle itself was highly

(1) Th. vii. 390 408 Arch. Ch. i. 43, 106. (2) Jour. ix. 36 Arch. Ch. ii. 99 116 Th. vii. Jourdan, 130, 146. Ney, i. 218, 237 Jour. ix. 19. 409, 410 Jourdan, 160 172 Ney, i. 218

ere he died a few days after, and was buried with military honours amidst the tears of his generous enemies (1)

Such was the demoralized and disjointed state of the Republican army, that notwithstanding the great reinforcements which they had received, they were totally unable to make head against the enemy. They recrossed the Rhine on the 20th at Bonn and Neuwied, and were reduced to a state of total inactivity for the remainder of the campaign, having lost not less than twenty thousand men since they left the frontiers of Bohemia, by the sword, sickness, and desertion (2)

While the Austrian prince was pursuing this splendid career of victory on the banks of the Rhine, the corps left under the command of Latour to oppose Moreau, which did not exceed thirty-four thousand men of every arm, even including the detachment of French, was sustaining an unequal conflict on the banks of the Danube. Had the French general, the moment that he received intelligence of the departure of the Archduke, followed him with the bulk of his forces, the Imperialists, placed between two fires, would have been exposed to imminent danger, and the very catastrophe which they were most anxious to avert, viz. the junction of the Republican armies in the centre of Germany, been rendered inevitable. Fortunately for the Austrians, instead of adopting so decisive a course, he resolved to advance into Bavaria, hoping thereby to effect a diversion in favour of his colleague, a fatal resolution which, though in some degree justified by the order of the Directory to detach fifteen thousand men at the same time into the Tyrol, utterly ruined the campaign, by increasing the great distance which already separated the Republican armies. After remaining several days in a state of inactivity, he collected an imposing body, fifty-three thousand men, on the banks of the Lech, and forced the fords of that river on the very day of the battle of Amberg. Latour, who had extended his small army too much, in his anxiety to cover a great extent of country, found his rearguard assailed at Friedberg, and defeated, with the loss of seventeen hundred men, and fourteen pieces of cannon. After this disaster he retreated behind the Isar, in the direction of Landshut, his centre fell back to the neighbourhood of Munich, while the left wing stretched to the foot of the mountains of Tyrol. Moreau continued for three weeks occupied in inconsiderable movements in Bavaria, during which a severe combat took place at Langenberg, between four thousand Austrian horse and Desaix's division, in which, after the French troops had been at first broken, they ultimately succeeded by heroic efforts in repulsing the enemy. The Archduke was nothing moved by these disasters, but resolutely continued his pursuit of Jourdan. "Let Moreau advance to Vienna," said he, on parting with Latour, "it is of no moment, provided I beat Jourdan." — Memorable words! indicating at once the firmness of a great man, and the just eye of a consummate general (3)

This resolute conduct had the desired effect — After the battle of Wurtzburg, the Archduke detached Murser with a small division to join the garrison of Mannheim, and combine an attack on the *tête-de-pont* at Kehl. The French were driven into the works, which were assaulted with great bravery by the Imperialists, and though the attack was repulsed,

(1) Jour ix 40 166 Th vi 410 Arch Ch i 119 173 Jourdan 189 210 Ney 278 279

(2) Jour ix 45 Arch Ch iii 178 180 Jourdan 212 220

(3) Arch Ch i 50 52 Jour ix 50 56 51 Cyr, i 185 272

it spread great consternation through the French army, who saw how nearly they had lost their principal communication with their own country. Moreau, who began to be apprehensive that he might be involved in disaster if he advanced further into Germany, proceeded with great circumspection, and 24th Sept. arrived on the Iser on the 24th September. Being there informed of the disasters of Jourdan, and that a part of Latour's corps, under Nauendorf, was advancing rapidly upon Ulm to turn his left flank, he halted his army, and next day began his retreat (1).

Moreau resolves to retreat.

Moreau's situation was now in the highest degree critical. Advanced into the heart of Bavaria, with the defiles of the Black Forest in his rear, at the distance of 200 miles from the Rhine, with Latour with forty thousand men pressing the one flank, and the Archduke and Nauendorf with twenty-five thousand ready to fall on the other, he might anticipate even greater disasters than Jourdan before he regained the frontiers of the Republic. But on the other hand, he was at the head of a superb army of seventy thousand men, whose courage had not been weakened by any disaster, and who possessed the most unlimited confidence, both in their own strength and the resources of their commander. There was no force in Germany capable of arresting so great a mass. It is not with detached columns, or by menacing communications that the retreat of such a body is to be prevented (2).

Which he does in the most firm and methodical manner.

Fully appreciating these great advantages, and aware that nothing is so likely to produce disaster in a retreat as any symptoms of apprehension of it in the general, he resolved to continue his retrograde movements with the utmost regularity, and to dispute every inch of ground with the enemy when they threatened to press upon his forces. The Austrian armies likely to assail him were as follows:—Nauendorf, with 9500 men, was on the Danube, ready to turn his left flank; Latour, with 24,000, in Bavaria, directly in his rear; Frœlich, with 14,000, on the Upper Iller and in Tyrol; while the Archduke, with 16,000 or 18,000, might be expected to abandon the Lahn, and hasten to the scene of decisive operations on the Upper Rhine. It was by maintaining a firm front, and keeping his forces together in masses, that the junction or co-operation of these considerable forces would alone be prevented (3).

Aware that the Archduke might probably block up the line of retreat by the Neckar, Moreau retired by the valley of the Danube and the Black Forest. Resting one of his wings on that stream, he sent forward his parks, his baggage, and his ammunition, before the army, and covering his retreat by a powerful rearguard, succeeded both in repulsing all the attacks of the enemy, and in enabling the body of his army to continue their march without fatigue or interruption. Want of concert in the Austrian generals at first eminently favoured his movements. Having retired behind the lake of Federsee, he found that Latour was isolated from Nauendorf, who was considerably in advance on the Danube, and the opportunity therefore appeared favourable for striking with superior forces a blow upon his weakened adversary. This was the more necessary, as he was approaching the entrance of the defiles of the Black Forest, which were occupied by the enemy, and it was of the last importance that his movement should not be impeded in 2d Oct. traversing those long and difficult passages. Turning, therefore fiercely upon his pursuers, he assailed Latour near Biberach. The Austrian

(1) Jom. ix. 63, 65. Arch. Ch. iii. 186, 208. St.-Cyr, iii. 222, 258.

(2) Th, viii. 412.

(3) Jom. ix. 65. St.-Cyr, iii. 240, 258. Arch. Ch. iii. 213, 242.

And def a s general, believing that a part only of the enemy's force was in the
La u r at front, gave battle in a strong position, extending along a series of
B be u wooded heights, lined by a formidable artillery. The action was for a long
time fiercely contested, but at length the superior forces and abler manœuvres
of the Republicans prevailed (1) Desaix broke their right, while St-Cyr
turned their left, and a complete victory crowned the efforts of the French,
which cost the Austrians four thousand prisoners, and eighteen pieces of
cannon.

After this decisive blow, Moreau proceeded leisurely towards the Black
Forest, directing his steps towards the Valley of Hell, in hopes of being able
to debouche by Friburg, before the Archduke arrived to interrupt his pro-
gress. He had already passed the separation of the road by the Neckar, and
Nauendorf occupied that which passes by the Valley of Kinzig. He therefore
directed his centre towards the entrance of the Valley of Hell, under the
command of St-Cyr, while he stationed Desaix and Ferino on the right and
left, to protect the motions of the principal body. The Austrian detachments
in the mountains were too weak to oppose any effectual resistance to the

Ret res lei passage of the French army. St-Cyr speedily dissipated the clouds
sure y t ro gh of light troops which infested the pine-clad mountains of the Valley
the bla k Fe of Hell, and Latour, rendered cautious by disaster, without at-
tempting to harass his retreat, moved by Homberg to unite himself to the
23 h Oct Archduke. So ably were the measures of the French general con-
certed, that he not only passed the defiles without either confusion or loss,
but debouched into the valley of the Rhine, rather in the attitude of a con-
queror than that of a fugitive (2).

Meanwhile the Archduke Charles being now assured of the direction which
Moreau had taken, directed Latour and the detached parties to join him by
the valley of Kinzig, while Nauendorf covered their movements by advancing
between them and the French columns. The greater part of the Austrian
16 h Oct forces were thus collected in the valley of the Rhine in the middle
Ba le f of October, and though still inferior to the enemy, he resolved to
Eun n nd n lose no time in attacking, and compelling them to recross that
E n b wren river. Moreau, on his part, was not less desirous of the combat, as
the Arch he intended to advance to Kelil, and either maintain himself at the *tête-de-*
duke pont there, or cross leisurely over to Strasbourg. The action took place at
Emmendingen, on the slopes where the mountains melt into the plain, and
afforded an example of the truth of the military principle, that in tactics, or
the operations of actual combat, the possession of the mountains in general
secures that of the valleys which lie at their feet. Walckreth was felt by
both parties to be the decisive point, from the command which it gave over
the general strike to reach it.

Nauendorf, who descended from the heights of the Black Forest, and after a
bloody action drove St-Cyr, who commanded the Republicans, out of the
town with severe loss. Meanwhile the success of the Austrians was not less
decisive at other points, the Austrian columns having at length surmounted
the difficulties of the roads, attacked and carried the village of Matterningen,
while their centre drove them back from Emmendingen, and at length

(1) Join ix 71 Arch. Ch. I 215 230 Th
vii 414 St Cyr I 222 310

(2) Arch. Ch. I 6 260 Join, ix 71 St Cyr, I 4
211 232†

Moreau, defeated at all points, retired into the forest of Nemburg, behind the Elz, with the loss of two thousand men (1).

20th Oct.

Retreat of
Moreau.

The Archduke made preparations on the following morning for re-establishing the bridges over the Elz, and renewing the combat; but Moreau retreated in the night, and commenced the passage of the Rhine, Desaix passed that river at Old Brisach, while the general-in-chief took post in the strong position of Schliengen, determined to accept battle, in order to gain time to defile in tranquillity by the bridge of Illningen. The valley of the Rhine is there cut at right angles by a barrier of rocky eminences, which stretches from the mountains of Hohenblau to the margin of the stream.

His last
stand at
Hohenblau;
but is driven
across the
Rhine.

It was on this formidable rampart that Moreau made his last stand, his left resting on the Rhine, his centre on a pile of almost inaccessible rocks, his right on the cliffs of Sizenkirch. The Archduke divided his army into four columns. The Prince of Condé on the right drove in the Republican advanced posts, but made no serious impression; but Latour in the centre, and Nauendorf on the left, gallantly scaled the precipices, drove the Republicans from their positions, and chasing them from height to height, from wood to wood, threw them before nightfall into such confusion, that nothing but the broken nature of the ground, which prevented cavalry from acting, and a violent storm which arose in the evening, saved them from a complete overthrow. Moreau retreated during the night, and on the following day commenced the passage of the Rhine, which was effected without molestation from the Imperialists (2).

After having thus effected the deliverance of Germany from both its invaders, the Archduke proposed to the Aulic Council to detach a powerful reinforcement by the Tyrol into Italy, in order to strengthen the army of Alvinzi, and effect the liberation of Wurmser in Mantua—a measure based on true military principles, and which, if adopted by the Imperial government,

Austrians
refuse an
armistice on
the Rhine.

would probably have changed the fate of the campaign. Moreau, on his side, proposed an armistice to the Austrians, on condition that the Rhine should separate the two armies, and the Republicans retain the *tête-de-pont* of Illningen and Kehl; a proposal which the Archduke received with secret satisfaction, as it promised him the means of securely carrying into effect his meditated designs for the deliverance of Italy. But the Austrian government, intent upon the expulsion of the French from Germany, and deeming the forces put at the disposal of Alvinzi adequate for the relief of Mantua, declined both propositions, and sent positive orders for the immediate attack of the fortified posts possessed by the Republicans on the right bank of the Rhine (3).

Long and
bloody siege
of Kehl.

The conduct of the siege of Kehl, during the depth of winter, and with an open communication between the besieged and the great army on the opposite bank, presented obstacles of no ordinary kind; but the perseverance and energy of the Austrians ultimately triumphed over all obstacles. Thirty thousand men, under the command of Desaix and St.-Cyr, were destined for the defence of the works, while a powerful reserve was stationed in the islands of the Rhine; and the troops engaged in the defence were changed every three days, to prevent their being overwhelmed with the fatigues of the service. Forty thousand Austrians, under Latour, formed the besieging force, while the remainder of the army was cantoned in the

(1) St.-Cyr, iv. 10, 26. Arch. Ch. iii. 248, 260. Jom. ix. 78, 80.

(2) Jom. ix. 84, 89. Arch. Ch. iii. 272, 280. St.-Cyr, iv. 27, 40.

(3) Arch. Ch. ii. 290. Jom. ix. 238.

valley of the Rhine. Though the fort was invested on the 9th October, no material progress was made in the siege, from the extreme difficulty of bringing up the battering train and heavy stores, till the end of November. This long delay gave time to the indefatigable Desaix to complete the works, which, when the Imperialists first sat down before the place, were in a very unfinished state. The trenches were opened on the 21st November; and about the same time a grand sortie was attempted, under the command of Moreau in person, to destroy the works, and gain possession of the Austrian park of artillery. This attack was at first successful: the Republicans carried the intrenchments of Sundheim, and had nearly penetrated to the magazines and parks, but the Archduke and Latour having come up with reinforcements to the menaced point, they were at length repulsed, with severe loss, carrying with them nine pieces of cannon, which they had captured during the affray, Moreau and Desaix exposed themselves to the hottest of the fire, and were both slightly wounded. After this repulse, the labours of the siege were continued without any other interruption, than that arising from the excessive severity of the weather, and the torrents of rain which, for weeks together, filled the trenches with water. On the night of January 1, the Imperialists carried by assault the first line of intrenchments round the Republican camp, and a few days afterwards the second line was also stormed after a bloody resistance. Kehl was now no longer defensible, above 100,000 cannon-balls, and 25,000 bombs, projected from forty batteries, had riddled all its defences. The Imperialists, masters of the intrenched camp, enveloped the fort on every side, and the Republicans, after a glorious defence, which does honour to the memory of Desaix and St-Cyr, evacuated the place by capitulation on the 9th January (1).

Fall of the
tete-de-pont
at Illingen During the siege of Kehl, the Imperialists remained in observation before the *tête-de-pont* of Illingen, but no sooner were they at liberty, by the surrender of the former place, than they prosecuted the siege of the latter with extraordinary vigour. Ferino had been left with the right wing of the French to superintend the defence of that important post, but notwithstanding all his exertions he was unable to retard their advances; the trenches were opened in form on the 25th of January, and a sortie having been repulsed on the night of the 31st, the place was evacuated by capitulation on the 1st of February, and the victors found themselves masters only of a heap of ruins (2).

Reflections
on this
campaign This last success terminated the campaign of 1796 in Germany, the most remarkable, in a military point of view, which had occurred, with the exception of that of Napoléon in the same year in Italy, since the commencement of the war. The conquerors in both triumphed, by the application of the same principles, over superior forces—viz. the skilful use of a central position, and interior line of communication, and the rapid accumulation of superior forces against one of the assailing armies, at a time when it was so situated that it could not receive any assistance from the other. The movements of the Archduke between the armies of Moreau and St-Cyr, were a force against a disastrous from the in- and Wurm-

(1) Journ. ix. 215, 213. Arch. Ch. iii. 293, 310.
St. Cyr, iv. 85, 101, 129.

(2) Journ. ix. 221. Arch. Ch. iii. 315, 322. St.
Cyr, iv. 127, 135.

ser on the opposite sides of the lake of Guarda; and of Alvinzi and Provera, on the plateau of Rivoli and the shores of the Mincio. The difference only lies in the superior energy and activity with which the Republican general flew from one menaced point to another, the accurate calculation of time on which he rested, and the greater difficulties with which he had to struggle from the closer proximity of the attacking forces to each other.

The results of this campaign proved the justice of the observation of Napoléon, that the decisive blows were to be struck against Austria in the Valley of the Danube; and that Carnot's plan of turning both flanks of the Imperialists at once, along the vast line from the Maine to the Alps, was essentially defective, and offered the fairest opportunity to an enterprising general, aware of the importance of time and rapid movement in war, to fall with a preponderating force first on the one and then on the other. If, instead of dispersing the invading host into two armies, separated from each other by above 100 miles, and acting without concert, he had united them into one mass, or moved them by converging lines towards Ulm, the catastrophe of 1805, to Austria, at that place, or of Leipsic, in 1813, to France, might have been anticipated with decisive effect upon the issue of the war. And after giving all due praise to the just views and intrepid conduct of the Austrian hero, the deliverer of Germany, it must be admitted that he did not carry his enlightened principles into practice with such vigour as might have been done; and that had Napoléon been in his place on the Murg and at Amberg, he would have struck as decisive blows as at Rivoli and Castiglione (1).

Prodigious
contribu-
tions levied
by the Re-
publicans in
Germany.

The unsuccessful irruption of the French into Germany was attended with one important consequence, from the effectual manner in which it withdrew the veil from the eyes of the lower classes as to the real nature of democratic ambition, and the consequences with which it was attended to the inhabitants of the vanquished states. The Republicans, being destitute of every thing, and in an especial manner denuded of money, when they crossed the Rhine, immediately put in practice their established principle of making war support war, and oppressed the vanquished people by the most enormous contributions. The lesser German states only purchased neutrality by the most enormous sacrifices (2). The people contrasted these cruel exactions with the seductive promises of war to the palace and peace to the cottage, and all learned at length, from bitter experience, the melancholy truth, that military violence, under whatever names it may be veiled, is the same in all ages; and that none are such inexorable tyrants to the poor as those who have recently revolted against authority in their own country. Although, therefore, the terror of the Republican arms at first superseded every other consideration, and detached all the states whose territory had been overrun from the Austrian alliance, yet this was merely the effect of necessity; the hearts of the people remained faithful to the cause of Germany, their exasperation broke out in unmeasured acts of violence against the retreating forces of

Dis-
cuss
which it
excited in
Germany.

(1) Nap. iii. 314, 339. Th. viii. 419. Arch. Ch. iii. 313, 314.

(2) The Duke of Wirtemberg was assessed at 4,000,000 francs, or nearly £200,000 sterling; the circle of Swabia, 12,000,000, or nearly £600,000, besides 8000 horses, 5000 oxen, 150,000 quintals of corn, and 100,000 pairs of shoes. No less than 3,000,000 or £400,000, was demanded from the

circle of Franconia, besides 6000 horses; and immense contributions from Frankfort, Wurtzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, and all the towns through which they passed. These enormous exactions, which amounted in all to 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000), 12,000 horses, 12,000 oxen, 500,000 quintals of wheat, and 200,000 pairs of shoes excited an universal alarm.

Jourdan, and they looked only for the first opportunity to resume their

(1) Ann Reg 1795 133 135

...kened the predilection of the
 ...ich principles, operated most
 ...powerfully in rousing the ancient and hereditary loyalty of the
 Austrian people to their own sovereigns. When the Republicans approached
 Bohemia, and had well nigh penetrated through Bavaria to the hereditary
 States, the Emperor issued an animating appeal to his subjects in the
 threatened provinces, and, with the spirit of Maria Theresa, called on them
 to repel the renewed Gallic aggression. Austria, in this trying emergency,
 relied on the constant success which has so long attended its house through
 all the vicissitudes of fortune, and unsubdued by defeat, maintained that
 unconquered
 is found
 the appeal
 ...le nobly answered
 ...speedily raised,
 contributions of stores of every kind were voted by the nobility (2), and
 from the first invasion of France may be dated the growth of that patriotic
 spirit which was destined ultimately to rescue Germany from foreign sub-
 jugation

This year witnessed the still closer contracting of the unhappy
 bands which united Prussia to France, and so long perpetuated on
 the continent the overwhelming influence of Gallic power. Har-
 denberg and Haugwitz, who directed the cabinet of Berlin, and who, not-
 withstanding their differences on many other points, were cordially united
 in all measures calculated to augment the influence of Prussia in the north
 of Germany, had laboured assiduously all the summer to form a federal
 union for the protection of the states in that portion of the empire, and they
 had succeeded in obtaining a convocation of the circle of Lower Saxony and
 of Westphalia on the 20th June, to arrange the formation of a formidable
 army of observation, of which Prussia was the head, to cause their neutra-
 lity to be respected by the belligerent powers. The French minister at
 Berlin, artfully improving upon the terrors produced by Napoleon's suc-
 cesses in Italy, and Jourdan's irruption into Franconia, easily persuaded
 Haugwitz that the period had now arrived when the interests of Prussia in-
 dispensably required the breaking up of the old Germanic Empire, and the
 recognition of the left bank of the Rhine to France, and in conse-
 quence, two conventions, one public, the other secret, were signed at Berlin
 on the 5th August. By the first, which alone at that time was published, the
 line of demarcation, beyond which hostilities were not to pass, was extended,
 and made to run from Wesel on the Rhine, following the frontiers of the
 mountains of Thuringia, extending along the North Sea, including the
 mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, and so round by the frontiers
 of Holland to Wesel again. Beyond this, in addition to the line already
 agreed to by the treaty of Bâle, the Directory agreed not to push their mi-
 litary operations. In the second, which was kept secret, Prussia recognised
 the extension of France to the Rhine, and the principle, that the dispo-
 sessed German princes were to be indemnified at the expense of the eccle-
 siastical princes of the empire. The third article provided an indemnity to
 the Prince of Orange, now evidently and apparently finally expelled from
 his dominions, and Prussia engaged to endeavour for this purpose to procure

(1) Ann Reg 1795 133 135 Hard 11 393

(2) Ann Reg 1796 131 135

three frigates, and many vessels of inferior size, having on board two thousand land troops, destined to retake the Cape of Good Hope, was captured by Admiral Elphinstone in the Bay of Saladania, while the Batavian settlements of Ceylon, the Malaccas, and Cochin, with the important harbour of Trincomalee, were, early in the year, taken possession of by the British forces (1).

These important successes, particularly the reduction of the Cape, Ceylon, and the Malaccas, diffused the most general joy throughout the British nation. It was justly observed, that the former was a half-way-house to India, and indispensable to the mighty empire which we had acquired in the plains of Hindostan, while the latter secured the emporium of the China trade, and opened up the vast commerce of the Indian Archipelago. The attention of the people, by these great acquisitions, began to be turned towards the probable result and final issue of the war. They looked to the conquests of the British at sea as likely to counterbalance the acquisitions of the Republicans at land. They observed that Rhodes long maintained a doubtful contest with Rome after its land forces had subdued Spain, Carthage, and part of Gaul, and that in a similar contest Great Britain would have incomparably greater chances of success than the Grecian commonwealth, from the superior internal strength which the population of its own islands afforded, and the far more extensive commerce which enriched it from every quarter of the globe. "Athens," said Xenophon, "would have prevailed over Lacedæmon, if Athens had been an island inaccessible save by water to the land forces of its opponent," and it was impossible not to see that nature had given that advantage to the European, which she had denied to the Grecian maritime power. The formation of a great colonial empire, embracing all the quarters of the globe, held together and united by the naval power of England, and enriching the parent state by its commerce, and the market they would open for its manufactures, began to engage the thoughts not only of statesmen, but of practical men, and the Cape and Ceylon to be spoken of as acquisitions which should never be abandoned (2).

St. Domingo still continued in the distracted and unfortunate state into which it had been thrown by the visionary dreams of the French Republicans, and the frightful ravages of a servile war which had been lighted up by their extravagant philanthropists. All the efforts, both of the French and English, to restore any thing like order to its furious and savage population, proved unsuccessful. The latter had never been in sufficient force to make any serious impression on its numerous and fractious inhabitants, and the former were hardly able to retain a scanty footing in the northern part of the island, without attempting to regain the splendid and prosperous colony which they had lost. The blacks, taught by experience, perfectly acquainted with the country, and consequently inaccessible to its deadly climate, maintained a successful contest with European forces, who melted away more rapidly under its fatal evening gales, than either by the ravages of famine or the sword of the enemy. Toussaint had already risen to eminence in the command of these desultory forces, and was taken into the French service with the division he had organized (3), in the vain attempt to re-establish the sinking authority of the Republican commissioners.

Notwithstanding the disastrous state of her principal colony, and the great

Count marked
defensible
a seat of war
Doomsday

(1) Ann Reg 1796 191 Jan. ix 210
(2) Ann Reg 1796 191 Jan. ix 211

(3) Ann Reg 1796 191 Jan. ix 210

Treaty of alliance between France and Spain. Great Britain showed herself disposed during this year to make great sacrifices to France to obtain a general peace. In truth, notwithstanding her naval successes, the situation of England, from the disasters of her allies, had become sufficiently alarming. Spain, detached by the treaty of Bale from all connexion with the allies, had lately fallen under the Republican influence, and given way to that jealousy of the British naval power, which is so easily excited among the European states. The Directory, artfully improving these advantages, had fanned the Spanish discontents into a flame, by holding out the hopes of some acquisitions in Italy, won by the sword of Napoleon, in case they joined the Republican alliance. Influenced by these considerations, the Spaniards fell into the snare, from which they were destined in future to experience such disastrous effects, and on the 19th August concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, on the footing of the family compact. By this treaty, the powers mutually guaranteed to each other their dominions both in the Old and the New World, and engaged to assist each other, in case of attack, with twenty-four thousand land troops, thirty ships of the line, and six frigates. This was followed, in the beginning of October, by a formal declaration of war on the part of Spain against Britain. Britain, which had commenced the war with so many confederates, saw herself not only deprived of all her maritime allies, but the whole coasts of Europe, from the Texel to Gibraltar, arrayed in fierce hostility against her (1).

(1) Th. viii. 251, 352. Ann. Reg. 1797, 2. 5th Oct. Many grounds of complaint were assigned in the Spanish manifest on this occasion; but they met with a decisive refutation from the British cabinet, in an able state paper, drawn up by Mr. Canning. It was urged by the Spaniards that the conduct of the English during the war, but especially at the siege of Toulon, and in the expedition on Toulon, had determined the cabinet of Madrid to make peace with France as soon as it could be done with safety to the monarchy; that the bad faith of the English government furnished their appearance in the treaty of 19th Nov. 1793, concluded, without regard to the rights of Spain, with the United States, in the treaty which they signed at the Stago, at first taken by the French, but afterwards retaken by the English, which, by the same means, was made a ground of ammunition for the Spanish squadrons; that the crews of her ships had frequently landed on the coast of Chili, and carried off valuable possessions, and had evinced a clear intention of seizing part of the Spanish colonial territories, by sending a considerable force to the Antilles and St Domingo, and her recent acquisition of the British settlement of Demerara; that frequent insults and acts of violence had been committed by the English cruisers upon Spanish vessels in the Mediterranean; that the Spanish territory had been violated by descents of English ships on the coast of Galicia and at Trinidad; and, finally, that the majesty of Spain had been insulted by the decrees of a court in London, authorizing the arrest of its ambassador for a small sum. "By all these insults," it concluded, "equally deep and unpardonable, that nation has proved to the universe, that she recognises no other laws, than the aggrandizement of her commerce, and by her despotism, which has exasperated our patience and moderation, has rendered a declaration of war unavoidable." [Ann. Reg. xxxviii. 196. State Papers.] To this manifest, the acrimonious style of which had been a declared intention of war unavoidable, xxxviii. 196. State Papers.] In regard to the expedition to St Domingo and the description. that always ready to receive and redress complaints of misbehaviour on the spot, or the courts of London were had been committed, they might have been punished by some irregularities of British government, and even if some irregularities were found on the coast of Chili and Peru, the alleged misconduct of some merchant ships in and whose impartiality is above all suspicion, were fully cleared before the only competent tribunal, of the St. Jago, captured by his Majesty's forces, and on all parties in regard to the condemnation of the subjects of that monarchy. The since that time himself done and inflicted no injury has a right to do, or than his Majesty's power nothing more than what every independent power the common enemy. The treaty with America did that he did more than his proportion of mischief to in alliance, and making a common cause in war, of the commanding officers of two powers, acting instance that it has been imputed as a crime to one denied and absurd, and this is perhaps the first part of the British admiral at Toulon is unpardonable. The charge of misconduct on the which his Majesty has always professed his willingness to correct, or of complacency, in the misconduct of unauthorized individuals, concerning either of matters perfectly innocent, or not imputed. The acts of hostility attributed in England, consist Spain has afforded the smallest ground of complaint. On part of the conduct of Great Britain towards charges which it contains, must be sufficient to his crown; that a simple reference to the Spanish declaration, and a bare enumeration of the frivolous of England in take measures to assert the dignity of the part of Spain had at length compelled the King ment, that the imprudent declaration of war on proceeded, it was replied by the British government, clearly betrayed the quarter from which it had

impressed with these dangers, and desirous also of dissuading the numerous and powerful party in Great Britain who contended against the war, as both unnecessary and impolitic, Mr. Pitt, in the close of this year, made overtures for a general peace to the French government. Lord Malmebury was dispatched to Paris to open the negotiations; but it is probable that no great hopes of their success were entertained, as nearly at the same time an alliance was concluded with Russia, for the aid of sixty thousand auxiliary troops to the Austrian forces (1). The British envoy arrived at Paris on the 22d October, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and proposals of peace were immediately made by the English government. These were, the recognition of all the colonies by the British government, and the restitution of all the colonies to France and Holland which had been conquered since the commencement of the war. In return for these concessions, they insisted that the French should restore the Low Countries to the Emperor, Holland to the Stadtholder, and evacuate all their conquests in Italy, but they were to retain Luxembourg, Namur, Nice, and Savoy (2). It was hardly to be expected that the Republic could have maintained their place at the head of affairs, if they had submitted to such reasonable propositions; and, accordingly, after the negotiations had been continued for two months, they were abruptly broken off, by the Directory ordering Lord Malmebury to quit Paris in twenty-four hours, and he immediately returned to his own country (3). But it must ever be a matter of pride to the British historian, that the power which had been uniformly victorious on its own element should have offered to treat on terms of equality with that from which it had so little to dread, and that England, to procure favourable terms for her allies, was willing to have abandoned all her own acquisitions.

While these negotiations were yet pending, a measure was undertaken by the French government, which placed England in the utmost peril, and from which she was saved rather by the winds of heaven than any exertions of

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Worth proves
unsuccessful.

21st Dec
1796.

There drew to majestic powers, that they respectively
the ceded territory was to terminate in order that
their efforts might be directed against the French
no irregularities in the course of so long
not interest, and to menace with hostility another.
great whose no cause of complaint as to pretensions.
but on binoculars reference to its engagements.

—*Ames, Aug. 1796, 1811 State Papers.*
for from 18 216

mitted, even "point herself can bear testimony."
equal fault regarded the alleged decree against the
Spanish ambassador, is, if possible, still more erro-

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the gratification of her passions; tyrannical, overbearing, and sometimes cruel in her administration, she filled her subjects with unbounded awe for her authority. In the lustre of her administration, however, the career of her victories, and the rapid progress of her subjects under so able a government, mankind overlooked her dissolute manners, the occasional elevation of unworthy favourites, frequent acts of tyranny, and the dark transaction which signalized her accession to the throne; they overlooked the frailties of the woman in the dignity of the princess; and paid to the abilities and splendour of the Semiramis of the North that involuntary homage which commanding qualities on the throne never fail to acquire, even when stained by irregularities in private life.

ities in private life.

The end of the same year witnessed the resignation of the president of the United States of America by General Washington, and his voluntary retirement into private life. Modern history has not so spoiled a character to commemorate. Inevitable in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances, rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs, and the perseverance of his character, than any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism, rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific councils when the independence of his country was secured; and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there is no composition of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison (1). He was modest without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame without vanity; independent and dignified without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not licentiousness; not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her English descent, and which were opposed to nothing so much as the extravagant love of power by the French democracy. Accordingly, after having signalized his life by

(1) See Ann. Reg., 1796, 293.
This gift was made by the State of New York to the American Library of Congress.

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successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, and by his casting vote, shortly before his resignation, raised a treaty of friendship and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emancipated offspring. He was a Cromwell without his ambition, a Sylla without his crimes and after having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent state, closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed. It is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amidst Transatlantic wilds, to such a man, and if she cannot number him among those who have extended her provinces or augmented her dominions, she may at least feel a legitimate pride in the victories which he achieved, and the great qualities which he exhibited, in the contest with herself, and indulge with satisfaction in the reflection, that that vast empire which neither the ambition of Louis XIV nor the power of Napoleon, could dismember, received its first rude shock from the courage which she had communicated to her own offspring, and that, amidst the convulsions and revolutions of other states, real liberty has arisen in that country alone, which inherited in its veins the genuine principles of British freedom.

CHAPTER XXII.

INTERNAL TRANSACTIONS AND NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1797.

ARGUMENT.

Gloomy Aspect of Public Affairs in England in the beginning of 1797—Crisis of the Bank—Important Order in Council suspending Cash Payments—Debates on the subject in Parliament—Bill perpetuating this Suspension brought in and carried by Mr. Pitt; at first temporary, then till the Conclusion of the War—Immense Consequence of this Change—Double Set of Causes which affect the Value of Government Paper—Parliamentary Reform is brought forward by Mr. Grey—His Plan of Reform, and Arguments in support of it—Arguments on the other side by Mr. Pitt—It is rejected by Parliament—Reflections on this Subject—Arguments for and against a Continuance of the War—Supplies voted for the Year—Naval Preparations of France and Spain—Sluicing in the Fleet—Origin of the Discontent in the Navy—First breaks out in the Channel Fleet—Perfect Order maintained by the Insurgents—The demands of the Fleet are granted by Government, and Lord Howe at length succeeds in restoring Discipline—Alarming Mutiny at the Nore—Breadful Consternation in London—Firmness of the King and Government—Noble Conduct of Parliament—Bill against the Mutineers passes by a great majority—The Insurgents become divided—Patriotic Conduct of the Channel Fleet—The mutineers at length submit—Parker is tried and executed—Admirable Conduct of Mr. Pitt on the occasion—Glorious Firmness of Admiral Duncan at this Crisis—The Mutiny was totally unconnected with France—Battle of St. Vincent's—First appearance of Nelson and Collingwood—Great effect produced in Europe by this Victory—Birth and Parentage of Nelson—His Character—Battle of Camperdown—Immense Effect of this Victory—Honours bestowed on Admiral Duncan and Sir John Jervis—A short respite in Peninsular Bay—Capture of Trinidad—Death of Mr. Burke—His Character.

Although the war had now continued four years, and it was obvious to all the world that England and France were the principals in the contest, yet these two states had not as yet come into immediate and violent collision. Inferior powers required to be struck down, weaker states to be removed from the combat, before the leaders of the fight dealt their blows at each other; like the champions of chivalry, who were separated in the commencement of the array by subordinate knights, and did not engage in mortal combat till the field was cleared of the dead and the dying. The period, however, was now approaching, when this could no longer continue, and the successes of France had been such as to compel Britain to fight, not merely for victory, but existence. All the allies with whom, and for whose protection she had engaged in the contest, were either struggling in the extremity of disaster, or openly arrayed under the banners of her enemies. Austria, after a desperate and heroic resistance in Italy, was preparing for the defence of her last barriers in the passes of the Alps. Holland was virtually incorporated with the conquering Republic. Spain had recently joined its forces; the whole continent, from the Texel to Gibraltar, was arrayed against Great Britain, and all men were sensible that, in spite of her maritime superiority, she had in the preceding winter narrowly escaped invasion in the most vulnerable quarter, and owed to the winds and the waves her exemption from the horrors of civil war. The aspect of public affairs in Britain had never been so clouded since the commencement of the war, nor indeed during the whole of the 18th cen-

lury, as they were at the opening of the year 1797. The return of Lord Malmesbury from Paris had closed every hope of terminating a contest, in which the national burdens were daily increasing, while the prospect of success was continually diminishing. Party spirit raged with uncommon violence in every part of the empire. Insurrections prevailed in many districts of Ireland, discontents and sufferings in all, commercial embarrassments were rapidly increasing, and the continued pressure on the bank threatened a total dissolution of public credit. The consequence of this accumulation of disasters was a rapid fall of the public securities, the three per cents were sold as low as 51, having fallen to that from 98, at which they stood at the commencement of the contest, petitions for a change of ministers and an alteration of government were presented from almost every city or town in the empire, and that general distrust and depression prevailed which is at once the cause and the effect of public misfortune (1)

Crises of the Bank

a free state, results from long-continued fidelity in the discharge of its engagements, would have proved fatal to the credit of government. For a long period the bank had experienced a pressure for money, owing partly to the demand for gold and silver, which resulted from the disturbances of commerce, and partly to the great drain upon the specie of the country, which the extensive loans to the imperial government had occasioned. So early as January 1793, the influence of these causes was so severely felt, that the bank directors informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it was their wish that he would so arrange his finances as not to depend on any further assistance from them, and during the whole of that and the following year the peril of the continued advances for the imperial loans was strongly and earnestly represented to government. The pressure arising from these causes, severely experienced through the whole of 1796, was brought to a crisis in the close of that year, by the run upon the country banks, which arose from the dread of invasion, and the anxiety of every man to convert his paper into cash in the troubled times which seemed to be approaching. These banks, as

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foreign states; that the consequences of this measure were certain, and might be seen as in a mirror in the adjoining Republic of France; a constant fall in the value of bank-notes, a rise in the price of all the articles of human consumption, augmented expenditure, from which the national honour and security had already so severely suffered. On the other hand, it was contended by the friends of administration, that it never was the intention of government to make bank-notes a legal tender; that the measure adopted was not a permanent regulation, but a temporary expedient to enable the bank to gain time to meet the heavy demands which unexpected circumstances had brought upon it; that the bank was perfectly able ultimately to make good all its engagements, and so the public had already become convinced, in the short interval which had elapsed since the Order in Council was issued, that it was indispensable, however, that Parliament should be satisfied of this solvency, and the necessity which existed for the measure which was adopted, and therefore that the matter should be referred to a secret committee, to report on the funds and engagements of the bank of England, and the measures to be taken for its ultimate regulation (1).

This measure having been carried by Mr. Pitt, a committee was appointed, which reported shortly after that the funds of the Bank were £.17,597,000, while its debts were only £.15,770,000, leaving a balance of £.3,800,000 in favour of the establishment; but that it was necessary, for a limited time, to suspend the cash payments. Upon this, a bill for the restriction of payments in specie was introduced, which provided, that bank-notes should be received as a legal tender by the collectors of taxes, and have the effect of stopping the issuing of arrest on mesne process for payment of debt between man and man. The bill was limited in its operation to the 21st June; but it was afterwards renewed from time to time; and, in November 1797, continued till the conclusion of a general peace (2); and the obligation on the bank to pay in specie was never again imposed till Mr. Peel's act in 1819.

Such was the commencement of the paper system in Great Britain, which ultimately produced such astonishing effects; which enabled the empire to carry on for so long a period so costly a war, and to maintain for years armaments greater than had been raised by the Roman people in the zenith of their power; which brought the struggle at length to a triumphant issue, and arrayed all the forces of Eastern Europe, in English pay, against France, on the banks of the Rhine. To the same system must be ascribed ultimate effects as disastrous, as the immediate were beneficial and glorious; the continued and progressive rise of rents, and fall in the value of money; increased expenditure, the growth of sanguine ideas and extravagant habits in all classes of society; unbounded speculation, prodigious profits, and frequent disasters among the commercial rich; increased wages, general prosperity, and occasional depression among the labouring poor: a vacillation of prices, unparalleled in any age of the world, a creation of property in some, and destruction of it in others, which equalled, in its ultimate consequences, all but the disasters of a revolution.

When government paper is made, either directly, or by implication, a legal tender in all the transactions of life, two different causes may conspire

(1) Parl. Hist. xxxiii. 291, 391.

(2) Ann. Reg. 1797, 192, 206. Parl. Hist. xxxiii. 291, 391, and 1028.

to affect prices, tending to the same effect, but in very different degrees. The first is the general fall in the value of money, and consequent rise in the price of every article of life, which results from the unrestrained issue of paper, and this effect takes place without any distrust in government, from the mere increase in the circulating medium, when compared with the commodities in the general market of the nation which it represents, or is destined in its transmission from hand to hand to purchase. This change of prices proceeds on the same principles, and arises from the same causes, as the fall in the money price of grain or cattle, from an excess in the supply of these articles in the market. The second is the far greater, and sometimes unbounded depreciation, which arises from distrust in the ultimate solvency of government, or the means which the nation possesses of making good its engagements. To this fall no limits can be assigned, because government may not be deemed capable of discharging a hundredth part of its debts. Whereas, the variation of prices arising from the former, seldom exceeds a duplication of their wonted amount. An effect, however, which is perfectly sufficient, if continued for any considerable time, to make one-half of the property of the kingdom change hands.

The true test of the former effect is to be found in a general rise in the prices of every commodity, but without any difference between the money value when paid in specie and when paid in paper, the mark of the latter is, not only a rise in prices, even when paid in gold or silver, but an extraordinary difference between prices which discharged in a paper and a metallic currency. Notwithstanding all that the spirit of party may have alleged, there does not appear to have ever been any traces of the latter effect in this country, or that at any period a higher price was exacted for articles when paid in bank-notes than in gold, whereas, in France, when the credit of government was almost extinct, a dinner which, when paid in gold, cost a louis (1), could only be discharged in assignats for twenty-eight thousand francs. But the former consequences prevailed long, and with the most wide-spread effects, in this country. Every article of life was speedily doubled in price, and continued above twenty years at that high standard, and, upon the recurrence to a metallic currency in 1819, the distress and suffering among the industrious classes long exceeded any thing ever before witnessed in our history.

The Opposition deemed this a favourable opportunity to bring forward their favourite project of Parliamentary Reform, as the disasters of the war, the suspension of cash payments by the bank, the mutiny of the fleet, which will be immediately noticed, and the failure of the attempt to negotiate with France, had filled all men's minds with consternation, and disposed many true patriots to doubt the possibility of continuing the present system. On the 26th day, Mr. afterwards Earl Grey, brought forward his promised motion for a change in the system of representation, which is chiefly remarkable as containing the outlines of that vast scheme which convulsed the nation when he was at the head of affairs in 1831, and subsequently made so great a change on the British constitution. He proposed that the qualification for county electors should remain as it was, but that the members they returned should be increased from 92 to 112, that the franchise should be extended to copyholders, and lease-holders holding leases for a certain dura-

tion; and that the whole remainder of the members, 400 in number, should be returned by one description of persons alone, namely householders. He proposed further, that the elections should be taken over the whole kingdom at once, and a large portion of the smaller boroughs be disfranchised. By this scheme, he contended, the landowners, the merchants, and all the respectable classes of the community, would be adequately represented; and those only excluded whom no man would wish to see retain their place in the legislature, namely, the nominees of great families, who obtained seats not for the public good, but their private advantage. Mr. Erskine, who seconded the motion, further argued, in an eloquent speech, that, from the gradual and growing influence of the crown, the House of Commons had become pervaded from its original office, which was that of watching with jealous care over the other branches of the legislature, into the ready instrument of their abuses and encroachments; that there was now a deep and wide-spread spirit of dissatisfaction prevalent in the minds of the people, which rendered it absolutely indispensable that their just demands should be conceded in time; that further resistance would drive them into republicanism and revolution; that the head of the government itself had once declared, that no upright or useful administration could exist while the House was constituted as it then was; that the voice of complaint could not be silenced by a sullen refusal to remedy the grievance, and though this road might be pursued for a season, that the end of these things was death. "Give, on the other hand," said he, "to the people the blessings of the constitution, and they will join with ardour in its defence; and the power of the disaffected be permanently crippled, by severing from them all the rational and virtuous of the community."

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr. Pitt, that the real question was not whether some alteration in the system of representation might not be attended with advantage, but whether the degree of benefit was worth the chance of the mischief it might possibly, or would probably induce. That it was clearly not prudent to give an opening to principles which would never be satisfied with any concession, but would make every acquisition the means of demanding with greater effect still more extensive acquisitions; that the fortress of the constitution was now beleaguered on all sides, and to surrender the outworks would only render it soon impossible to maintain the defence of the body of the place; that he had himself at one period been a reformer, and he would have been so still, had men's minds been in a calm and settled state, and had he been secure that they would rest content with the redress of real grievances; but since the commencement of the French Revolution, it was too plain that this was very far indeed from being the case. That it was impossible to believe that the men who remained unmoved by the dismal spectacle which their principles had produced in a neighbouring state,—who, on the contrary, rose and fell with the success or decline of Jacobinism in every country of Europe,—were actuated by similar views with those who prosecuted the cause of reform as a practical advantage, and maintained it on constitutional views; and he could never give credit to the assertion, that the temper of moderate reformers would induce them to make common cause with the irreconcilable enemies of the constitution. That reform was only a disguise assumed to conceal the approaches of revolution; and that raptine, conflagration, and murder were the necessary attendants on any innovation since the era of the French Revolution, which had entirely altered the grounds on which the

question of reform was rested, and the class of men by whom it was espoused. That these objections applied to any alteration of the government in the present heated state of men's minds, but, in addition to that, the specific plan, now brought forward, was both highly execution-able in theory and unsupported by experience. On a division, Mr Grey's motion was lost by a majority of 248 against 95 (1).

In deciding on the difficult question of Parliamentary Reform, which has so long divided, and still divides so many able men in the country, one important consideration, to be always kept in mind, is the double effect which any change in the constitution of government must al-

ways produce, and the opposite consequences which, according to the temper of the times, it is likely to be followed in so far as it remedies any experienced grievance, or supplies a practical defect, or confers powers to the people essential to the preservation of freedom, or necessarily does good, in so far as it excites democratic ambition, confers inordinate power, and awakens or fosters passions inconsistent with public tranquillity, it neces-

sarily does mischief, and may lead to the dissolution of society. The expedience of making any considerable change, therefore, depends on the proportions in which these opposite ingredients are mingled in the proposed measure, and on the temper of the people among whom it is to take place. If the real grievance is great, and the public disposition untrammelled, save by its continuance, unalloyed good may be expected from its removal, and serious peril from a denial of change. If the evil is inconsiderable or imaginary, and the people in a state of excitement from other causes, concession to their demands will probably lead to nothing but increased collision, and more extravagant expectations. Examples exist on both sides of the rule, the gradual relaxation of the fetters of feudal tyranny, and the emancipation of the boroughs, led to the glories of European civilization, while the concession of Chartres, extorted by the violence of the long Parliament, brought that unhappy monarch to the block, the submission of Louis to all the demands of the State-General, did not avert his tragic fate and the graining of cannon-patience to the fierce onsets of the Irish Catholics, instead of peace and tranquillity, brought only increased agitation and more vehement passions to the uncoupled shores of the Channel Isle.

Applying these principles to the question of Parliamentary Reform, as it was then agitated, there seems no doubt that the changes which were so loudly demanded could not have been a source of discontent, because they could not have diminished in any great degree the public burdens without stopping the war, and experience has proved in every age, that the most democratic states, so far from being pacific, are the most ambitious of military renown. From a greater infusion of popular power into the legislative, nothing but greater wars and additional expenses could have been anticipated. The concession, if granted, therefore, would neither have been to the detriment of tranquillity, nor to the necessities of freedom, but to the desire of power in circumstances where it was not called for, and such a concession is only the wronging fact on the same. And the event has proved the truth of these principles, for, reform was refused by the Commons in 1757, and so far from being either unduly or otherwise into collision, the nation became daily freer and more united, and soon considered on a speculative and untrammelled career of glory; it was con-

ceded by the Commons, in a period of comparative tranquillity, in 1851, and a century will not develop the ultimate effects of the change, which, hitherto at least, has done any thing rather than augment the securities of durable liberty. Still less was it called for as a safeguard to real freedom, because though it was constantly refused for four-and-thirty years afterwards, the power of the people steadily increased during that period, and at length effected a great democratic alteration in the constitution.

The question of continuing the war again occupied a prominent place in the debates of the British Parliament. On the side of the Opposition, it was contended that, after four years of war, the addition of 200,000,000 to the national debt, and 9,000,000 annually to the taxes, the nation was farther than ever from achieving the objects for which it had been undertaken; that Holland and Flanders had successively yielded to the arms of the Republic, which, like Athens, had risen stronger from every fall; that all the predictions of failure in its resources had only been answered by increased conquests and more splendid victories; that the minister was not sincere in his desire for a negotiation, or he would have proposed very different terms from those actually offered, and to which it was impossible to expect that a victorious enemy would accede; that the real object, it was evident, was only to gain time, to put France apparently in the wrong, and throw upon its government the blame of continuing hostilities (1), which had been unfortunately gained through the diplomatic skill evinced by the British ministers in the course of a negotiation begun with the most hollow intentions.

Mr. Pitt lamented the sudden and unforeseen stop put to the negotiations, by which he had fondly hoped that a termination would be put to a contest into which we had been unwillingly dragged. This failure was a subject of regret and disappointment, but it was regret without despondency, and disappointment without despair. "We wish for peace," said he, "but on such terms as will secure its real blessings, and not serve as a cover merely to secret preparations for renewed hostilities; we may expect to see, as the result of the conduct we have pursued, England united and France divided; we have offered peace on the condition of giving up all our conquests to obtain better terms for our allies; but our offers have been rejected, our ambassador insulted, and not even the semblance of terms offered in return. In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war with a spirit and energy worthy of the English name, or to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a haughty and supercilious republic, to do what they require, and submit to all they shall impose? I hope there is not a hand in his Majesty's councils which would sign the proposals, that there is not a heart in the House that would sanction the measure, nor an individual in the British dominions who would serve as courier on the occasion (2)."

Parliament having determined, by a great majority in both Houses, to continue the contest with vigour, supplies were voted proportioned to the magnitude of the armaments which were required. The sums for the expenses of the war, in two successive budgets, amounted, exclusive of the interest of the debt, to L.42,800,000. In this immense aggregate were included two loans, one of L.18,000,000 and another of L.16,000,000 besides an Imperial loan of L.2,500,000, guaranteed by the British govern-

Supplies
would for
the year.

(1) Parl. Hist. vol. xxxii. 30th Dec. 1796. Ann. Reg. 1797. 152.
(2) Parl. Hist. vol. xxxii. 153. Reg. 1797. 153.

ment. To defray the interest of these loans, new taxes, to the amount of £2,400,000, were imposed. The land forces voted for the year, were £93,000 men, of whom 61,000 were in the British islands, and the remainder in the colonial dependencies of the empire. The ships in commission were 123 of the line, eighteen of fifty guns, 180 frigates, and 184 sloops. This great force, however, being scattered over the whole globe, could hardly be assembled in considerable strength at any particular point, and hence, notwithstanding the magnitude of the British navy upon the whole, they were generally inferior to their enemies in every engagement (1).

On the other hand, the naval forces of France and her allies had now become very considerable. Nowise discouraged by the unfortunate issue of the previous attempt against Ireland, the indefatigable French was continuing the means of bringing an overwhelling force into the Channel. Twenty seven ships of the line were to proceed from the Spanish shores, raise the blockade of all the French harbours, and unite with the Dutch fleet from the Texel, in the Channel, where they expected to assemble sixty five or seventy ships of the line, a force much greater than any which England could oppose to them in that quarter. To frustrate these designs, she had only eighteen ships of the line, under Lord Bridport, in the Channel, fifteen under Admiral Jarvis, off Coruna, and sixteen under Admiral Boscawen, off the Texel, in all forty nine. A force greatly inferior to those of the enemy, if they had been all joined together, and sufficient to demonstrate in what a slender thread the naval supremacy of England was held, when the victorious forces of France enabled her to combine against these islands all the maritime forces of Europe (2).

But great as this peril was, it was rendered incomparably more alarming, by a calamity of a kind and in a quarter where it was least expected. This was the famous *Mutiny in the Fleet*, which, at the very time that the enemies of England were most formidable, and her finances most embarrassed, threatened to deprive her of her most trusty defenders, and brought the state to the very verge of destruction (3).

Unknown to government, or at least without their having taken it into serious consideration, a feeling of discontent had for a very long period prevailed in the British navy. This was, no doubt, partly brought to maturity by the democratic and turbulent spirit which had spread from France through the adjoining states, but it had its origin in a variety of real grievances which existed, and must, if unredressed, have sooner or later, brought on an explosion. The sailors complained with reason, that while all the articles of life had more than doubled in price, their pay had not been augmented since the reign of Charles II, that prize-money was unequally distributed, and an undue proportion given to the officers, that discipline was maintained with excessive and undue severity, and that the conduct of the officers towards the men was harsh and revolting. These evils, long complained of, were rendered more exasperating by the intemperate acts of a number of persons of superior station, whom the general distress arising from commercial embarrassments had driven into the navy, and who I need not add the sailors obtained redress of their grievances. The influence of these new enemies appeared in the secrecy and ability with which the measures of the

malcontents were taken, and the general extension of the conspiracy, before its existence was known to the officers of the fleet (1).

The prevalence of these discontents was made known to Lord Howe and the Lords of the Admiralty, by a variety of anonymous communications, during the whole spring of 1797; but they met with no attention; and, upon enquiry at the captains of vessels, they all declared, that no mutinous disposition existed on board of their respective ships. Meanwhile, however, a vast conspiracy, unknown to them, was already organized, which was brought to maturity on the return of the Channel fleet to port in the beginning of April; and on the signal being made from the Queen Charlotte, by Lord Bridport, to weigh anchor, on the 15th of that month, instead of obeying, its crew gave three cheers, which were returned by every vessel in the fleet, and the red flag of mutiny was hoisted on every masthead (2).

In this perilous crisis, the officers of the fleet exerted themselves to the utmost to bring back their crews to a state of obedience, but all their efforts were in vain. Meanwhile, the fleet being completely in possession of the insurgents, they used their power firmly, but with humanity and moderation; order and discipline were universally observed; the most scrupulous attention was paid to the officers; those most obnoxious were sent ashore without molestation; delegates were appointed from all the ships to meet in Lord Howe's cabin, an oath to support the common cause administered to every man in the fleet, and ropes reeved to the yard-arm of every vessel as a signal of the punishment that would be inflicted on those that betrayed it. Three days afterwards two petitions were forwarded, one to the Admiralty, and one to the House of Commons, drawn up in the most respectful, and even touching terms, declaring their unshaken loyalty to their king and country, but detailing the grievances of which they complained; that their pay had not been augmented since the reign of Charles II, though every article of life had advanced at least one-third in value; that the pensions of Chelsea were £.15, while those of Greenwich still remained at £.7; that their allowance of provisions was insufficient, and that the pay of wounded seamen was not continued till they were cured or discharged (3).

This unexpected mutiny produced the utmost alarm both in the country and the government; and the Board of Admiralty was immediately transferred to Portsmouth to endeavour to appease it. Earl Spencer hastened to the spot, and after some negotiation, the demands of the fleet were acceded to by the Admiralty, it being agreed that the pay of able-bodied seamen should be raised to a shilling a-day; that of petty officers and ordinary seamen in the same proportion, and the Greenwich pension augmented to ten pounds. This, however, the seamen refused to accept, unless it was ratified by royal proclamation and act of Parliament; the red flag, which had been struck, was relisted, and the fleet, after subordination had been in some degree restored, again broke out into open mutiny. Government, upon this, sent down Lord Howe to reassure the mutineers, and convince them of the good faith with which they were animated. The personal weight of this illustrious man, the many years he had commanded the Channel fleet, the recollection of his glorious victory at its

head, all conspired to induce the sailors to listen to his representations, and in consequence of his assurance that government would faithfully keep its promises, and grant an unqualified amnesty for the past, the whole fleet returned to its duty, and a few days afterwards put to sea, amounting to twenty-one ships of the line, to resume the blockade of Brest harbour. (1)

The bloodless termination of this revolt, and the concession to the seamen of what all felt to be their just demands, diffused a general joy throughout the nation, but this satisfaction was of short duration. On the 22d day, the fleet at the North, forming part of Lord Duncan's squadron, broke out into open mutiny, and on the 6th June they were joined by all the vessels of that fleet, from the blockading station off the Texel, excepting his own line-of-battle ship and two frigates. These ships drew themselves up in order of battle across the Thames, stopped all vessels going up or down the river, appointed delegates and a provisional government for the fleet, and compelled the ships, whose crews were thought to be wavering, to take their station in the middle of the formidable array. At the head of the insurrection was a man of the name of Parker, a seaman on board the Sandwich, who assumed the title of President of the Floating Republic, and was distinguished by undaunted resolution and no small share of ability. Their demands related chiefly to the unequal distribution of prize-money, which had been overlooked by the Channel commanders (2), but they went far in other respects, and were couched in such a menacing strain, as to be deemed totally inadmissible by government.

At the intelligence of this alarming insurrection, the utmost concentration was made in the nation. Every thing seemed to be falling at once, their armies had been defeated, the bank had suspended payment, and now the fleet, the pride and glory of England, seemed on the point of deserting the national colours. The citizens of London preceded a stoppage of the collectors, and all the usual supplies of the metropolis, the public creditors approached the speedy dissolution of government, and the cessation of their payments from the treasury. Deputies seized upon the finest hearts, and such was the general panic, that in three per cents were sold as low as forty-five, after having been nearly 100 before the commencement of the war. Never, during the whole contest, was the condition so great, and never was England placed so near the verge of destruction (3).

Fortunately for Great Britain, and the cause of freedom throughout the world, a monarch was on the throne whose firmness no danger could shake, and a minister at the helm whose capacity was equal to any emergency. Perceiving that the success of the mutiny in the Channel fleet had augmented the audacity of the sailors, and given rise to the present formidable insurrection, and conscious that the chief real grievances had been redressed, government was obliged to make a stand, and adopted the most energetic measures to face the danger. All the powers at the disposal of the Thames were removed, shot-boats, sheermasters, which was immediately

cess to the harbour. These energetic measures restored the public confidence; the nation rallied round a monarch and an administration who were not wanting to themselves in this extremity; and all the armed men, sailors, and merchants in London, voluntarily took an oath to stand by their country, in this eventful crisis (1).

The conduct of Parliament, on this trying occasion, was worthy of its glorious history. The revolt of the fleet was formally communicated to both Houses by the king on the 1st June, and immediately taken into consideration. The greater part of the Opposition, and especially Mr. Fox, at first held back, and seemed rather disposed to turn the public danger into the means of overturning the administration; but Mr. Sheridan came nobly forward, and threw the weight of his great name and thrilling eloquence into the balance in favour of his country. "Shall we yield," said he, "to mutinous sailors? Never, for in one moment we should extinguish three centuries of glory (2)." Awakened by this splendid example to more worthy feelings, the Opposition at length joined the administration, and a bill for the suppression of the mutiny passed by a great majority, through both Houses of Parliament. By this act, it was declared death for any person to hold communication with the sailors in mutiny after the revolt had been declared by proclamation; and all persons who should endeavour to seduce either soldiers or sailors from their duty were liable to the same punishment. This bill was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, and a few of the most violent of the Opposition, upon the ground that conciliation and concession were the only course which could ensure speedy submission. But Mr. Pitt's reply,—that the tender feelings of these brave but misguided men were the sole avenue which remained open to recall them to their duty, and that a separation from their wives, their children, and their country, would probably induce the return to duty which could alone obtain a revival of these affections,—was justly deemed conclusive, and the bill accordingly passed (3).

Meanwhile a negotiation was conducted by the Admiralty, who repaired on the first alarm to Shermess, and received a deputation from the mutineers; but their demands were so unreasonable, and urged in so threatening a manner, that they had the appearance of having been brought forward to exclude all accommodation, and justly, by their refusal, the immediate recurrence to extreme measures. These parties, however, gave government time to sow dissension among the insurgents, by representing the hopeless nature of the contest with the whole nation in which they were engaged, and the unreasonable nature of the demands on which they insisted. By degrees they became sensible that they had engaged in a desperate enterprise; the whole sailors on board the Channel fleet gave a splendid proof of genuine patriotism, by reprobating their proceedings, and earnestly imploring them to return to their duty. This remonstrance, coupled with the energetic conduct of both Parliament and government, and the general disapprobation of the nation, gradually checked the spirit of insubordination. On the 9th June, two ships of the line shipped their cables and abandoned the insurgents, amidst a heavy fire from the whole line; on the 15th, three other sail of the line and two frigates openly left them, and

Parliament
conduct of
the Channel
fleet.

The insurgents
are divided.

(1) Ann. Reg. 1797, 216, 217, Jan. x, 206.
(2) Part. Debates, xxxiii. 802, 803.
(3) Part. Deb. xxxiii. 816, 817. Ann. Reg. 218, 219.

took refuge under the cannon of Sheerness, on the following day, several officers followed their example; and at length, on the 10th, the whole remaining ships struck the red flag of mutiny, and the communication between the ocean and the metropolis was restored. Parker, the leader of the insurrection, was seized on board his own ship, and, after a solemn trial, condemned to death; whilst the underwent with great firmness, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and hoping only that mercy would be extended to his associates. Several of the officers of the revolt were found guilty and executed, but some escaped from on board the prison-ship, and got safe to Calais, and a large number, still under sentence of death, were pardoned, by royal proclamation, after the glorious victory of Camperdown (1).

The suppression of this dangerous revolt with so little bloodshed, and the exaltation of the nation from the greatest peril in which it had been placed since the Spanish Armada, is the most glorious event in the reign of George III and in the administration of Pitt (2). The conduct adopted towards the insurgents may be regarded as a masterpiece of political wisdom, and the happiest example of that union of firmness and humanity, of justice and concession, which can alone bring a government out of a crisis. By at once conceding all the just demands of

causes of complaint, and detached from their cause all the just motives of the navy, which by resolutely withstanding the audacious demands of the more mutinous, thus checked the spirit of democracy which had arisen out of those vic good and on the least opening being afforded, to run riot, that not only was out border upon vices, but even from acts of justice the most deplorable consequences. The flow and unhesitating display of firmness accompanied fear, as it were, in the Admiral Duquesne's conduct at this critical juncture was above all praise. He was with his fleet, blockading the Texel, when intelligence of the insurrection was received, and immediately four ships of the line despatched to the Netherlands, leaving him with an inferior force in presence of the enemy. They were successively followed by several officers; and at length the admiral, in his own ship on the station in this extremity his brave crew on deck, and addressed them in a manner of eloquence, so well known in antiquity, which at once melted the human heart (3). His crew were dissolved in tears, and declared, in the

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most energetic manner, their unshaken loyalty, and resolution to abide by him in life or death. Encouraged by this heroic conduct, he declared his determination to maintain the blockade, and, undismayed by the defection of so large a part of his squadron, remained off the Texel with his little but faithful remnant. By stationing one of the ships in the offing, and frequently making signals, as if to the remainder of the fleet, he succeeded in deceiving the Dutch admiral, who imagined that the vessels in sight were only the inshore squadron, and kept his station until the remainder of his ships joined him after the suppression of the insurrection (1).

It was naturally imagined at the time that this formidable mutiny was instigated by the arts of the French government. But though they were naturally highly elated at this unexpected piece of good fortune, and anxious to turn it to the best advantage, and though the revolutionary spirit which was abroad was unquestionably one cause of the commotion, there is no reason to believe that it arose from the instigation of the Directory, or was at all connected with any treasonable or seditious projects. On the contrary, after the minutest investigation, it appeared that the grievances complained of were entirely of a domestic character, that the hearts of the sailors were throughout true to their country, and that, at the very time when they were blockading the Thames in so menacing a manner, they would have fought the French fleet with the same spirit, as was afterwards evinced in the glorious victory of Camperdown (2).

The ultimate consequences of this insurrection, as of most other popular commotions which originate in real grievances, and are candidly but firmly met by government, were highly beneficial. The attention of the cabinet was forcibly turned to the sources of discontent in the navy, and from that to the corresponding causes and grievances in the army, and the result was a series of changes which, in a very great degree, improved the condition of officers and men in both services. The pay of the common soldiers was raised to their present standard of a shilling a-day (3); and those admirable regulations were soon after adopted in regard to pensions, prize-money, and retired allowances, which have justly endeared the memory of the Duke of York and Lord Melville to the privates of the army and navy. But whatever may have been the internal dissensions of the British fleet, never did it appear more terrible and irresistible to its foreign enemies than during this eventful year. Early in February, the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, and twelve frigates,

Battle of Cape St. Vincent.

I flatter myself, much good may result from your example, by bringing those despised people to a sense of their duty, which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves. "The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us from our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity; and that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. "This ship's company, and others, who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and should be, the favorites of a grateful nation. They will also have from their inward feelings a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the fleeting and false commendance of those who have swerved from their duty. "It has been often my pride with you to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed!—my feelings cannot easily be expressed. Our cup you all fill!"—*Ann. Reg. 1797, 214.* (1) *Ann. Reg. 1797, 221.* (2) *Ibid. 1797, 219.* (3) *Ann. Reg. 1797, 222; and State Papers, 212.* 8

put to sea, with the design of steering for Brest, raising the blockade of that harbour, forming a junction with the Dutch fleet, and clearing the Channel of the British squadron. This design, the same as that which Napoleon afterwards adopted in 1805, was defeated by one of the most memorable victories ever recorded even in the splendid annals of the English navy. Admiral Jarvis, who was stationed off the coast of Portugal, had by the greatest efforts, repaired various losses which his fleet had sustained during the storms of winter, and at this period lay in the Tagus with fifteen sail of the line, and six frigates. The moment he heard of the enemy's having sailed, he instantly put to sea, and was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, when he received intelligence of their approach, and immediately prepared for battle. He drew up his fleet in two lines, and bearing down before the wind, succeeded in engaging the enemy, who were very loosely scattered, and yet straggling in disorderly array, in close combat, before they had time to form in regular order of battle. Passing boldly through the centre of their fleet, the British admiral doubled with his whole force upon nine of the Spanish ships, and by a vigorous cannonade, drove them to leeward, so as to prevent their taking any part in the engagement which followed. The Spanish admiral upon this, endeavoured to regain the lost part of his fleet, and was warring round the rear of the British lines, when Commodore Alvarez, who was in the sternmost ship, perceiving his designs, directed his orders, stood directly towards him, and precipitated himself into the very middle of the hostile squadron. Bravely seconded by Captains Cortezwood and Troubridge, he ran his ship, the *Capitana* Trinidad, of 150 guns, commanded by Admiral Cordova, and the *San Josef*, of 112, and succeeded, by a tremendous fire to the right and left, in compelling the former to strike, although it escaped in consequence of action not being able, in the confusion of so close a fight, to take possession of his noble prize. The action, on the part of the gallant men, continued for nearly an hour with the utmost fury against fearful odds, which were more than compensated.

the action began
fire meanwhile,

but such was the tremendous effect of the Englishman's broadsides, that in a quarter of an hour the Spanish three-decker struck her colours, and let flying ceased; upon which that noble officer, disdaining to take possession of beaten enemies, and seeing his old invincible, Nelson, ahead and hard pressed by greatly superior forces, passed on, and the *Salvador*, relieved from her antagonist, again hoisted her colours, and recommenced the action, but she was again compelled to strike, and finally taken possession of by one of the ships which followed. (1) Collingwood immediately came alongside the *San Pedro*, twenty-four, so close, that a man might leap from the one to the other, the two vessels engaging thus at the muzzles of their guns. The combat was not of long duration, in ten minutes the Spanish struck, and was taken possession of by the *Levy* frigate, to whom the admiral made signal to secure the prize. Although Collingwood had thus already forced two Spanish line-of-battle ships, one of which was a three-decker, to strike to him, with seventy-four

(1) Nelson's Victory at Collingwood, L. 52. Collingwood & Nelson, 3 47, 48. Exeter, L. 219, 211. Southey & Nelson, L. 170 172

guns only, yet he was not contented with his achievement, but pushed on to relieve Nelson, who was now engaged with the San Nicholas and San Josef on one side, and the Santissima Trinidad, a huge four-decker of 136 guns, on the other. So close did he approach the former of these vessels, that to use his own words, you "could not put a bodkin between them," and the shot from the English ship passed through both the Spanish vessels, and actually struck Nelson's balls from the other side. After a short engagement, the Spaniard's fire ceased on that quarter; and Collingwood, seeing Nelson's ship effectually succoured, passed on, and engaged the Santissima Trinidad, which already had been assailed by several British ships in succession. No sooner was Nelson relieved by Collingwood's fire, than resuming his wonted energy, he boarded the San Nicholas, of seventy-four guns, and speedily hoisted the British colours on the poop; and finding that the prize was severely galled by a fire from the San Josef, of 112 guns, pushed on across it to its gigantic neighbour, himself leading the way, and exclaiming, "Westminster Abbey, or victory!" Nothing could resist such enthusiastic courage; the Spanish admiral speedily hauled down his colours, presenting his sword to Nelson on his own quarter-deck (1), while the English ship lay a perfect wreck beside its two noble prizes.

While Nelson and Collingwood were thus precipitating themselves with unexampled hardihood into the centre of the enemy's squadron on the larboard, the other column of the fleet, headed by Sir John Jarvis in the Victory, was also engaged in the most gallant and successful manner; though from being the one on the starboard tack, by which the enemy's line was pierced, they were the rear on the larboard, where Nelson had begun his furious attack. The Victory, passing under the stern of the Salvador del Mundo, followed by the Barre, Admiral Waldgrave, poured the most destructive broadsides into that huge three-decker; and passing on engaged in succession the Santissima Trinidad, whose tremendous fire from her four decks seemed to threaten destruction to every lesser opponent which approached her. At length, after having been most gallantly fought by Jarvis and Collingwood, she struck to Captain, now Lord de Saumarez, in the Orion; but that intrepid officer being intent on still greater achievements did not heave to, in order to take possession; but thinking it sufficient that she had hoisted the white flag on her quarter and the British union jack over it, passed it, leaving to the ship astern the easy task of taking possession. Unfortunately, in the smoke, this vessel did not perceive the token of surrender; but moved on a-head of the Santissima Trinidad after the admiral, so that the captured Spaniard was encouraged, though dismantled, to try to get off, and ultimately effected her escape. The remainder of the Spanish fleet now rapidly closed in and deprived Captain Saumarez of his magnificent prize (2): but the British squadron kept possession of the San Josef and Salvador, each of 112 guns, and the San Nicholas and San Isidro of 74 each. Towards evening the detached part of the Spanish fleet rejoined the main body, and thereby formed a force still greatly superior to the British squadron, yet such was the consternation produced by the losses they had experienced, and the imposing aspect of the English fleet, that they made no attempt to regain their lost vessels, but, after a distant cannonade, retreated in the night towards

(1) Nelson's Narrative, Collingwood, i. 53. Col-
lingwood, i. 48, 49. Southey's Nelson, i. 170.
James, ii. 46, 63. De Saumarez's Life, i. 171.
(2) Tom, ii. 48, 64. Ann. Reg. 1797, 94, 95. App.
175. Brenlon, i. 311, 342.

Character of Sir John Jarvis, afterwards created Earl St.-Vincent, one of the greatest and most renowned admirals that ever appeared in the British navy, possessed qualities which, if not so brilliant as those of his illustrious rival, were not less calculated for great and glorious achievements. He early distinguished himself in his profession, and was engaged with Wolfe in the glorious operations which terminated in the capture of Quebec in the Seven Year's War. An action which he soon after fought with the Roudroyan of eighty-four guns, was one of the most extraordinary displays of valour and skill even in that war so fertile in great exploits. The mutiny which broke out with such violence in the Channel fleet and at the Nore in 1797, had also its ramifications in the fleet under his command, off the Spanish coast: and by the mingled firmness and clemency of his conduct, he succeeded in reducing the most mutinous vessels to obedience with a singularly small effusion of human blood. A severe disciplinarian, strict in his own duties, rigorous in the exaction of them from others, he yet secured the affections both of his officers and men by the impartiality of his decisions, the energy of his conduct, and the perfect nautical skill which he was known to possess. It is doubtful if even Nelson would have been equal to the extraordinary exertion of vigour and capacity with which, in a period of time so short as to be deemed impossible by all but himself, he succeeded in fitting out his squadron from the Tagus in February 1797, in sufficient time to intercept

ness. from none of the obloquy consequent on the fascination of female wickedness. that cruelly should never be palliated, and the rival of Napoleon shielded Naples, history would dwell upon him as a spotless hero; but justice requires serious delinquencies. If a veil could be drawn over the transactions at been subject. In one unhappy instance, however, he was betrayed into more virtue, and to which, heroic characters in all ages have, in a peculiar manner, ardent temperament of his mind; they arose from passions nearly allied to fascination of wickedness. These weaknesses, indeed, were owing to the perpetually liable to the delusion of art, and sometimes seduced by the of his domestic duties; an ardent lover, he was a faithless husband. He was in a less favourable light. Vain, undiscerning, impetuous, he was regardless genius aloof, only, that this transcendent praise is due; on shore he appears the world has seldom characters so illustrious to exhibit, and few achievements as momentous to commemorate. But it is to his public conduct, and the same manner as Napoleon practised in battles at land. The history of ing headlong into the enemy's fleet, and doubling upon a part of their line, the French navy, by fearlessly following up the new system of tactics, plung- he had many, were all owing to the excess of patriotic feeling; he annihilated His whole life was spent in the service of his country; his prejudices, and which continued for life (1).

harbour, Nelson embraced him as his deliverer, and commenced a friendship will not leave you." What he promised he performed, and on arriving in bring you in safe: I therefore must not, and, by the help of Almighty God, I took his own trumpet, and in a solemn voice replied, "I feel confident I can trumpet, and with passionate threats ordered Ball to set him loose. But Ball her hold, and deeming his own case desperate, he seized the speaking in tow. Nelson thought, however, that Ball's ship would be lost if she kept storm off Minorca, Nelson's ship was disabled and Captain Ball took his vessel

and defeat the Spanish fleet. In the high official duties as first Lord of the Admiralty, with which he was entrusted in 1802, he exhibited a most praiseworthy zeal and anxiety for the detection of abuses, and he succeeded in rooting out many lucrative corruptions which had fastened themselves upon that important branch of the public service, although he yielded with too much facility to that unhappy mania for reducing our establishments, which invariably seizes the English on the return of peace, and has so often exposed to the utmost danger the naval supremacy of Great Britain. But in nothing, perhaps, was his energy and disinterested character more clearly evinced than in his conduct in 1798, when he despatched Nelson to the Mediterranean at the head of the best ships in his own fleet, and furnished him with the means of striking a blow destined to eclipse even his own well earned fame. But these two great men had no jealousy of each other. Their whole emulation consisted in mutual efforts to serve their country, and none was more willing to concede the highest merit of praise to each officer. The mind of the historian, as it has been well observed, "wears with recounting the deeds of human baseness, and mortified with contemplating the frailty of illustrious men, gathers a soothing refreshment from such scenes as these, where kindred genius exciting only mutual admiration and honest rivalry, gives birth to no feeling of jealousy or envy, and the character which stamps real greatness, is found in the genuine value of the mass, as well as in the outward splendour of the die, the highest talents sustained by the pure virtue, the capacity of the statesman, and the valour of the hero, distinguished by the unanimous heart which beats only to the measures of generosity and justice (1)."

Differing in many essential particulars from both of these illustrious men, Earl Howe was one of the most distinguished men which the English navy ever produced. Of him, perhaps, more truly than any other of its illustrious chiefs may it be said, as of the Chevalier Bayard, that he lived without fear and without reproach. He had the enterprise and gallant bearing so general in all officers in the naval service of Great Britain, but these qualities in him were combined with coolness, firmness, and systematic arrangement, with an habitual self-command and humanity to officers, almost unrivalled in those intrusted with supreme command. In early life he contracted an intimate friendship with general Wolfe, and was employed with him in the expedition against the Isle d'Orléans in Basque Roads in 1757. "Their friendship," says Walpole, "was like the union of cannon and gunpowder. Howe strong in mind, solid in judgment, firm of purpose, Wolfe quick in conception, prompt in execution, impetuous in action." His coolness in danger may be judged of from one anecdote. When in command of the Channel fleet, after a sharp and hazardous night, when the ships were in considerable danger of running foul, Lord Cardigan, then third in command, a most intrepid officer, next day went on board the Queen Charlotte, and inquired of Howe, how he had slept, for that he himself had not been able to get any rest from anxiety of mind. Lord Howe replied that he had slept like a feather well, for as he had taken every possible precaution before it was dark, for the safety of the ship and crew, this precaution set his mind at liberty at case. In person he was tall and well proportioned, his countenance of a serene cast and dark, but relaxing, at times into a sweet smile, which bespoke the mildness and humanity of his disposition. No one ever con-

duced the stern duties of war with more consideration for the sufferings both of his own men and his adversaries, or mingled its heroic courage with a larger share of benevolent feeling. Disinterested in the extreme, his private charities were unbounded, and in 1798, when government received voluntary gifts for the expenses of the war, he sent his whole annual income, amounting to eighteen hundred pounds, to the bank, as his contribution. Such was his humanity and consideration for the seamen under his command, that it was more by the attachment which they bore to him, than by any exertion of authority, that he succeeded in suppressing, without effusion of blood, the formidable mutiny in the Channel fleet. He was the first of the great school of English admirals, and by his profound nautical skill, and long attention to the subject, he first succeeded in reducing to practice, that admirable system of tactics to which the unexampled triumphs of the war were afterwards owing. A disinterested lover of his country, he was entirely exempt from ambition of every kind, and received the rewards which his Sovereign loaded him, with gratitude, but without desire (1) : the only complaint he ever made, of Government, were for their neglect of the inferior naval officers who had served in his naval exploits.

The great victory of St. Vincent's entirely disconcerted the well-conceived designs of Turgot for the naval campaign; but later in the season, another effort, with an inferior fleet, but more experienced seamen, was made by the Dutch Republic. For a very long period the naval preparations in Holland had been most extraordinary, and far surpassed any thing attempted by the United Provinces for above a century past. The stoppage of the commerce of the Republic had enabled the government to man their vessels with a choice selection both of officers and men; and from the well-known courage of the sailors, it was anticipated that the contest with the English fleet would be more obstinate and bloody than any which had yet occurred from the commencement of the war. De Winter, who commanded the armament, was a staunch Republican, and a man of tried courage and experience. Nevertheless, being encumbered with land forces, destined for the invasion of Ireland, he did not attempt to leave the Texel till the beginning of October, when the English fleet having been driven to Yarmouth roads by stress of weather, the Dutch Government gave orders for the troops to be disembarked, and the fleet to set sail, and make the best of its way to the harbour of Brest, in order to co-operate in the long-projected expedition against that island, now fermenting with discontent, and containing at least two hundred thousand men, organized, and ready for immediate rebellion (2).

Admiral Duncan was no sooner apprized by the signals of his cruizers that the Dutch fleet was at sea, than he weighed anchor with all imaginable haste, and stretched across the German Ocean, with so much expedition, that he got near the hostile squadron before it was out of sight of the shore of Holland. The Dutch fleet consisted of fifteen ships of the line and eleven frigates; the English, of sixteen ships of the line and three frigates. Duncan's first care was to station his fleet in such a manner as to prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel; and having done this, he bore down upon his opponents, and hove in sight of them, on the following morning, drawn up in order of battle at the distance of nine miles from the

Battle of

Camper-

down.

(1) Barrow's Life of Howe, chap. xii. 432.

(2) Vict. et Conq. viii. 271, 271. Wolfe Tone, ii. 197, 201.

coast between Capenorden and Egmont. With the same instinctive genius, which after vards inspired a similar resolution to Velsoot at Alkmaar he gave the signal to break the line, and get between the enemy and the shore—a movement which was immediately and skillfully executed in two lines of attack, and proved the principal cause of the glorious success which followed, by preventing their withdrawing into the shallows, out of the reach of the British vessels, which, for the most part, drew more water than their antagonists. Admiral Onslow first broke the line, and commenced a close combat. As he approached the Dutch line, his captain observed, the enemy were lying so close that they could not penetrate. “The Monarch will make a passage,” replied Onslow, and held on undaunted. The Dutch ship opposite gave way to let him pass, and he entered the close-set line. In passing through, he poured one broadside with tremendous effect into the starboard ship’s stern, and the other with not less into the vice-admiral’s bows, whom he immediately lay alongside, and engaged at three yards’ distance. He was soon followed by Duncan himself, at the head of the second line (1), who joined the centre and laid himself alongside of De Winter’s flag ship, and shortly the action became general, each English ship engaging its adversary, but still between them and the lee-shore.

De Winter, perceiving the design of the enemy, gave the signal for his fleet to unite in close order, but from the thickness of the smoke, his order was not generally perceived, and but partially obeyed. Notwithstanding this utmost efforts of valour on the part of the Dutch, the superiority of English skill and discipline soon appeared in the engagement, yard-arm to yard-arm, which followed. For three hours, Admiral Duncan and De Winter fought with unflinching courage, but by degrees the Dutchman’s fire slackened, his masts fell one by one or crumbled, amidst the loud cheers of the British sailors, and at length he struck his flag, after half his crew were killed or wounded, and his ship incapable of making any farther resistance. De Winter was the only man on his quarter-deck who was not either killed or wounded, he lauded that, in the midst of the carnage which literally floated the deck of his noble ship, he alone should have been spared (2). The Dutch vice-admiral soon after struck to Admiral Onslow, and by four o’clock, eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates, were in the hands of the victors. Twelve sail of the line had struck their colours, but owing to the bad weather, which succeeded, nine only were secured (3). No less skill than bravery, both to be

Admiral Onslow, and were now lying in nine fathoms water. It was owing to this circumstance alone that any of the Dutch squadron escaped, but when the English withdrew into deeper water, Admiral Onslow collected the scattered remains of his fleet, and sought refuge in the Texel, while Duncan returned with his prizes to Yarmouth roads. The battle was seen distinctly from the shore, where a vast multitude was assembled, who beheld in silent despair the ruin of the armament on which the national

(1) Lord Duncan's Act 10th Dec. 1807. Ann Reg. 1797 100 Jan 2 213 214 Dec 10 217 218
James 1 69 10 197 215 216 217 218
(2) The victor and Admiral Duncan's death to-
gether with the day of the battle of the Texel
in the most judicious manner in the evening they
layed a reward at Whitby and the victor was the
218
Duncan's death 10th Dec. 1807. Ann Reg. 1797 100 Jan 2 213 214
James 1 69 10 197 215 216 217 218
the same opposition. Duncan's death to-
gether with the day of the battle of the Texel
in the most judicious manner in the evening they
layed a reward at Whitby and the victor was the
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hopes had been so long rested. Towards the conclusion of the action the Hercules, one of the Dutch ships, was found to be on fire, but it was soon extinguished by the coolness and presence of mind of the crew on board the triumph, to which she had struck. During the two days of tempestuous weather which ensued, two of the prizes mutilated against the English guard on board, and escaped into the Texel; and the Delta, a seventy-four, went down, astern of the ship which had her in tow. But eight line-of-battle ships, and two of fifty-six guns, were brought into Yarmouth roads, amidst the cheers of innumerable spectators, and the transports of a whole nation (1).

This action was one of the most important fought at sea during the revolutionary war, not only from the valour displayed on both sides during the engagement, but the important consequences with which it was attended. The Dutch fought with a courage worthy of the descendants of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, as was evinced by the loss on either part, which, in the British, was one thousand and forty men, and in the Batavian, one thousand one hundred and sixty, besides the crews of the prizes, who amounted to above six thousand. The appearance of the British ships, at the close of the action, was very different from what it usually is after naval engagements; no masts were down, little damage done to the sails or rigging; like their worthy adversaries, the Dutch fired at the hull of their enemies, which accounts for the great loss in killed and wounded in this well-fought engagement (2). The Dutch were all either dismasted, or so riddled with shot, as to be altogether unserviceable. On every side marks of a desperate conflict were visible. But the contest was no longer equal; England had quadrupled in strength since the days of Charles II, while the United Provinces had declined both in vigour and resources. Britain was now as equal to a contest with the united navies of Europe, as she was then to a war with the fleets of an inconsiderable Republic.

But the effects of this victory, both upon the security and the public spirit of Britain, were in the highest degree important. Achieved as it had been by the fleet which had recently struck such terror into every class by the mutiny at the Nore, and coming so soon after that formidable event, it both elevated the national spirit by the demonstration it afforded how true the patriotism of the seamen still was, and the deliverance from the immediate peril of invasion which it effected. A subscription was immediately entered into for the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in this battle, and it soon amounted to £2,000. The northern courts, whose conduct had been dubious previous to this great event, were struck with terror, and all thoughts of reviving the principles of the armed neutrality were laid aside. But great as were the external results, it was in its internal effects that the vast importance of this victory was chiefly made manifest. Despondency was no longer felt; the threatened invasion of Ireland was laid aside; Britain was now secure. England now learned to regard without dismay the victories of the French at land, and, secure in her sea-girt isle, to trust in those defenders

"Whose march is o'er the mountain wave,
Whose home is on the deep."

The joy, accordingly, upon the intelligence of this victory, was heartfelt and unexampled, from the sovereign on the throne, to the beggar in the hovel. Bonfires and illuminations were universal; the enthusiasm spread to

(1) Brent. i. 354-5 James.

(2) James, ii. 70, 71. Ann. Reg. 1797, 101.

every breast; the fire gained every heart, and amidst the roar of artillery and the festive light of cities, faction disappeared, and discontents sunk into neglect. Numbers date from the rejoicings consequent on this achievement their first acquaintance with the events of life, among whom may be reckoned the author, then residing under his paternal roof, in a remote parish of Shropshire, whose earliest recollection is of the sheep-roasting and rural festivities which took place on the joyful intelligence being received in that secluded district.

The national gratitude was liberally bestowed on the leaders in these glorious achievements. Sir John Jervis received the title of Viscount St. Vincent, Admiral Duncan that of Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and Commodore Nelson that of Sir Horatio Nelson. From these victories may be dated the commencement of that concord among all classes, and that re-ovine British spirit, which never afterwards deserted this country. Her subsequent victories were for conquest, these were for existence, from the deepest deception, and an unexampled accumulation of disasters, she arose at once into security and renown, the denigrating spirit gradually subsided, from the excitation of new passions, and the force of more ennobling recollections; and the rising generation, who began to mingle in public affairs, now sensibly influenced national thought, by the display of the patriotic spirit which had been nursed amidst the dangers and the glories of their infant years.

The remaining maritime operations of this year are hardly deserving of notice. A descent of fourteen hundred men, chiefly composed of deserters and banditti, in the bay of Penzance, in February, intended to distract the attention of the British government from Ireland, the real point of attack, met with the result which might have been anticipated, by all the party being taken prisoners. Early in spring, an expedition, under General Abercromby, captured the island of Trinidad, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and a ship of the line in the harbour; but two months after, the same force failed in an attack on Porto Rico; notwithstanding which, however, the superiority of the British over the navy, of their combined enemies, was continually conspicuous during the whole year.

Death of
Dr. B. M.

these glorious con-
quists its results

witness its results. The young man, who had long laboured by the death of his son, and who had long laboured in weakness, at length breathed his last at

on the 21st July, 1797. His counsels on English politics were full of the same direct, lofty, and uncompromising spirit which had made his voice sound as the bolt of a trumpet to the heart of England. His last work, the letters on a litigious peace, published a few months before his death, is distinguished by the same fervent eloquence, fervent wisdom, and far-seeing sagacity, which characterised his earlier found wisdom, and far-seeing sagacity, which characterised his earlier

cumb. It is a struggle for your existence as a nation. If you must die, die with the sword in your hand. But I have no fears whatever for the result. There is a salient living principle of energy in the public mind of England, which only requires proper direction to enable her to withstand this, or any other ferocious foe. Persevere, therefore, till this tyranny be over-

past (1).”
 His character.

Thus departed this life, if not in the maturity of years, at least in the fulness of glory, Edmund Burke. The history of England, prodigal as it is of great men, has no such philosophic statesman to boast; the annals of Ireland, graced though they be with splendid characters, have no such shining name to exhibit. His was not the mere force of intellect, the ardour of imagination, the richness of genius; it was a combination of the three, unrivalled, perhaps, in any other age or country. Endowed by nature with a powerful understanding, an inventive fancy, a burning eloquence, he exhibited the rare combination of these great qualities with deep thought, patient investigation, boundless research. His speeches in Parliament were not so impressive as those of Mirabeau in the National Assembly, only because they were more profound; he did not address himself with equal felicity to the prevailing feeling of the majority. He was ever in advance of his age, and left to posterity the difficult task of teaching, through pain and suffering, the elevation to which he was at once borne on the wings of prophetic genius. Great, accordingly, and deserved, as was his reputation in the age in which he lived, it was not so great as it has since become; and strongly as subsequent times have felt the truth of his principles, they are destined to rise into still more general celebrity in the future ages of mankind.

Like all men of a sound intellect, and ardent disposition, and a feeling heart, Mr. Burke was strongly attached to the principles of freedom, and, during the American war, when those principles appeared to be endangered by the conduct of the English government, he stood forth as an uncompromising leader of the Opposition in Parliament. He was, from the outset, however, the friend of freedom only in conjunction with its indispensable allies, order and property; and the severing of the United States from the British empire, and the establishment of a pure Republic beyond the Atlantic, appears to have given the first rude shock to his visions of the elevation and improvement of the species, and suggested the painful doubt, whether the cause of liberty might not, in the end, be more endangered by the extravagance of its supporters than by the efforts of its enemies. These doubts were confirmed by the first aspect of the French Revolution; and while many of the greatest men of his age were dazzled by the brightness of its morning light, he at once discerned, amidst the deceitful blaze, the small black cloud which was to cover the universe with darkness. With the characteristic ardour of his disposition, he instantly espoused the opposite side; and, in the prosecution of his efforts in defence of order, he was led to profounder principles of political wisdom than any intellect, save that of Bacon, had reached, and which are yet far in advance of the general understanding of mankind. His was not the instinctive horror at revolution which arises from the possession of power, the prejudices of birth, or the selfishness of wealth; on the contrary, he brought to the consideration of the great questions which then divided society, prepossessions only on the other side, a heart long

warned by the feelings of liberty, a disposition enthusiastic in its support, a lifetime spent in its service. He was led to combat the principles of Jacobinism from an early and clear perception of their consequences, from foreseeing that they would infallibly, if successful, destroy the elements of freedom, and, in the end, leave to society, bereft of all its bulwarks, only an age of slavery and decline. It was not as the enemy, but the friend of liberty, that he was the determined opponent of the revolution, and such will ever be the foundation in character on which the most resolute, because the most enlightened and the least selfish, resistance to democratic ascendancy will be founded.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1797—FALL OF VENICE.

ARGUMENT.

Russia recedes from the contemplated measures of Catharine—Plans of the Directory—Bernadotte's and Dumas's Divisions join Napoleon—Disposition of his Forces—Preparations of the Imperialists—Great Spirit in the Imperialist States—Napoleon anticipates the Arrival of the Austrian Veterans—Danger of that Plan—Description of the Theatre of War—His Roads and Rivers—Napoleon resolves to turn the Austrian left—His proclamation to his Soldiers—Great Interest excited in Europe by the approaching Contest—Operations of Massena on the left—Passage of the Isouzo by Bernadotte—Massena makes himself Master of the Col-de-Tarvis—Desperate Actions there—It is finally won by the Republicans—Bayliff's Division is surrounded, and made Prisoners—Napoleon crosses the Ridge of the Alps—Occupies Klagenfurth—Successful Operations of Joubert in the Tyrol—Desperate Action at the Pass of Clausen, which is at length carried—Joubert Advances to Sterzing—General Alarm in the Tyrol—He marches across to join Napoleon at Klagenfurth—Results of these Actions—Perilous Condition notwithstanding of Napoleon—He in consequence makes Proposals of Peace to the Archduke, and at the same time severely presses the revealing Imperialists—They are Defeated at the Gorge of Neumarkt—Napoleon pushes on to Judenburg, and the Archduke retreats towards Vienna—Terror excited there by these Disasters—Preliminaries are agreed to at Leoben—Disastrous State of the French in Croatia and Tyrol—Extreme Danger of Napoleon—Conditions of the Preliminaries—Enormous Injustice of this Treaty as far as regards Venice—State of Venice at this period—Its long-continued Decline—Rapid Progress of Democratic Ideas in the Cities of the Venetian Territory, which are secretly encouraged by Napoleon—Democratic Insurrection breaks out in the Venetian Provinces, which soon spreads to all the chief Towns—Conservation at Venice—The Senate send Deputies to Napoleon—His Duplicity, and refusal to act against the Insurgents, or let the Venetians do so—Venetians at last resolve to crush the Insurrection—Hostilities break out between the two Parties—The Counter-Insurrection spreads immensely—Continued Indecision of the Venetian Senate in regard to France—Alleged anger of Napoleon—Massacre at Verona, which is speedily suppressed by the French Troops—Massacre at Lido—Efforts of the Venetian Senate to avert the storm—Resources still at the command of Venice—War declared by Napoleon against Venice—Manifestoes on both sides—Universal Revolt of the Continental Towns of the Venetian Territory—Anarchy in Venice itself—The Senate abdicate their authority—The Population still endeavour to resist the Subjugation of the State—But Venice falls—Joy of the Democratic Party—Treaty of 16th May between Napoleon and Venice—State of the Armies on the Rhine—Passage of that River at Diersheim, and Defeat of the Austrians—Operations cut short by the armistice of Leoben—Commencement of operations by Hoche on the Lower Rhine—Passage of that River forced at Neuwied—Defeat of the Austrians—Hostilities stopped by the armistice of Leoben—Accession of Frederick William III—His Character—Early Measures and Policy—Re-spect of the Astonishing Successes of Napoleon—Commencement of the Negotiations at Udina in Italy—Splendour of Napoleon's Court there—Revolution at Genoa brought about by the French—The Senate defeat the Insurgents—The French then interfere—and vigorously support the Democratic Party—Senate upon this Submit—Violent Passions of the People—Rural Insurrection breaks out, which is suppressed—Deplorable Humiliation of Piedmont—Negotiations between England and France opened at Lisle—Moderation of the Negotiations at Ulma—Terms are at length agreed to—Simulated arrogance and real fears of Napoleon—His Secret Motives for Signing this Treaty—The Directory had forbid the Spoliation of Venice—Its Infamy rests exclusively on Napoleon—Terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio—Its Secret Articles—Horror excited at Venice by the Publication of the Treaty—Great Sensation excited by this event in Europe—Infamous Conduct of Napoleon in this transaction—Important Light which it throws upon his Character—Atrocious Conduct of Austria—Weakness of the Venetian Aristocracy—Insanity of the Democratic Party—Striking Contrast exhibited at the same period by the Nobility and People of England.

The year 1797 was far from realizing the brilliant prospects which Mr. Pitt had formed for the campaign, and which the recent alliance with the

Lampreys Catharine had rendered so likely to be fulfilled The death of this great princess, who, alone with the British statesman, appreciated the full extent of the danger, and the necessity of vigorous measures to counteract it, dissolved all the projected armaments. The Emperor Paul, who succeeded her, countermanded the great levy of 150,000 men, which she had ordered for the French war, and so far from evincing any disposition to mingle in the contentions of Southern Europe, secured neutral, and it was ascertained that a considerable time must elapse before the veterans of the Archduke could be drawn from the Alpine frontier of the hereditary States. Every thing, therefore, conspired to indicate, that by an early and vigorous effort, a fatal blow might be struck at the heart of the Austrian power, before the resources of the monarchy could be collected to repel it (1).

Aware of the necessity of commencing operations early in spring, Napoleon had in the beginning of the preceding winter urged the Directory to send him powerful reinforcements, and put forth the strength of the Republic in a quarter where the barriers of the Imperial dominions were already in a great measure overcome. Every thing indicated that that was the most vulnerable side on which the enemy could be assailed, but the jealousy of the government prevented them from placing the major part of their forces at the disposal of so ambitious and enterprising a general as the Italian conqueror. Obsinately adhering to the plan of Carnot, which all the disaistrs of the preceding campaign had not taught them to distrust, they decided to send his forces to the army of the Sambre and Meuse, of which he received the command, while large reinforcements were also dispatched to the army of the Rhine, the plan being to open the campaign with two armies of eighty thousand each in Germany, acting independent of each other, and on a parallel and far distant line of operations. The divisions of Bernadotte and Dehas, above a very thousand strong, were sent from the Rhine to strengthen the Army of Italy. These brave men crossed the Alps in the depth of winter (2). In ascending Mont Cenis, a violent snow-storm arose, and the guides recommended a halt, but the officers ordered the drums to beat and the charge to sound, and they faced the tempest as they would have rushed upon the enemy.

The arrival of these troops raised the army immediately under the command of Napoleon to sixty-one thousand men, independent of sixteen thousand who were scattered from Ancona to Milan, and employed in overawing the Pope, and securing the rear and communications of the army. Four divisions, destined for immediate operations, were assembled in the Trevisane March in the end of February, viz. that of Massena at Bassano, Serurier at Castelbranco, Augereau at Treviso, and Bernadotte at Padua. Souther, with his own division, reinforced by those of Delmas and Batarey D Hilliers, was stationed in Tyrol, to make head against the formidable forces which the Imperialists were assembling in that warlike province (3).

Meanwhile the Austrian government had been actively employed during the winter in taking measures to repair the losses of the campaign, and make head against the redoubtable enemy who threatened

rear and maintain the communications of his army. To compensate this loss, he had laboured all the winter to conclude an alliance with the Venetian republic, but its haughty, yet timid aristocracy, worn out with the French exactions, not only declined his overtures, but manifested some symptoms of alienation from the republican interest, which obliged the French general to leave a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Verona, to overawe their vacillating counsels. Thus Napoleon was left alone to hazard an irruption into the Austrian states, and scale the Xorice and Julian Alps with sixty thousand men, leaving on his left the warlike province of Tyrol, by which his communications with the Adige might be cut off, and on his right Croatia and the Venetian states, the first of which was warmly attached to the house of Austria, while the last might be expected, on the least reverse, to join the same standard (1).

Three great roads lead from Verona across the Alps to Vienna; that of Tyrol, that of Carniola, and that of Carniola. The first, following the line of the Adige by Bolzano and Brieg, crosses the ridge of the Brenner into the valley of the Inn, from whence it passes by Salzbouurg into that of the Danube, and descends to Vienna after passing the Enns. The second traverses the Vicentine and Trevisane Marches, crosses the Piave and the Tagliamento, surmounts the Alps by the Col-de-Tarvis, descends into Carniola, crosses the Drave at Villach, and, by Klagenfurt and the course of the Mur, mounts the Summerring, from whence it descends into the plain of Vienna. The third by Carniola, passes the Isonzo at Gradisca, goes through Laybach, crosses the Save and the Drave, enters Styria, passes Graz, the capital of that province, and joins the immediately preceding road at Bruck. Five lateral roads lead from the chaussee of Tyrol to that

that of Carniola, the first branches off from Gonzia, and following the course of the Isonzo, joins, at Tarvis, the route of Carniola (2), the second connects Laybach and Klagenfurt, the third, setting out from Marburg, also terminates at Klagenfurt. The rivers which descend from this chain of mountains into the Adriatic sea, did not present any formidable obstacles. The Piave and the

positions by the Alps which commanded them. He directed Massena, accordingly, to turn the right flank of the enemy with his powerful division, while the three others attacked them in front at the same time Joubert, with seventeen thousand men, received orders to force the passes of the Italian Tyrol, and drive the enemy over the Brenner, and Victor, who was still on the Tyrennes, was destined to move forward with his division, which successive additions would raise to twenty thousand men, to the Adige, to keep in check the Venetian levies, and secure the com-

(1) Jour x 28 Sep 17, 69 13 15 x 63 61
(2) Jour x 28 Sep 17, 69 13 15 x 63 61

munications of the army. Thirty-five thousand of the Austrian forces, under the Archduke in person, were assembled on the left bank of the Tagliamento; the remainder of his army, fifteen thousand strong, were in Tyrol at Bolzano, while thirty thousand of his best troops were only beginning their march

from the Upper Rhine (1).

Napoleon moved his headquarters to Bassano on the 9th March, and addressed the following order of the day to his army:—"Soldiers! The fall of Mantua has terminated the war in Italy, which has given you eternal titles to the gratitude of your country. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy combats: you have made 100,000 prisoners, taken 500 pieces of field artillery, 2,000 of heavy calibre, and four sets of pontoons. The contributions you have levied on the vanquished countries have clothed, fed, and paid the army, and you have, besides, sent 50,000,000 of francs to the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with 500 *chefs-d'œuvre* of art, the produce of thirty centuries. You have conquered the finest countries in Europe for the Republic; the Transpadane and Cispadane Republics owe to you their freedom. The French colours now fly, for the first time, on the shores of the Adriatic, in front, and within twenty-four hours sail of the country of Alexander! The Kings of Sardinia, of Naples, the Pope, the Duke of Parma, have been detached from the coalition. You have chased the English from Leghorn, Genoa, Corsica; and now still higher destinies await you: you will show yourselves worthy of them! of all the enemies who were leagued against the Republic, the Emperor alone maintains the contest; but he is blindly led by that perfidious cabinet, which, a stranger to the evils of war, smiles at the sufferings of the Continent. Peace can no longer be found but in the heart of the Hereditary States: in seeking it here, you will respect the religion, of the manners, the property of a brave people: you will bring freedom to the

valiant Hungarian nation (2).

The approaching contest between the Archduke Charles and Napoleon excited the utmost interest throughout Europe, both from the magnitude of the cause with which they respectively bore upon their swords, and the great deeds which, on different theatres, they had severally achieved. The one appeared resplendent, from the conquest of Italy; the other illustrious, from the deliverance of Germany: the age of both was the same; their courage equal, their mutual respect reciprocal. But their dispositions were extremely different, and the resources on which they had to rely in the contest which was approaching, as various as the causes which they supported. The one was audacious and impetuous; the other, calm and judicious: the first was at the head of troops hitherto unconquered; the last, of soldiers dispirited by disaster: the former combated not with arms alone, but the newly-roused passions; the latter with the weapons only of the ancient faith: the Republican army was the more numerous; the Imperial the more fully equipped: on the victory of Napoleon depended the maintenance of the Republican sway in Italy; on the success of the Archduke, the existence of the empire of the Cæsars in Germany. On the other hand, the people of the provinces, around and behind the theatre of war, were attached to the Austrians, and hostile to the French; retreat, therefore, was the policy of the former, impetuous advance of the latter; victory by the one was to be won by rapidity of attack; success could be hoped

for by the other only by protracting the contest. Great reinforcements were hastening to the Archduke from the Rhine, the Hereditary States, and Hungary, while his adversary could expect no assistance, beyond what he at first brought into action. Success at first, therefore, seemed within the grasp of Napoleon; but if the contest could be protracted, it might be expected to desert the Republican for the Imperial banners (1).

On the 10th March all the columns of the army were in motion, though the weather was still rigorous, and snow to the depth of several feet : notwithstanding the higher passes of the mountains, Massena's advanced Pave in

dedicated, with self. By pressing forward through the higher Alps, he compelled the Archduke, to avoid his right flank being turned, to fall back from the Pave to the Tagliamento, and concentrate his army behind the latter stream. On the 11th March, at nine o'clock in the morning, the three divisions of the French

are fordable, and covers the ground for a great extent between the stones and gravel. The Imperial squadrons, numerous and magnificently appointed, were drawn up on the opposite shore, ready to fall on the French infantry the moment that they crossed the stream, and a vast array of artillery already scattered its balls among its numerous branches. Napoleon, seeing the enemy so well prepared, had recourse to a stratagem : he ordered the troops to retire without the reach of the enemy's fire, establish a bivouac, and begin to cook their victuals, the Archduke, conceiving all chance of attack over for the day, withdrew his forces into their camp in the rear. When all was quiet, the signal was given by the French general the soldiers ran to arms, and, forming with inconceivable rapidity, advanced quickly in columns by echelon, flanking each other in the finest order, and precipitated themselves into the river. The precision, the beauty of the movements, resembled the exercise of a holiday, never did an army advance upon the enemy in a more majestic or imposing manner. The troops vied with each other in

the regularly and fir rival divisions reached, exclaimed Bernadotte, ing into the water, so bastering to the spot,

but it was too late, they were already established in battle array on the left bank. Soon the firing became general along the whole line, but the Archduke, seeing the passage achieved, his flank turned, and being unwilling to engage in a decisive action before the arrival of his divisions from the Rhine, ordered a retreat; and the French light troops pursued him four miles from the field of battle. In this action the Imperialists lost six pieces of cannon and 500 men : and, what was of more importance, the prestige of a first success. In truth, the Archduke never regained the confidence of his soldiers in contending with !

Meanwhile Massena, on the 11th at St.-Daniel. Soon after, he made

of Massena's on the left

(1) *See*

of the chausée of the Pouteba, which was not occupied in force, pushed on to the Venetian chûsa, a narrow gorge, rudely fortified, which he also carried, and drove the Austrian division of Ocksay before him to the ridge of Tarwis (1).

The occupation of the Ponteba by Masséna, prevented the Archduke from continuing his retreat by the direct road to Carinthia; he resolved, therefore, to regain it by the cross-road, which follows the blue and glittering waters of the Isongo, because the Carinthian road, being the most direct, was the one which Napoleon would probably follow in his advance upon Vienna. For this purpose he dispatched his parks of artillery, and the division of Bayalich, by the Isongo towards Tarwis, while the remainder of his forces retired by the Lower Isongo. The day after the battle of the Taghamento, Napoleon occupied Palma Nuova, where he found immense magazines, and soon after pushed on to Gradisca, situated on the Lower Isongo, and garrisoned by three thousand men. Bernadotte's division arrived first before the place, and instantly plunging into the torrent, which at that time was uncommonly low, notwithstanding a shower of balls from two thousand Croats stationed on the opposite shore, succeeded in forcing the passage, from whence he rapidly advanced to assault the place. A terrible fire of grape and musketry, which swept off 500 men, speedily repulsed this attack; but while the imperialists were congratulating themselves upon their success, the division of Serrurier, which had crossed in another quarter, appeared on the heights in the rear, upon which they laid down their arms, in number 2000, with ten pieces of artillery, and eight standards. This success had most important consequences: the division of Bernadotte marched upon and took possession of Laybach, while a thousand horse occupied Trieste, the greatest harbour of the Austrian monarchy; and Serrurier ascended the course of the Isongo, by Caporetto, and the Austrian chûsa, to regain at Tarwis the route of Carinthia (2).

Meanwhile Masséna, pursuing the broken remains of Ocksay's division, made himself master of the important Col-de-Tarwis, the crest of the Alps, commanding both the valleys descending to Carinthia and Dalmatia. The Archduke immediately foresaw the danger which the division of Bayalich would incur, pressed in rear by the victorious troops which followed it up the Isongo, and blocked up in front by the division of Masséna, at the upper end of the delile, on the ridge of Tarwis. He resolved, therefore, at all hazards, to retake that important station; and for this purpose, hastened in person to Klagenfurth, on the northern side of the great chain of the Alps, and put himself at the head of a division of five thousand grenadiers, who had arrived at that place the day before from the Rhine, and with these veteran troops advanced to retake the passage. He was at first successful; and after a sharp action, established himself on the summit with the grenadiers and the division of Ocksay. But Masséna, who was well aware of the importance of this post, upon the possession of which the fate of the Austrian division coming up the Isongo, and the issue of the campaign depended, made the most vigorous efforts to regain his ground. The troops on both sides fought with the utmost resolution, and both commanders exposed their persons like the meanest of the soldiers; the cannon thundered above the clouds; the cavalry charged on fields of

Masséna
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of the Col-
de-Tarwis
on the first
Beverle
actions there

Passage of
the Isongo by
Bernadotte.

15th March.

17th March

22d March.

(1) Th. ix. 72. Nap. iv. 79.
(2) Map. iv. 81, 83. Th. ix. 72, 73. Jcm. x. 39, 41.

French, after this success, separated into two divisions; the first, under Baginay D'Albiers, pursued the broken remains of Kerpén's forces on the great road to Bolsano, while the second, composed of the *élite* of the troops under Joubert in person, advanced against Landon, who had come up to Xenmarkt, in the endeavour to re-establish his communication with Kerpén. The Imperialists, attacked by superior forces, were routed, with the loss of several pieces of cannon and a thousand prisoners; while, on the same day, the other division of the army entered Bolsano without opposition, and made itself master of all the magazines it contained (1).

Bolsano is situated at the junction of the valleys of the Adige and the Eisach. To command both, Joubert left Dehnas, with five thousand men, in that town, and himself advanced in person with the remainder of his forces up the narrow and rocky defile which leads by the banks of the Eisach to Brixen. Kerpén awaited him in the position of Clausen—a romantic and seemingly impregnable pass, three miles above Bolsano, where the mountains approach each other so closely, as to leave only the bed of the stream and the breadth of the road between their frowning brows. An inaccessible precipice shuts in the pass on the southern side, while on the northern a succession of wooded and rocky peaks rises in wild variety from the raging torrent to the naked cliffs, three thousand feet above. Early in the morning, the French presented themselves at the jaws of this formidable defile; but the Austrian and Tyrolean marksmen, perched on the cliffs and in the woods, kept up so terrible a fire upon the road, that column after column, which advanced to the attack, was swept away. For the whole day the action continued, without the Republicans gaining any ^{at length} ^{carried.} advantage; but towards evening, their active light infantry succeeded in scaling the rocky heights on the right of the Imperialists, and rolled down great blocks of stone, which rendered the pass no longer tenable (2). Joubert, at the same time, charged rapidly in front, at the head of two regiments formed in close column; and the Austrians, unable to withstand this combined effort, fell back towards Brixen, which was soon after occupied by their indefatigable pursuers.

The invasion of Tyrol, so far from daunting, tended only to animate the spirit of the peasantry in that populous and warlike district. Kerpén, as he fell back, distributed numerous proclamations, which soon brought crowds of expert and dauntless marksmen to his standard; and, reinforced by these, he took post at Mittenwald, hoping to cover both the great road over Mount Brenner, and the lateral one which ascended the Fusterthal. But he was attacked with such vigour by General Belliard, at the head of the French infantry in close column, that he was unable to maintain his ground, and driven from the castellated heights of Sterzing to take post on the summit of the Brenner, the last barrier of Innspruck, still covered with the snows of winter. The alarm spread through the whole of Tyrol; an attack on its capital was hourly expected; and it was thought the enemy intended to penetrate across the valley of the Inn, and join the invading force on the Rhine (3).

But Joubert, notwithstanding his successes, was now in a dangerous position. The accounts he received from Bolsano depicted in glowing colours the progress of the levy *en masse*; and although he was at the head of twelve

Joubert
advances to
General
Brenner
General
Brenner
Alarm in the
Tyrol.

(1) Nap. iv. 89. Jom. x. 51, 52.
(2) Jom. x. 53. Nap. iv. 89, 90.

(3) Jom. x. 54, 55. Nap. iv. 89, 90. Th. ix. 76.

thousand men, it was evidently highly dangerous either to remain where he was, in the midst of a warfare province in a state of insurrection, or advance unsupported over the higher Alps into the valley of the Inn. There was no alternative, therefore, but to retrace his steps down the Adige, or join Napoleon by the cross-road from Brixen, through the Pusterthal, to Klagenfurt. He preferred the latter, brought up Delmas with his division from Bolzano, and, setting out in the beginning of April, joined the main army in Carinthia with all his forces and five thousand prisoners, leaving Sevier to make head as he best could against the formidable force which Audon was organizing in the valley of the Upper Adige (1). Thus, in twenty days after the campaign opened, the army of the Archduke was driven over the Julian Alps, the French occupied Carniola, Carinthia, Trieste, Fiume, and the Italian Tyrol, and a formidable force of forty-five thousand men, flushed with victory, was on the northern declivity of the Alps, within sixty leagues of Vienna. On the other hand, the Austrians, dispersed by disaster, and weakened by defeat, had lost a fourth of their number in the different actions which had occurred, while the forces on the Rhine were at so great a distance as to be unable to take any part in the defence of the capital (2).

But notwithstanding all this, the situation of the Republicans at-
tends, in many respects, was highly perilous. An insurrection was
breaking out in the Venetian provinces, which it was easy to see would
ultimately involve that power in hostilities with the French government,
Laudon was advancing by rapid strides in the valley of the Adige, with no
adequate force to check his operation, and the armies of the Rhine were so far
from being in a condition to afford any efficient assistance, that they had not yet
crossed that frontier river. The French army could not descend unsupported
into the valley of the Danube, for it had not cavalry sufficient to meet the
numerous and powerful squadrons of the Imperialists, and what were forty-
five thousand men in the heart of the Austrian empire? These considera-
tions, which long had weighed with Napoleon, became doubly cogent, from a
despatch received on the 31st March, at Klagenfurt, which announced that
Moravian troops could not enter upon the campaign for want of boats to cross

other force,
the time,
cunary districts of the Republic, which endangered the conquests
of the Republic, but they had already conceived that jealousy of their victo-
rious general, which subsequent events so fully justified, and apprehended
less danger from a retreat before the Imperial forces, than a junction of their
greatest armies under such an aspiring leader (5)

He is con-
sidered as
one of the
most pro-
minent
poets of
France to the
present day.

Imperialists lost 1500 men, although the division of Massena was alone seriously engaged. Napoleon instantly pushed on to Schilling, a military post of great importance, as it was situated at the junction of the cross-road from the Tyrol and the great chaussee to Vienna, which was carried after a rude combat, and on the following day he despatched Guieu down the rugged defiles of the Juncr in pursuit of the column of Spork, which, after a sharp action with the French advanced-guard, succeeded in joining the main army of the Imperialists by the route of Rastadt. Two days after, Napoleon pushed on to Jundelberg, where headquarters were established on the 6th April, and then halted to collect his scattered forces, while the advanced-guard occupied the village of Loben. The Archduke now resolved to leave the mountains, and concentrate all his divisions in the neighbourhood of Vienna, where the whole resources of the monarchy were to be collected, and the last battle fought for the independence of Germany (1).

This rapid advance excited the utmost consternation at the Austrian capital. In vain the Augse Council strove to stem the torrent, in vain the lower orders surrounded the public offices, and demanded with loud cries to be enrolled for the defence of the country, the government yielded to the alarm, and terror froze every heart. The Danube was covered with boats conveying the archives and most precious articles beyond the reach of danger, the young archduke and archduchesses were sent to Hungary, amongst whom was Maria Louisa, then hardly six years of age, who afterwards became Empress of France. The old fortifications of Vienna, which had withstood the arms of the Turks, but had since fallen into decay, were hastily put into repair, and the militia directed to the intrenched camp of Marienthal, to learn the art which might so soon be required for the defence of the capital (2).

The Emperor, although endowed with more than ordinary firmness of mind, at length yielded to the torrent. On the 7th April, the Archduke's chief of the staff, Bellegarde, along with General Micerfeld, presented himself at the outposts, and a suspension of arms was agreed on at Leoben for five days. All the mountainous region, as far as the Simmering, was to be occupied by the French troops, as well as Graz, the capital of Styria. On the 9th, the advanced posts established themselves on that ridge, the last of the Alps, before they sunk into the Austrian plain, from whence, in a clear day, the steeples of the capital can be discerned, and on the same day headquarters were established at Loben to conduct the negotiations. At the same time General Joubert arrived in the valley of the Drave, and here, by a circuitous route, joined the Archduke. The French army, which lately extended over the whole Alps, from Brienz to Trieste, was concentrated in cantonments in a small space ready to debouche, in case of need, into the plain of Vienna (3).

While these decisive events were occurring in the Alps of Carnithia, the prospects of the French in Tyrol, Croatia, and Friuli were rapidly changing for the worse. An insurrection had taken place among the Croats. Ruine was wrested from the Republicans, and nothing but the suspension of arms prevented Trieste from falling into the hands of the insurgents. Such was the panic they occa-

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(1) Map at 54 100 foms x 61 65 Th 22 50 57 (2) foms x 67- Th x 63 Nap 10 102 103 (3) Map at 54 100 foms x 61 65 Th 22 50 57

stoned, that the detached parties of the French fled as Gorizia, on the Isonzo. Meanwhile Laudon, whose division was raised to twelve thousand by the insurrection in the Tyrol, descended the Adige, driving the considerable division of Serurier before him, who was soon compelled to take refuge within the walls of Verona. Thus, at the moment that the French centre, far advanced in the mountains, was about to bear the whole weight of the Austrian monarchy, its two wings were exposed, and an insurrection in progress, which threatened to cut off the remaining communications in its rear (1).

The perilous situation of the French army cannot be better represented than in the words of Napoleon, in his despatch to the Directory, enclosing the preliminaries of Leoben. "The court had evacuated Vienna: the Archduke and his army were falling back on that of the Rhine; the people of Hungary, and of all the Hereditary States, were rising in mass, and at this moment the heads of their columns are on our flanks. The Rhine is not yet passed by our soldiers; the moment it is, the Emperor will put himself at the head of his armies, and although, if they stood their ground, I would, without doubt, have beat them, yet they could still have fallen back on the armies of the Rhine and overwhelmed me. In such a case retreat would have been difficult, and the loss of the army of Italy would have drawn after it that of the Republic. Impressed with these ideas, I had resolved to levy a contribution in the suburbs of Vienna, and attempt nothing more. I have not four thousand cavalry, and instead of the forty thousand infantry I was to have received, I have never got twenty. Had I insisted, in the commencement of the campaign, upon entering Turin, I would never have crossed the Po; had I agreed to the project of going to Rome, I would have lost the Alliance; had I persisted in advancing to Vienna, I would probably have ruined the Republic (2)."

When such were the views of the victorious party, the negotiation could not be long in coming to a conclusion. Napoleon, though not furnished with any powers to that effect from the Directory, took upon himself to act in the conferences like an independent sovereign. The Austrians attached great importance to the etiquette of the proceedings, and offered to recognise the French Republic if they were allowed the precedence; but Napoleon ordered that article to be withdrawn, "Eftace that," said he: "the Republic is like the sun, which shines with its own light; the blind alone cannot see it. In truth," he adds, "such a condition was worse than useless; because, if one day the French people should wish to create a monarchy, the Emperor might object that he had recognised a Republic;" a striking proof how early the ambition of the young general had been fixed upon the throne (3).

As the French plenipotentiaries had not arrived, Napoleon, of his own authority, signed the treaty. Its principal articles were, 1. The cession of Flanders to the Republic, and the extension of its frontier to the Rhine, on condition of a suitable indemnity being provided to the Emperor in some other quarter. 2. The cession of Savoy to the same power, and the extension of its territory to the summit of the Piedmontese Alps. 3. The establishment of the Cisalpine Republic, including Lombardy, with the states of Modena, Cremona, and the Bergamasque. 4. The Oglio was fixed on as the boundary of the Austrian possessions in Italy. 5. The Emperor was to receive, in return for so many sacrifices, the whole

Conditions
of the preliminary
articles,
18th April,
at Judenberg.

(1) Th. ix. 114. Tom. x. 60. Nap. iv. 104.
(2) Tom. x. 462. Pieces Just.
(3) Th. ix. 100. Nap. iv. 106.

double perfidy, and this hypocritical chief of the staff rendered inevitable a rupture between France and Venice, for while, on the one hand, he excited the democratic party against the government, on the other, he gave the government too good reason to adopt measures of coercion against the democratic party, and their French allies (1).

It is an easy matter to excite the passions of democracy, but it is rarely that the authors of the flame can make it stop short at the point which they desire. The vehement language and enthusiastic conduct of the French soldiers, brought on an explosion in the Venetian territories sooner than was expedient for the interests either of the general or the army. Napoleon's constant object was, by the terror of an insurrection in their continental possessions, to induce the government to unite cordially in a league with France, and make the desired concessions to the popular party, but having failed in his endeavours, he marched for the Tagliamento, leaving the seeds of an insurrection ready to explode in all the provinces in his rear. On the morning of the 12th March, the revolt broke out at Bergamo, in consequence of the arrest of the leaders of the insurrection, the insurgents declared openly that they were supported by the French, and dispatched couriers to Milan and the principal towns of Lombardy to obtain succour, and besought the Republican commander of the castle to support them with his forces, but he declined to interfere ostensibly in their behalf, though he countenanced their projected union with the Cisalpine Republic. A provisional government was immediately established, which instantly announced to the Cisalpine Republic that Bergamo had recovered its liberty, and their desire to be united with that state, and concluded with these words, "Let us live, let us fight, and, if necessary, die together, thus should all free people do, let us then for ever remain united, you, the French,

and ourselves (2)."

The example speedily spread to other towns. Brescia, under the instigation of Landriani, openly threw off its allegiance, and disarmed the Venetian troops, in presence of the French soldiers, who neither checked nor supported the insurrection. At Crema, the insurgents were introduced into the gates by a body of French cavalry, and speedily overturned the Venetian authorities, and proclaimed their union with the Cisalpine Republic (3).

These alarming revolts excited the utmost consternation at Venice, and the Senate, not daring to act openly against insurgents who declared themselves supported by the Republican commanders, wrote to the Directory, and dispatched Pesaro to the headquarters of Napoleon, to complain of the countenance given by his troops to the revolt of their subjects. The Venetian deputies came up with the French general at Gorizia, he feigned surprise at the intelligence, but endeavoured to take advantage of the terror of the Republic to induce them to submit to increased exactions. They represented that the French armies had occupied the principal fortresses and castles of the Republic, and that, having thus advanced the progress of the terror of the Republic to induce them to submit to increased exactions. They represented that the French armies had occupied the principal fortresses and castles of the Republic, and that, having thus advanced the progress of the terror of the Republic to induce them to submit to increased exactions. They represented that the French armies had occupied the principal fortresses and castles of the Republic, and that, having thus advanced the progress of the terror of the Republic to induce them to submit to increased exactions.

to do either of these things; but constantly urged the deputies to throw themselves into the arms of France. "That I should arm against our friends, against those who have received us kindly, and wish to defend us, in favour of our enemies, against those who hate and seek to ruin us, is impossible. Never will I turn my arms against the principles of the Revolution; to them I owe in part all my success. But I offer you, in perfect sincerity, my friendship and my counsels: unite yourselves cordially to France; make the requisite changes in your constitution; and, without employing force with the Italian people, I will induce them to yield to order and peace." They passed from that to the contributions for the use of the army. Hitherto Venice had furnished supplies to the French army, as she had previously done to the Imperial. The Venetian deputies insisted that Napoleon, having now entered the Hereditary States, should cease to be any longer a burden on their resources. This was far from being the French general's intention; for he was desirous of levying no requisitions on the Austrian territories, for fear of rousing a national war among the inhabitants. The commissaries, whom the Venetian government had secretly commissioned to furnish supplies to the French army, had ceased their contributions, and they had, in consequence commenced requisitions in the Venetian territories. "That is a bad mode of proceeding," said Napoleon; "it vexes the inhabitants, and opens the door to innumerable abuses. Give me a *million* as long as the campaign lasts; the Republic will account to you for it, and you will receive more than a million's worth in the cessation of pillage. You have nourished my enemies, you must do the same to me." The envoys answered that their treasury was exhausted. "If you have no money," said he, "take it from the Duke of Modena, or levy it on the property of the Russians, Austrians, and English, which are lying in your depôts. But beware of proceeding to hostilities. If, while I am engaged in a distant campaign, you light the flames of war in my rear, you have sealed your own ruin. That which might have been overlooked when I was in Italy, becomes an unpardonable offence when I am in Germany." Such was the violence with which this haughty conqueror treated a nation which was not only neutral, but had for nine months furnished gratuitously all the supplies for his army; and such the degradation which this ancient Republic prepared for itself, by the timid policy which hoped to avoid danger by declining to face it (1).

The Venetian government at length saw that they could no longer delay taking a decided part. A formidable insurrection, organized in the name and under the sanction of the Republican authorities, was rapidly spreading in their continental possessions, great part of which had already joined the Cisalpine Republic; and the general-in-chief, instead of taking any steps to quench the flame, had only demanded fresh contributions from a state already exhausted by his exactions. They resolved, therefore, by a large majority, to act vigorously against the insurgents, but without venturing to engage in hostilities with the French forces; an ill-judged step, the result of timidity and irresolution, which exposed them to all the perils of war, without any of its favourable chances; which irritated without endangering the enemy, and allowed the French general to select his own time for wreaking upon the state, alone and unprotected, the whole weight of Republican vengeance (2).

Venturians at
 last resolve
 to act
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 insurgents.

(1) *Tom. x. 124, 125. Boll. ii. 201. Th. ix. 85 — (2) Boll. ii. 210, 211. Tom. x. 125. 87. Nap. iv. 87.*

The retreat of the French from the valley of the Adige, and the government to commence hostilities on their refractory subject But before that took place tumults and bloodshed had arisen spontaneous and about the same time, in many different parts of the territory, in consequence of the furious passions which were roused by the collision of aristocracy on the one hand, and the populace on the other. Matters were precipitated by an unworthy fraud, perpetrated by the Republic agents at Milan. This was the preparation and publishing of an address purporting to be from Battaglia, Governor of Verona, calling upon the citizens faithful to Venice to rise in arms, to murder the insurgents, and chase the French soldiers from the Venetian territory. This fabrication, which was written at Milan, by a person in the French interest, of the name of Salvador, was extensively diffused by Landrieux, the secret agent of the French general, and although it bore such absurdity on its face as might have detected the forgery, yet, in the agitated state of the country, a spark was sufficient to fire the train, and hostilities, from the excited condition of men's minds would, in all probability, have been commenced even without this unworthy device. The mountaineers and the Alpine valleys flew to arms, large bodies of the peasantry collected together, and every thing was prepared for the irruption of a considerable force into the plains of Brescia (1). The democrats in Brescia, instigated by French agents (2) resolved instantly to commence hostilities. A body of twelve hundred men issued from their gates, accompanied by four pieces of cannon served by French gunners, to attack Salò, a fortified town, occupied by Venetians, on the western bank of the lake of Garda. The expedition reached the town, and was about to take possession of it, when they were suddenly attacked and routed by a body of mountaineers, who made prisoners two hundred Poles, of the legion of Dombrowski, and so completely surprised the French, that they narrowly escaped the same fate. This success contributed immensely to excite the movements, large bodies of peasants issued from the valleys, and soon ten thousand armed men appeared before the gates of Brescia. The inhabitants, however, prepared for their defence, and soon a severe cannonade commenced on both sides. General Polce, maine, upon this, collected a body of fifteen hundred men, chiefly Poles, under General Lalloz, attacked and defeated the mountaineers, and drove them back to their mountains, they were soon after followed by the French

at the same time, in Tyrol, produced such apparently well-founded hopes of the approaching downfall of the Republicans, that nothing but the victory of Victor's corps prevented the Senate from openly declaring against the French. The Austrian general spread, in the vicinity of Verona, the most extravagant intelligence, that he was advancing at the head of sixty thousand men, that Napoleon had been defeated in the North Alps, and that the junction of the corps in his rear would speedily compel him to surrender. These reports excited the most vehement agitation at Verona, where the

patrician party, from their proximity to the revolutionary cities, were in imminent danger, and a popular insurrection might hourly be expected. The government, however, deeming it too hazardous to come to an open rupture with the French, continued their temporizing policy (1); they even agreed to give the million a-month which the Republican general demanded, and contented themselves with redoubling the vigilance of the police, and arresting such of their own subjects as were most suspected of seditious practices.

Meanwhile Napoleon, having received intelligence of the steps which the Venetian government had adopted to crush the insurrection in their dominions, and the check which the Republican troops, in aiding them, had received at Salò, affected the most violent indignation. Having already concluded his armistice at Leoben, and agreed to abandon the whole continental possessions of Venice to Austria, he foresaw in these events the means of satisfying the avidity of the Imperialists, and procuring advantageous terms for the Republic, at the expense of the helpless state of Venice. He therefore sent his aide-de-camp, Junot, with a menacing letter to the Senate, in which he threatened them with the whole weight of the Republican vengeance, if they did not instantly liberate the Polish and French prisoners, surrender to him the authors of the hostilities, and disband all their armaments. Junot was received by the Senate, to whom he read the thundering letter of Napoleon; but they prevailed on him to suspend his threats, and dispatched two senators to the Republican headquarters, to endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation (2).

But the very day after the deputies set out from Venice for Leoben, an explosion took place on the Adige, which gave the French general too fair a pretext to break off the negotiation. The levy *en masse* of the peasants, to the number of twenty thousand, had assembled in the neighbourhood of Verona; three thousand Venetian troops had been sent into that town by the Senate, and the near approach of the Austrians from the Tyrol promised an effectual support. The tocsin sounded; the people flew to arms, and put to death in cold blood four hundred wounded French in the hospitals. Indignant at these atrocious cruelties, General Balland, who commanded the French garrison in the forts, fired on the city with red-hot balls. Conflagrations soon broke out in several quarters, and although various attempts at accommodation were made, they were all rendered abortive by the furious passions of the multitude. The cannonade continued on both sides, the forts were closely invested, the city in many parts was in flames, the French already began to feel the pressure of hunger, and the garrison of Fort Chiusa, which capitulated from want of provisions, was inhumanly put to death, to revenge the ravages of the bombardment (3).

But the hour of retribution was at hand; and a terrible reverse awaited the sanguinary excesses of the Venetian insurrection. The day after hostilities commenced, the intelligence of the armistice was received, and the Austrian troops retired into the Tyrol; two days after, the columns of General Chabran appeared round the town, and invested its walls; while, to complete their misfortunes, on the 25d, accounts of the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben arrived. The multitude immediately passed from the highest exaltation to the deepest dejection; and

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(1) Th. ix. 112. Nap. iv. 139. Bort. ii. 211.
(2) Bort. ii. 217, 218. Th. ix. 113. Jom. x. 131.
(3) Jom. x. 132, 133. Th. ix. 120. Balland and
Wilmot's Account.
123, 167.

they now sought only to deprecate the wrath of the conqueror, to whom they had given so much cause of hostility. Submission was immediately made, the authors of the cruelties shot, a general disarmament among the peasantry, and a contribution of 1,100,000 francs levied on the city. The plains were speedily covered with French troops, the united veterans of Victor and Blücher occupied successively Vicenza and Padua, and soon the French standards were discovered from the sinciples of Venice on the shores of their Lagunæ (1).

These excesses were the work of popular passion, equally sanguinary and inconsistent, when not rightly directed, in all ages and countries, but an event of the same kind stained the last days of the Venetian government itself. A French vessel of four guns approached the entrance of the harbour of Lido, in opposition to a rule of the Venetian Senate, to which all nations, not excepting the Lusitanian themselves, were in use to yield obedience. A cannonade ensued between the batteries on shore and the vessel, and the French ship having been captured by the galleys on the station, the captain and four of the crew were massacred, and eleven wounded. Immediately after, a decree of the Senate publicly applauded this cruel and unnecessary act (2).

The treachery of the French, or the rapacity of the Imperialists, the former of whom had instigated the revolt of the Venetian democrats, and signed the partition of Venice *before* either of these events took place (3), but they go far to diminish the regret which otherwise would be felt at the success of unprincipled ambition, and the fall of the oldest Republic of the Christian world.

The Venetian Senate, thunderstruck with the intelligence they had received, did their utmost to appease the wrath of the victors. Their situation had become to the last degree perilous, for they were precipitated into hostilities with the victorious Republic, at the very time when Austria, discomfited, was retiring from the strife, and when their own dominions had become a prey to the most furious discord. The democratic party, following the French standards, had revolted at Treviso, Padua, and all the continental cities, while a vehement faction in the capital itself was threatening with overthrow the constitution of the state. A deputation was sent to Graz to endeavour to pacify the conquerors, and another to Paris, with ample funds at the command of both, to corrupt

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These sanguinary proceedings sufficiently verify the old observation, that pusillanimity and cruelty are allied to each other, and that none are so truly humane as the brave and the free. They do not in the slightest degree palliate the treachery of the French, or the rapacity of the imperialists, the former of whom had instigated the revolt of the Venetian democrats, and signed the partition of Venice *before* either of these events took place (3), but they go far to diminish the regret which otherwise would be felt at the success of unprincipled ambition, and the fall of the oldest Republic of the Christian world.

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(1) Map iv 141 Join x 140 Bon n 232
Bismarck's Report to the Emperor in 1851 167

the continental Venetian territories to Austria were agreed to on the 9th at Andover, while the original treaty was drawn up on the 16th and signed on the 18th in Carnunt, before even the first of

August 1806. The massacre of April 17, at Vienna, in fact, as stated in the 9th April, at Andover, at a time

the sources of influence at these places. They succeeded, by the distribution of a very large sum, in gaining over the Directory (1); but all their efforts with Napoleon were fruitless. He was not only a character totally inaccessible to that species of corruption, but was too deeply implicated in the partition of the Venetian territories, which he had just signed, to forego so fortunate a pretext for vindicating it as these excesses had afforded (2).

Venice had still at its command most formidable means of defence, if the spirit of the inhabitants had been equal to the emergency. They had within the city 8000 seamen and 14,000 regular troops, thirty-seven galleys and 160 gun-boats, carrying 800 cannon for the defence of the Lagoon; and all the approaches to the capital were commanded by powerful batteries. Provisions existed for eight months; fresh water for two, the nearest islands were beyond the reach of cannon-shot from the shore, and with the assistance of the fleets of England, they might have bid defiance to all the armies of France (3). The circumstances of the Republic were not nearly so desperate as they had been in former times, when they exulted themselves with glory from their difficulties; when the league of Cambray had wrested from them all their territorial possessions, or when the Genoese fleet had seized the gates of the Lagoon and blockaded their fleet at Alamoocco. But the men were no longer the same; the poison of democracy had extinguished every feeling of patriotism in the middle; the enjoyments of luxury every desire for independence among the senatorial, classes; ages of prosperity had corrupted the sources of virtue, and the insane passion for equality vainly rose like a passing meteor to illuminate the ruins of a falling state.

On the 3d May, Napoleon published from Palma Nuova his declaration of war against Venice. He there complained that the Senate had taken advantage of the holy week, to organize a furious war against France; that vast bodies of peasantry were armed and disciplined by troops sent out of the capital; that a crusade against the French sick in the hospitals massacred; the crew of a French galley slain under the eyes of the Senate, and the authors of the tragedy publicly rewarded for the atrocious act. To this manifesto the Venetians replied, that the massacres complained of were not the work of government, but of individuals whom they could not control; that the popular passions had been excited by the ungovernable insolence of the Republican soldiery, and of the democratic party whom they had roused to open rebellion; that the first acts of aggression were committed by the French commanders, by publicly assisting the rebels in various encounters with the Venetian forces, long before the massacres complained of were committed; and that the only fault which they had really committed, consisted in their not having earlier divined the ambitious designs of the French general, and joined all their forces to the Austrian armies when combating for a cause which must sooner or later be that of every independent state (4).

The French general was not long of following up his menaces, and preparing the execution of that unjustifiable partition which had been decided upon between him and the Imperial cabinet. The French troops, in pursuance of

(1) Two hundred thousand crowns, as a private bribe, were placed at the disposal of Barras.—See HARRISON, v. 19, and *Napoleon in O'Meara*, ii. 171.

(2) Nap. iv. 144. Join. x. 142. Boll. ii. 223, 224. (3) Th. i. c. 128. (4) Boll. ii. 255. Nap. iv. 147, 149.

they now sought only to depreciate the wrath of the conqueror, to whom they had given so much cause of hostility. Submission was immediately made, the authors of the cruelties shot, a general disarmament effected among the peasantry, and a contribution of 1,400,000 francs levied on the city. The plains were speedily covered with French troops, the united divisions of Victor and Kaimann occupied successively Vicenza and Padua, and soon the French standards were discovered from the steeples of Venice on the shores of their lagoon. (1)

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(1) Rep. 141 Jan. 140 No. 1 232
had a report of Cor. 155 167
(2) Not 212 213 Jan. 139
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The French general was not long of following up his menaces, and preparing the execution of that unjustifiable partition which had been decided upon between him and the Imperial cabinet. The French troops, in pursuance of

the treaty of Copenhagen, rapidly evacuated Carniola, and returning by forced marches on their steps, soon appeared on the confines of the Lagune, within sight of the tower of St-Mark. As they advanced, the Republic became a prey to the passions, and torn by the factions, which are the general forerunners of national ruin. At the news of the proclamation of war, all the towns of the continental possessions of Venice revolted against the capital. Every city proclaimed its independence, and appointed a provisional Government, Bergamo, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, Bassano, Udine, constituted so many separate republics, who organized themselves after the model of the French Republic, suppressed the

council

was not

in a cruel state of perplexity. The senators met at the doge's palace, and endeavoured by untimely concessions, to satisfy the demands and revive the patriotism of the popular party; a vain expedient, founded upon utter ignorance of democratic ambition, which concessions, dictated by fear, can never satisfy, but which, in such a successful course, rushes forward, like an individual plunged in the career of passion, upon its own destruction. The patricians found themselves deprived of all the resources of government; a furious rabble filled the streets, demanding with loud cries the abdication of the Senate, the immediate admission of the French troops, and the establishment of a government formed on a highly democratic basis;

Anarchy in
Venice itself

symptoms of insubordination, and the fidelity of the Sclavonians, who constituted the strength of the garrison, could not, it was ascertained, be relied on. These elements of anarchy, sufficient to have shaken the courage of the Roman Senate, were too powerful for the weak and vacillating councils of the Venetian oligarchy. Yielding to the tempest which they could not withstand, they assembled in mournful silence on the 12th May, and after passing in review the exhausted resources and distracted state of the Republic, voted, amidst the tears of all friends to their country, by a majority of five hundred and twelve to fourteen voices, the abdication of their authority. Shouts from the giddy multitude rent the sky, the tree of liberty was hoisted on the place of St-Mark, the democrats entered, amidst bloodshed and plunder, upon the exercise of their new-born sovereignty, and the revolutionary party fondly imagined they were launched into a boundless career of glory. But the real patriots, the men of sense and firmness, lamented the decision of the Senate, and retiring in silence to their houses, exclaimed, "Venice is no more; St-Mark has fallen (2)." While the revolutionists were thus battling their country for the

The people

12th May

The Senate

abdicate

their authority

sentiments burst forth among the labouring classes, often the last depositaries, in a corrupted age, of public virtue. No sooner was the mournful act communicated to the people, than they flocked together from all quarters, and

tenly thousand were shut up within the fortresses on that stream. The French forces were much more numerous; the army of the Rhine and Moselle, under Moreau, being sixty thousand strong, while that of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded between Dusseldorf and Coblenz, amounted to nearly seventy thousand. The latter was under the command of Hoche, whose vigour and abilities gave every promise of success in the ensuing campaign, while the possession of the *tes-de-pont* at Dusseldorf and Neuwied afforded a facility for commencing operations, which those on the upper

the banks of the Tagliamento before the middle of March, inflamed the rivalry of the generals on the Rhine; while the interests of the Republic previously required that the campaign should simultaneously be commenced in both quarters, in order that the army most advanced should not find itself engaged alone with the strength of the Austrian monarchy. Nevertheless, such was the exhausted state of the treasury, from the total ruin of the paper system, and the dissipation of the public revenues during the convulsions of the Revolution, that the Directory was unable to furnish Moreau with the equipage necessary for crossing the Rhine, and he was obliged to go in person to Paris, in the beginning of April, and pledge his private fortune to procure that necessary part of his equipments (2). At length, the obstacles having been overcome, he returned to the Rhine, and completed his preparations for crossing that river.

The point selected for this important enterprise was *Diersheim*,

Pages of
11 at 1407 at
to 1410 at

rendering hazardous any attempt to cross near that town. Seventy barks were collected in the Ill, a small stream which falls into the Rhine, and directed to Diersheim on the night of the 19th April, while two false attacks above and below that place were prepared, to distract the attention of the enemy. Delays unavoidable in the collection of the flotilla having retarded the embarkation of the advanced-guard till six o'clock on the following morning, it was evident that a surprise was impossible, the Austrians having taken the alarm, and appearing in considerable force on the opposite shore. The boats, however, pulled gallantly across the stream, till they came within reach of the grape-shot from the enemy's cannon, when the shower of balls forced them to take shelter behind an island, where they landed, and made prisoners three hundred Croats, who composed its garrison. From this they forded the narrow branch of the Rhine which separated them from the German shore, and made themselves masters

there gave earnest of that cool intrepidity and sagacious foresight, which his future career was so eminently distinguished. During the whole day, the Imperialists, and, in the end, with twelve

ast April obstinate valour of the Republican infantry on the following day, the attack was renewed with increased force, but no better success; and the bridge having, in the meantime, been established, Moreau began to

debouche in great strength, upon which the Austrians commenced their retreat; during which they sustained considerable loss from the Republican cavalry. Thus, by a bold and able exertion was the passage of the Rhine secured, and all the fruits of the bloody sieges of Kehl and Huningen lost to the Imperialists. In these actions the loss of the Austrians was 5000 prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon, besides 2000 killed and wounded (1). When it is recollected that this passage was gained not by stratagem but main force, in presence of a considerable part of the Austrian army, and that it undid at once all the advantages gained by them in the preceding winter, it must ever be regarded as a glorious deed of arms, and one of the most memorable military achievements of the revolutionary war.

Operations cut short by the disasters of the preceding campaign, Moreau resolved to push the corps of Starray with vigour, and prevent that methodical retreat which had proved so beneficial to the Imperialists in the previous year. For this purpose he pushed his advanced-guard across the Rhenchen the very day after the passage was completed; and was in the high-road to farther successes, when he was interrupted by the intelligence of the armistice of Leoben which terminated the campaign in that quarter (2).

The campaign was in like manner cut short in the midst of opening success on the Lower-Rhine. The army, put there at the disposition of Hoche, was one of the most numerous and well appointed which the Republic ever sent into the field, and particularly remarkable for the numbers and fine condition of the cavalry and artillery. Hoche resolved to effect the passage, with the bulk of his forces, from Neuwid, and to facilitate that purpose by a simultaneous movement at Dusseldorf. The Austrians were so far deceived by these movements, that they advanced with the greater part of their forces to Altenkirchen, in order to stop the progress of the troops from Dusseldorf, leaving only a small body in front of Neuwid. No sooner did he perceive they had fallen into the snare, than Hoche debouched rapidly from the *l'été-de-pont* at that place at the head of thirty-six thousand men. Kray commanded the Imperialists in that quarter; and his position, blocking up the roads leading from the bridge, was strongly fortified, and covered with powerful batteries. The attack of the Republicans was impetuous; but the resistance of the Imperialists, though greatly inferior in number, was not less vigorous, and no advantage was gained by the assailants till the fortified village of Hunsendorf was carried by a concentric attack from several of the French masses, after which the other redoubts, taken in flank, were successively stormed, and the Austrians driven back, with the loss of five thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, and sixty caissons. At the same time the left wing of the army crossed the Sieg, advanced to Ukerath and Altenkirchen, which were abandoned as soon as it was known that the bulk of the enemy's forces was advancing from Neuwid, and on the following night they effected their junction with the victors on the field of battle (3).

19th April. After this disaster, Wernbeck retired to Neukirchen, and united the two divisions of his army; but, finding that he was unable to make head
(1) *Jom. x. 77, 85. Th. ix. 111. St.-Cyr. iv. 165, 183.*
(2) *Jom. x. 86, Th. ix. 111. St.-Cyr. iv. 184, 190.*
(3) *Jom. x. 95, 96. Th. ix. 110. Ney. i. 271.*

against the immense forces of his opponent, which were nearly double his own, fell back behind the Rhine. Thither he was immediately followed by the victorious general, and the imperialists having continued their retreat towards the Maine, Macle conceived the design of cutting them off before they crossed that river. For this purpose, he pushed forward his right wing, under Lefebvre, to Frankfurt, while the centre and left continued to press the enemy on the high road, by which they continued their retreat. The advanced-guard of Lefebvre was at the gates of that opulent city, when hostilities were suspended, by the intercession of the plenipotentiaries of Leoben, to the infinite mortification of the French general, who saw himself thus interrupted, by his more fortunate rival, in a career of success, from which the most glorious effects might have been anticipated to the Republic (1).

Prussia, during this eventful year, adhered steadily to the system of armed neutrality, inclining rather to France, and supporting the protection of the associated states within the prescribed line, which was begun by the treaty of Bale in 1793, and consolidated by the convention of 5th August 1796. The death of the king had for long been visibly declining, and he at length expired at Berlin, on the 16th November, having, as his last act, bestowed the decoration of the order of the Black Eagle on his favourite minister Haugwitz (2).

Though neither endowed with shining civil nor remarkable military talents, few monarchs have conferred greater benefits on their country than this sovereign (3). Among the many and valuable territorial acquisitions which he made, is to be reckoned the important commercial city and Vistula, and his increased by

that arm as the main foundation of the public strength. Much of this increase is doubtless to be ascribed to a fortunate combination of extraneous things, and it chiefly arose from the monstrous partition of Poland. Yet something also must be admitted to have arisen from the wisdom of the cabinet, which skilfully turned these circumstances to its own advantage, and contrived to reap nothing but profit from a stormy period, deeply engaged to other states by disaster (4). But in the close of his reign, the national jealousy of Austria, and partially for France, were carried an unreasonable length, and in the unwise description of the cause of Europe by this important monarchy, is to be found one of the principal causes of the

Dr. — appreciate the refinements of conversation, good humoured in general, but subject to nervous and ungovernable fits of passion. Hardly adequate to the consideration of music, and unacquainted with the sense to in

which caused his reign to be illustrated by the construction of several noble and imposing edifices; But his facility and passions led him into several irregularities in private life; and the court during his latter years was scandalized by the great ascendancy obtained by his profuse and rapacious mistress, the Countess Lichienau; who was called to a severe account for her malversations, by his successor (1).

Very different was the character of the youthful sovereign, who now ascended the throne; FREDERICK WILLIAM III, afterwards called William III. His character.
 to such important destinies on the theatre of Europe. Born on the 3d August 1770, he was twenty-seven years of age when he succeeded to the crown; and his character and habits already presaged the immortal glories of his reign. Severe and regular in private life, he had lived, amidst a dissolute court, a pattern of every domestic virtue; married early to a beautiful and high-spirited princess, he bore to her that faithful attachment which her captivating qualities were so well fitted to excite, and which afterwards attracted the admiration, though they could not relax the policy or melt the sternness, or excite a spark of chivalry in the cold and intellectual breast of Napoleon (2). He entertained a sincere, though undeserved, distrust of his own capacity in judging of state affairs, which, at first, threw him, to an unreasonable degree, under the government of his ministers, but was gradually removed during the difficulties and necessities of the later periods of his reign (3).

His first acts were in the highest degree popular. On the day of measures and policy.
 his accession, he wrote a circular to the constituted authorities, informing them that he was aware of the abuses which had crept into various branches of the public service, and was resolved to rectify them; and at the same time, gave an earnest of his sincerity, by abolishing the monopoly of tobacco, which his father had re-established. The public indignation, rather than his own wishes, rendered the trial of the Countess Lichienau unavoidably necessary: her wealth was known to be enormous, and many of the crown jewels were found in her possession. She was obliged to surrender the greater part of her ill-gotten treasures, and assigned a pension of 15,000 francs; the remainder of her great fortune being settled on the hospital of Berlin. At the same time, the King, under the directions of Hardenberg, declared, in a circular addressed to all the states in the north of Germany, his resolution to continue those measures for the security of that part of the empire which his father had commenced; and in a holograph letter to the Directory, his wish to cultivate the good understanding with the French Republic, which ultimately led to such disastrous effects to Prussia and Europe (4).

Retrospect of the
 astonishing
 successes of
 Napoleon.
 In concluding the survey of these memorable contests, it is impossible to refuse to the genius of Napoleon that tribute which is justly due to it, not only for the triumphs in Italy, but for those in Germany. When he began his immortal campaign upon the summit of the Maritime Alps, the Imperialists, greatly superior to their antagonists, were preparing to cross the Rhine, and carry the war into the territory of the Republic. It was his brilliant victories in Piedmont and Lombardy, which compelled the Aulic Council to detach Wurmser with thirty thousand men from the Upper Rhine to the valley of the Adige; and thus not only reduced the Austrians to the defensive in Germany, but enabled the Republicans to carry

(1) Hard. v. 34, 37.
 (2) Napoleon in Las Cases, ii. 228.

(3) Hard. v. 36, 43.
 (4) Hard. v. 36, 43.

A treaty had been concluded with the French Directory, by which Genoa purchased its neutrality by the payment of two millions of francs, a loan to the same amount, and the recall of the families exiled for their political opinions. But the vehemence of the revolutionary club, which met at the house of an apothecary of the name of Morandi, soon insisted on far greater concessions. Secretly stimulated by Napoleon, and the numerous agents of the French army (1), they openly announced the assistance and protection of the Directory, and insisted for the immediate formation of the constitution on a new and highly democratic basis; while the Senate, irresolute and divided, did not possess either the moral energy or physical strength to combat the forces with which they were assailed. The arrest of two of the popular party, who had proceeded to acts of sedition, brought matters to a crisis, and the intervention of the French minister, Raynoull, was sought, to procure their liberation, and prevent the effusion of blood. Instead of calming, he rather increased the effervescence; and the consequence was, that on the following day a general insurrection took place. The troops of the line wavered, the burgher guard could not be trusted, and the senators, reduced to their own resources, were pursued and massacred, and at length took refuge with the French minister, as the only means of appeasing the tumult. Upon this some of the patrician families, finding themselves deserted by their natural leaders, and seeing the dagger at their throats, put themselves at the head of their followers, with loud cries demanded arms from the Senate, and brought in their faithful followers from the country, to endeavour to stem the torrent. They soon prevailed over their revolutionary antagonists. The posts, which had been seized in the first bursts of the tumult, were regained, the club Morandi dispersed, the Senate again floated on the city, and the tricolor flag, which the democrats had assumed, was torn down from the walls. The firmness of the aristocracy, supported by the courage of the rural population, had prevailed over the fumes of democracy, and the independence of Genoa, but for foreign interference, was preserved (2).

But it was foreign to the system of Republican ambition to allow arms of France could reach, in the course of these struggles, some Frenchmen and citizens of the Cisalpine republic, who had taken an active part with the popular side, were wounded, and made prisoners; and Napoleon instantly made this a pretext for throwing the weight of his authority into the scale, in favour of the democracy. The French minister peremptorily demanded their instant liberation; and Napoleon sent his aide-de-camp, Lavallette, to the city to compel the enlargement of the prisoners, the disarming of the counter-revolutionists, and the arrest of all the nobles who had instigated any resistance to the innovators. To support these demands, the French troops advanced to Tortona, while Admiral Bruys, with two sail of the line and two frigates, appeared in the bay. The democratic party, encouraged by this powerful protection, now resumed the ascendancy. In vain the Senate endeavoured, by half measures, to preserve

(1) *Bois*, ii. 285. *Journal*, x. 167. *Corresp. Secretie de Nap.*, iii. 170. "Genoa," said Napoleon, in his confidential despatch to the Directory, on 19th May, 1797, "loudly demands democracy; the Senate has sent deputies to me to sound my intentions. It is more than probable, that, in ten days, the aristocracy of Genoa will undergo the fate of that of Venice. Then would there be three democratic republics in the north of Italy, which may hereafter be united into one."—*Confid. Despatch*, 19th May, 1797, *Confid. Corresp.*, iii. 170. (2) *Journal*, x. 170, 171. *Tb.* ix. 143, 144. *Map*, iv. 160, 161. *Bois*, ii. 281, 292.

hand, and a doubtful campaign about to begin, without hesitation violated

By this treaty the Emperor ceded to France, Flanders, and the line of the Rhine, he agreed to the territory of the Republic being extended to the summit of the Maritime Alps, he consented to the

Terms of
the Treaty
of Campo
Formio

The Venetian territory, were ceded to France, which acquired Mantua, on the frontiers of the Imperial states in Italy, and Mayence, the bulwark of the empire on the Rhine.

On the other hand, the Republic ceded to the Emperor, in exchange for the states of Flanders, Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Gattaro, the city of Venice, and its continental possessions as far as the eastern shore of the lake of Garda, the line of the Adige, and that of the Po. By this arrangement, Verona, Peschiera, and Porto Legnago, fell into the hands of the Austrians, who lost in Flanders and Lombardy provinces, rich, indeed, but distant, inhabited by 3,500,000 souls, and received in the Venetian states a territory of equal riches, with a great seaport, and 3,500,000 souls, lying close to the Hereditary States (3), besides an acquisition of nearly the same amount which they had made during the war, on the side of Poland. The advantages of the treaty, therefore, how great soever to the conquerors, were in some degree, also extended to the vanquished.

Besides these public, the treaty contained many secret articles of nearly equal importance. The most material of these regarded the cession of Salzburg, with its romantic territory, to Austria, with the important towns of Innsbruck and Wasseburg on the Inn, from Bavaria; the free navigation of the Rhine and the Meuse, the abandonment of the Frickthal by Austria to Switzerland, and the providing equivalents to the dispossessed princes on the left bank of the Rhine, on the right of that river. But it was expressly provided that "no acquisition should be proposed to the advantage of Prussia." For the arrangement of these complicated objects, a convention was appointed to meet at Rastadt to settle the affairs of the empire. Finally,

of his military career, and which contributed so powerfully to fix his destiny and immortalize his name. The sufferings of Italy in these contests were extreme, and deeply did its people rue the fatal precipitance with which they had thrown themselves into the arms of Republican ambition (5). Its territory

(1) Rastadt 1792, 529, 536, 890
(2) Rastadt 1792, 529, 536, 890
(3) Rastadt 1792, 529, 536, 890
(4) Rastadt 1792, 529, 536, 890
(5) The enormous sum of 120,000,000 francs, of

was partitioned; its independence ruined; its galleries pillaged; the trophies of art had followed the car of Victory; and the works of immortal genius, which no wall could purchase, had been torn from their native seats, and violently transplanted into a foreign soil (1).

No words can paint the horror and consternation which the promulgation of this treaty excited in Venice. The democratic party, in particular, who had allied themselves with the French, compelled the government to abdicate in order to make way for a republican regime, and received a French garrison within their walls, broke out into the most vehement invectives against their former allies, and discovered, with tears of unavailing anguish, that those who gain a foreigner to effect changes in the constitution of their country, hardly ever escape sacrificing its independence. But, whatever may have been the unanimity of feeling which this union of imperial rapacity with republican treachery awakened among the Venetians, it was too late; with their own hands they had brought the serpent into their bosom, and they were doomed to perish from the effects of their own revolutionary passions. With speechless sorrow they beheld the French, who occupied Venice, lower the standard of St.-Mark, demolish the Bacchant, pillage the arsenal, remove every vestige of independence, and take down the splendid bronze horses, which, for six hundred years, had stood over the portico of the church of St.-Mark, to commemorate the capture of Constantinople by the Venetian crusaders. When the last Doge appeared before the Austrian commissioner to take the oath of homage to the Emperor, his emotion was such that he fell insensible to the ground; honouring thus, by the extremity of grief, the last act of national independence (2). Yet even in this catastrophe, the fury of party appeared manifest, and a large portion of the people celebrated with transports of joy the victory over the democratic faction, though it was obtained at the expense of the existence of their country.

The fall of the oldest commonwealth in Europe excited a general feeling of commiseration throughout the civilized world. Many voices were raised, even in the legislative body of France, against this flagrant violation of the law of nations. Independently of the feelings of jealousy, which were naturally awakened by the aggrandizement of two bel-

(1) It is remarkable how strongly, even at this early period, the mind of Napoleon was set upon two objects, which furnished such memorable features in his future life, the expedition to Egypt, and the expedition to Great Britain. "Why," said he, in his letter to the Directory, of 13th September, 1797, "do we not lay hold of Malta? Admiral Bruys could easily make himself master of it: 300 knights, and, at the same time, 500 men, compose the whole garrison of La Vallette. The inhabitants, who amount to 100,000, are attached all the possessions of the order in Italy, and they are dying of famine. With Malta and Corsica, we should soon be masters of the Mediterranean." "Should we, on making peace with England, be compelled to give up the Cape of Good Hope, it will be absolutely necessary to take possession of Egypt. That country never belonged to any European power; the Venetians even there had only a precarious authority. We might embark from ships of the line, or frigates, and take possession of it. Egypt does not belong to the Grand Signior."—*Letter Confid.* 13th Sept. 1797—*Corresp. Confid.* iv. 173.

(2) Darn, v. 412, 413.

His inveterate hostility to England was equally early and strongly expressed. In enumerating the reasons which induced him to sign the treaty of Campo Formio, he concludes:—"Finally, we are still at war with England; that enemy is great enough, without adding another. The Austrians are greedy and avaricious; no people on earth are less active or daring; with a view to our military affairs, the English are the English on the contrary, are generous, intriguing, enterprising. It is impossible for our government to destroy the English monarch; or it will infallibly be overturned by the intrigues, and the corruption of those active as murderers. The present moment offers to our hands a noble enterprise. Let us concentrate all our activity on the marine, and destroy England; that done, Europe is at our feet."—*Letter Confid.* to the Directory, dated Passeriano, 18th October, 1797—*Confid.* Corresp. *iv.* 212.

In reality, it was his desire to acquire the harbours and naval resources of Venice, for his projected expedition against Egypt and Great Britain, that was such unexampled severity that unhappy republic.

For the conduct of Napoleon no possible apology can be found (2). The first

doomed to pass irreversibly under a stranger's yoke (1). In contemplating this memorable event, it is difficult to say whether indignation is to be felt at the perfidy of France, the cupidity of Austria, the weakness of the Venetian aristocracy, or the insanity of the Venetian

For the conduct of Napoleon no possible apology can be found (2). He first

(1) 100, 400, 430, 437.

[illegible]

Leoben, which assigned to the Emperor of Austria the whole German territory situated between the Rhine, the Po, and the Austrian States' (Ibid., 111).

and good understanding between France and the
 Republic [Cor Court in, 118] The object
 of Napoleon in signing this treaty, is unfolded in
 "Friendship with your Republic" (Cor. Conf. in.

patron of Venice is but a monastery, so-
lited by the Venetians themselves. The Pope is
The moment I

This allusion towards Venice were further summed up in these words, in his dispatch to the Directors

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too, were shaken in credit and paralysed by revolt, they, too, were assailed by democratic ambition, and urged to congregate and yield as the only means of salvation. The Venetian aristocracy did what the British aristocracy were urged to do. They cautiously abstained from hostilities with the revolutionary power, they did nothing to coerce the spirit of disaffection in their own dominions, they yielded at length to the demands of the populace, and admitted a sudden and portentous change in the internal structure of the constitution. Had the British Government done the same, they might have expected similar results to those which there took place, to see the revolutionary spirit acquire irresistible force, the means of national resistance prostrated by the divisions of those who should wield them, and the state become an easy prey to the ambition of those neighbouring powers who had fomented its passions to profit by its weakness. From the glorious result of the firmness of the one, and the miserable consequences of the pusillanimity of the other, a memorable lesson may be learned both by rulers and nations, that courage in danger is often the most prudent as well as the most honourable course, that periods of foreign peril are never those in which considerable internal changes can with safety be adopted, and that, whatever may be the defects of government, they are the worst enemies of their country who league with foreign nations for their redress.

CHAPTER XXIV.

INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY TO THE REVOLUTION OF 18th FRUCTIDOR.

ARGUMENT.

Retrospect of the previous changes of the Revolution—Maximum of Freedom, with Minimum of Democratic Aarchy—State of the Public Mind and Manners in France in the beginning of 1798—First Proceedings of the New Legislature—Choice of the Directory—Barras, Rewell, Larevillière Lepaux—Renouveau—First Measure of the Directory—Extreme Difficulties of their Situation—Liberation of the Duchesse d'Angoulême, who is exchanged for the Deputies delivered up by Buonaparte—Successful Efforts of the Directory to restore order in France—But Irregularity continues triumphant—Theophilanthropists—Singular character, tenets, and worship of this Sect—Renewed Efforts of the Jacobins—Babouvins, his extreme Revolutionary Principles—But they fail now in rousing the People—Renewed Efforts of the Revolutionists—Plans of the Conspirators—The Conspiracy is discovered, and Babouvins arrested—His Partisans break out at Genetle—But are defeated and executed—Trial of the Leaders previously arrested—Abortive attempt of the Royalists—Singular Manners at this period in France—But the Result of the Elections is preparing a Catastrophe—The Royalists prevail in the New Elections—Barthelmy is chosen a Director in lieu of Leclercq, and joins Carnot—Club of Clichy, the great centre of the Royalists—Club of Salin, of the Republicans—General Reaction in favour of Royalist Principles—Measures of the Directory to avert the danger—Camille-Jourdant's Efforts in favour of Religion—General return of the Emigrants and Clergy—Great alarm of the Directory—They change all the Ministers, and collect Troops round Paris—Measures of Napoleon—He resolves to support the Democratic Party, and for that purpose sends Lavalleye to Paris in Spring 1797—And Augereau in July—His Proclamation to his Soldiers on 11th July—The Army strongly support the Directory—Extravagant Addresses to them from the Soldiers—Strength of the opposite party consisted only in their Talents and Eloquence—Their defensive Measures, but they decline to commence Hostilities—Sunder Military Force at their Command—Re-organization of the National Guard decided by the Councils—Violent Measures of the Directory—They surround the Tuilleries with Troops—And the Guard there join Augereau—Revolution of 18th Fructidor—Passive submission of the People—Address of the Directory to the Councils—Tyrannical Measures of the minority of the Councils—Exinction of the Liberty of the Press—Transportation of the most illustrious Citizens of France—Cruel fate of the Exiles—Escape of Richelieu from Guiana—Vigorous and despotic measures of the Directory—This Revolution had been previously concerted with Napoleon—But he is disgusted with the severe use they make of their Victory—This is the true commencement of Military Despotism in France—Reflections on these Events.

The different eras of the Revolution, which have hitherto been traced, show the progress of the principles of democracy through their natural stages of public transports, moneyed insecurity, financial embarrassment, arbitrary confiscation, general distress, plebeian insurrection, sanguinary oppression, civil warfare, and military despotism. It remains to examine its progress, during the receding tide; to trace the declining and enfeebled efforts of Republican fury during the period when its desolating effects had become generally known, and the public strength refused to lend its aid to the ambition and the illusion of individuals. During this period it is evident that the chief desire of the human mind is for repose; the contentions, the miseries of former years rise up in fearful remembrance to all classes of citizens; the chimera of equality can no longer

science—the illusion of power no longer mistleed, and men, bitterly suffering under the consequences of former error, eagerly range themselves under any government which promises to save them from “the worst of tyrannies, the tyranny of a multitude of tyrants (1).”

To effect the maximum of freedom, with the minimum of democracy, is the great problem of civil government, just as the chief object of war is to attain the greatest possible national security, at the smallest expenditure of human life. The democratic passion is frequently necessary to sustain the conflicts of freedom, just as the military spirit is often necessary to purchase national independence, and always essential to its security, but it is not a less evil in itself, if not kept under due restraint, than the savage passion for the destruction of the species. When too vehemently excited, it often becomes an evil incomparably greater than the political grievances which awakened its fury. Great national objects sometimes cannot be achieved without the excitation of this passion, because it is desire, and not reason, which ever governs the masses of mankind, but when it becomes the ruling power, the last extremities of suffering are at hand. Like all other passions, however, whether in the individual or society, it cannot be indulged to excess, without inducing evils which speedily terminate its ascendancy, and punish the delinquencies to which it has given rise. The democratic passion is to nations what the desire of licentious freedom is to the individual: it bears the same relation to the principle of genuine liberty, as the chastened attachment of marriage, which “peoples heaven,” does to the wild excesses of lust, which finds inmates for hell. The fleeting enjoyments of guilt are speedily lost in its lasting pains, the extra-

men do not see the will of the people, or the duty of the government, but only the selfishness of the individual. The task useful and necessary as a check upon the government of others, they bring about the greatest calamities when they become the governors themselves.—respectable, virtuous, and useful when employed in

usual evolutions, in the necessary consequence of the effects which they produce. The insecurity, privations, and suffering which they induce, unavoidably lead to military despotism. Some democratic states, as Milan, Florence, and Sicily, to terminate their discussions, have voluntarily submitted to the yoke of a military leader, others have fallen under his domination at the close of a sanguinary period of domestic strife, all have, in one way or other, expelled the deadly venom from the system, and to shun the horrors of anarchy, shielded themselves under the lasting government of the sword.

The illusions of republicanism were now dispelled in France, men had passed through so many vicissitudes, and lived so long in a few middling class, and of the multitude, had successfully passed like rapid and bloody phantasmagoria. The age was far removed from France

of the 14th July, 1789, with its enthusiastic feelings, its high resolves, its ardent aspirations, its popular magistrates, and its buoyant population; it was still further removed from France of the 10th August, when a single class had usurped the whole authority of the state, and borne to the seat of government its vulgar manners and sanguinary ideas—its distrust of all above, and its severity to all beneath itself. Society emerged, weakened and disjointed, from the chaos of revolution; and in despair of effecting any real amelioration in the social system, all classes rushed with unbounded vehemence into the enjoyments of private life. The elegancies of opulence, long suspended, were resumed with unprecedented alacrity; balls, festivities, and theatres, frequented with more avidity than in the most corrupted era of the monarchy; it seemed as if the nation, long famished, was quenching its thirst in the enjoyments of existence. Public affairs had an air of tranquillity which singularly contrasted with the disasters of former years: the emigrants returned in crowds, with a confidence which afterwards proved fatal to them. All women were in transports at the auspicious change. Horror at the Jacobins restored the sway of the rich; the recollection of the clubs, the influence of the saloons; female charms resumed their ascendancy with the return of pacific ideas, and the passion for enjoyment, freed from the dread of death and the restraints of religion, was indulged without control. Manners never were more corrupted than under the rule of the Directory—luxury never more prodigal—passion never more unrestrained; society resumed its wonted order, not by repentance for crime, but a change of its direction. This is the natural termination of popular effervescence; the transition is easy from the extravagance of democracy to the corruptions of sensuality, because both proceed from the indulgence of individual passion; it is extremely difficult from either to the love of genuine freedom, because that implies a sacrifice of both to patriotic feeling. The age of Nero soon succeeded the strife of Gracchus; but ages revolved, and a different race of mankind was established before that of Fabricius was restored (1).

The deputies were regarded with the utmost solicitude by all parties upon the completion of the elections. The third party, who were newly chosen, according to the provision of the constitution, represented with tolerable fidelity the opinions and wishes of the people who had now become influential in France. They consisted not of those extraordinary and intrepid men who shine in the outset of the revolutionary temporary; but of those more moderate characters who, in politics equally as the fine arts, succeed to the vehemence of early passion; who take warning by past error, and are disposed only to turn the existing state of things to the best account for their individual advantage. But their influence was inconsiderable compared with that of the two-thirds who remained from the old Assembly, and who, both from their habits of business and acquired celebrity, continued to have the principal direction of public affairs (2).

The whole deputies having assembled, according to the directions of the constitution, chose by ballot 250 of their number, all above forty, and married, to form the Council of the Ancients. They afterwards proceeded to the important task of choosing the Directors; and after some hesitation, the choice fell on Barras, Rewbell, Lareveillière-Lépeaux, Le-tournour, and Siéyes; but upon the last declining the proffered honour,

(1) Mignet, ii. 401. Th. viii. 67, 75. D'Abr. ii. (2) Th. viii. 76, 77. Mignet, ii. 400. 86, 94, 158, 164.

Carnot was chosen in his stead. These five individuals immediately proceeded to the exercise of their new sovereignty (1). Though placed at the head of so great a state, the situation of the Directors was at first surrounded with difficulties. When they took possession of their apartments in the Luxembourg, they found scarce any furniture in the rooms (2); a single table, an inkstand and paper, and four straw chairs, constituted the whole establishment of those who were about to enter on the management of the greatest Republic in existence. The incredible embarrassment of the finances, the critical state of the armies, the increasing discontent of the people, did not deter them from undertaking the discharge of their perilous duties. They resolved unanimously that they would make head against all the difficulties in which the state was involved, or perish in the attempt.

Barras was the one of the Directory who was most qualified by his character and previous services to take the lead in the government. Naturally indolent, haughty, and voluptuous; accessible to corruption, prodigal, and extravagant, ill qualified for the fatigues and the exertion of ordinary business, he was yet possessed of the firmness, decision, and audacity which fitted him to be a leader of importance in perilous emergencies. His lofty stature, commanding air, and insinuating manners, were calculated to impose upon the vulgar, often ready to be governed in civil dissensions as much by personal qualities as mental superiority, while the eminent services which he had rendered to the Thermidorien party, on the fall of Robespierre, and his distinguished conduct and decisive success on the revolt of the sections, gave him considerable influence with more rational politicians. Reybell, an Alsatian by birth, and a lawyer by profession, was destitute of either firmness or eloquence, but he owed his elevation to his habits of business, his knowledge of forms, and the pertinacity with which he represented the feelings of the multitude, often in the close of revolutionary convulsions envious of distinguished ability. Larevellière Leprieux, a sincere Republican, who had joined the Girondists on the day of their fall, and preserved, under the proscription of the Jacobins, the same principles which he had embraced during their ascendancy, was blessed by nature with a mild and gentle disposition, which fitted him to be the ornament of private society; but he was weak and irresolute in public conduct, totally destitute of the qualities requisite in a statesman, strongly tinged with the irreligious fanaticism of the age, and perpetually dreaming of es

the place of Carnot in the Committee of Public Safety, but he received the department of the marine and the colonies (3). The first object of the Directory was to calm the passions, the fury of which had so long desolated France. This was no easy task, the more especially as, with the exception of Carnot, there was not one of them either a man of genius or of any considerable reputation, the cruel effect of a revolution which in a few years had cut off whole generations of ability, and swept away all, save in the military career, that could either command respect or ensure success. Their principles were republican, and

they had all voted for the death of the king in the Convention, and consequently their elevation gave great joy to the Democratic party, who had conceived great disgust from the recent formidable insurrection, and still menacing language of the Royalists. The leaders of that party, defeated, but not humbled, had great influence in the metropolis, and their followers seemed rather proud of the perils they had incurred, than subdued by the defeat they had sustained (1).

Within and without, they were surrounded by difficulties. The Revolution had left every thing in the most miserable situation. The treasury was empty; the people starving; the armies destitute; the generals discouraged. The progress of the public disorders had induced that extreme abuse of paper money, which seems the engine employed by nature, in revolutionary disorders, to bring salutory suffering home to every individual, even of the humblest rank in society. The revenue had almost ceased to be collected, and the public necessities were provided for merely by a daily issue of paper, which every morning was sent forth from the public treasury, still dripping wet from the manufactory of the preceding night. The sale of all kinds of commodities had ceased from the effect of the law of the maximum and forced contributions; and the subsistence of Paris and the other great towns was obtained merely by compulsory requisitions, for which the unfortunate peasants received only paper, worth not a thousandth part of the value at which they were compelled to accept it. Finally, the armies, destitute of every thing, and unfortunate at the close of the campaign, were discontented and defeated (2).

The brilliant successes by which Napoleon restored the military affairs of the Republic, have been already considered (3). But in the course of their labours, they were successively assailed by the different factions whose strife had brought the country to this miserable condition; and they owed their victory over both, only to the public torpor which recent experience of the suffering they had endured had produced (4).

One of their first acts was a deed of humanity; the liberation of the daughter of Louis XVI from the melancholy prison where she had been confined since her parents' death. This illustrious princess, interesting alike for her unparalleled misfortunes, and the resignation with which she bore them, after having discharged, as long as the barbarity of her persecutors would permit, every filial and sisterly duty,—after having seen her father, her mother, her aunt, and her brother, successively torn from her arms, to be consigned to destruction,—had been detained in solitary confinement since the fall of Robespierre, and was still ignorant of the fate of those she had so tenderly loved. The Directory, yielding at length to the feelings of humanity, agreed to exchange her for the deputies who had been delivered up by Dumouriez to the Imperialists; and on the 19th December, 1795, this remnant of the royal captives left the prison where she had been detained since the 10th August, 1792, and proceeded by rapid journeys to Basle, where she was exchanged for the republican commissioners, and received by the Austrians with the honour due to her rank. Her subsequent restoration and second banishment, will form an interesting episode in the concluding part of this work (5).

The first measure of the Directory for the relief of the finances, was to

(1) Th. viii. 81, 85.
 (2) Th. viii. 85. Mign. ii. 402, 403.
 (3) 20th and 22d chapters.
 (4) Mign. ii. 410.
 (5) Th. viii. 126. Lac. xii. 388.

to obtain a decree authorizing the cessation of the distribution of rations to the people, which were thereforeward to be continued only to the most necessitous classes. This great measure, the first symptom of emancipation from the tyranny of the mob of the metropolis, was boldly adopted, and though the discontents to which it gave rise appeared in the conspiracy of Babeuf, it was successfully carried into effect (1).

After various ineffectual attempts to return to a metallic circulation, the government found itself obliged to continue the issue of assignats. The quantity in circulation at length rose in January, 1796 to forty-five millions, or about £2,000,000,000 sterling, and the depreciation became so excessive, that a milliard, or a thousand million of francs, produced only a million in metallic currency. In other words, the paper money had fallen to a thousandth part of its nominal value. To stop this enormous evil, the government adopted the plan of issuing a new kind of paper money, to be called *territorial mandates*, which were intended to retire the assignats at the rate of thirty for one. This was in truth creating a new kind of assignats, with an inferior denomination, and was meant to conceal from the public the enormous depreciation which the first had undergone. It was immediately acted upon, mandates were declared the currency of the Republic, and became by law a legal tender, the national domains were forthwith exposed to sale, and assigned over to the holder of a mandate without any other formality than a simple *procès verbal*. At the same time the most violent measures were adopted to give this new paper a forced circulation, all payments by and to the government were ordered to be made in it alone, severe penalties were enacted against selling the mandate for less than its nominal value in gold or silver, and to prevent all speculation on their value, the public exchange was closed (2).

The only advantage possessed by the mandates over the old assignats was, that they enabled the holder to a more summary and effectual process for getting his paper exchanged for land. As soon as this became generally understood, it procured for them an ephemeral degree of public favour, a mandate for 100 francs, rose soon after it was issued, from fifteen to eighty francs, and their success procured for government a momentary resource but this relief was of short duration. Two milliards four hundred millions of mandates were issued, secured over an extent of land supposed to be of the same value but before many months had elapsed they began to decline, and were soon nearly at as great a discount in proportion to their value as the old assignats. By no possible measure of finance could paper money, worth nothing in foreign states, from a distrust of its security, and redundant at home from its excessive issue, be maintained at any thing like an equality with gold and silver. The mandates were, in truth, a reduction of assignats to a third part of their value, but to be on a par with the precious metals, they should have been issued at one two hundred-and-fiftieth part, being the rate of discount to which the original paper had now

fallen (3). Government, therefore, and all the persons who received payment from it, including the public creditors, the army, and the civil servants, were still suffering the most severe privation, but the crisis had passed with the great bulk of individuals in the state. The fall in the value of the assignats had been so excessive, that no one would take either them or

(1) N. E. 1. 106 Th. VII. 162
(2) Th. 1. 185 188 189 192
(3) Th. VII. 23 191 235 N. E. 1. 407 Lac.

their successors in change. Barter, and the actual interchange of one commodity with another, had usurped the place of sale; and all those possessed of any fortune, realized it in the form of the luxuries of life, which were likely to procure a ready sale in the market. The most opulent houses were converted into vast magazines for the storing of silks, velvets, and luxuries of every description, which were retained sometimes at a profit, and sometimes at a loss, and by which the higher classes were enabled to maintain their families. From the general prevalence of this rude interchange, internal trade and manufactures regained, to a certain degree, their former activity; and though the former opulent quarters were deserted, the Boulevards and Chaussee d'Antin began to exhibit that splendour for which they afterwards became so celebrated under the empire. As the victories of the Republic increased, and gold and silver were obtained from the conquest of Flanders, Italy, and the German states, the government paper entirely ceased to be a medium of exchange; transfers of every description were effected by barter or exchange for the precious metals, and the territorial mandates were nowhere to be seen but in the hands of speculators, who bought them for a twentieth part of their nominal value, and sold them at a small advance to the purchasers of the national domains (1).

But while all other classes were thus emerging from this terrible financial crisis, the servants of government, and the public creditors, still paid in mandates at par, were literally lying of famine. Employment from government, instead of being solicited, was universally shunned; the persons in every kind of service sent in their resignations; and the soldiers deserted from the armies in as great crowds as they had flocked to it during the Reign of Terror. While the armies of Pichegru and Napoleon, paid in the coin they extracted from the conquered states, were living in luxurious affluence, those on the soil of the Republic, and paid in its depreciated paper, were starving. But most of all, the public creditors, the *rentiers*, were overwhelmed by unprecedented distress. The opulent capitalists who had fanned the first triumphs of the Revolution, the annuitants who had swelled the multitude of its votaries, were now equally crushed under its wheels. Then was seen the unmitigated bitterness of private distress, which inevitably follows such a convulsion. The prospect of famine produced many more suicides among that unhappy class, than all the horrors of the Reign of Terror. Many, driven to extremities, had recourse, late in life, to daily labour for their subsistence; others, unable to endure its fatigues, subsisted upon the charity which they obtained from the more fortunate survivors of the Revolution. Under the shadow of night they were to be seen crowding round the doors of the opera and other places of public amusement, of which they had formerly been the principal supporters, and in a disguised voice, or with an averted head, imploring charity from crowds, among whom they were fearful of discovering a former acquaintance or dependent (2).

The situation of the armies in the interior was not less deplorable. Officers and soldiers, alike unable to procure any thing for their pay, were maintained only by the forced requisitions which, under the law of necessity, were still continued in the departments. The detachments were dispersed, and deserted on the road; even the hospitals were shut up, and the unhappy soldiers who filled them turned adrift upon the

(1) Th. viii. 337. Tac. xiii. 33, 36. (2) Th. viii. 337, 338. Mieg. ii. 402. Tac. xiii. 40.

world, from utter inability to procure them either medicines or provisions. The gendarmerie, or mounted police, were dissolved the soldiers who composed it, unable to maintain their horses, sold them, and left the service, and the high-roads, infested by numerous brigands, the natural result of the dissolution of society, became the theatre of unheard-of atrocities (1).

Strangers profited by the general distress of France to carry on a commerce with its suffering inhabitants, which contributed in a considerable degree to restore the precious metals to circulation. The Germans, the Swiss, the Russians, and the English, seized the moment when the assignats were lowest, to fall with all the power of metallic riches upon the scattered but splendid movables of France. Wines of the most costly description were bought up by speculators, and sold cheaper at Hamburg than Paris; diamonds and precious stones, concealed during the Reign of Terror, left their place of concealment, and procured for their ruined possessors a transitory relief, and pictures, statues, and furniture of every description, were eagerly purchased for the Russian and English palaces, and by their general dispersion effected a change in the taste for the fine arts over all Europe. A band of speculators, called *la bande Noire*, purchased up an immense number of public and private edifices, which were sold for almost nothing, and reimbursed themselves by selling a part of the materials, and numerous families, whose estates had escaped confiscation, retired to the country, and inhabited the buildings formerly tenanted by their servants, where they lived in seclusion and rustic plenty on the produce of a portion of their estates (2).

The excessive fall of the paper, at length made all classes perceive that it was vain to pursue the chimera of upholding its value. On the 16th July, 1796, the measure, amounting to an open confession of a bankruptcy, which had long existed, was adopted. It was declared that all persons were to be at liberty to transact business in the money which they chose, that the mandates should be taken at their current value, which should be published every day at the Treasury, and that the taxes should be received either in coin or mandates at that rate, with the exception of the department bordering on the seat of war, in which it should still be received in kind.

The publication of the fall of the mandates, rendered it indispensable to make some change as to the purchase of the national domains, for where the mandate had fallen from one hundred francs to five francs, it was impossible that the holder could be allowed to obtain in exchange for it land worth one hundred francs in 1790, and still, notwithstanding the fall of its value, from the insecure tenure of all possessions, deemed worth thirty-five francs (3). It was in consequence determined, on the 18th July, that the undisposed of national domains should be sold for mandates at their current value.

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(1) The value of the assignats had fallen from 100 to 1/100th of its original value.
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ment. It did more to overthrow the existing wealth, to transfer movable fortunes from one hand to another, than even the confiscation of the emigrant and church estates. All debts were in fact annihilated by the elusory form in which it permitted payment to be made. In its later stages, a debtor with one franc could force a discharge of a debt of two hundred; the public creditors, the government servants, in fact, all the classes who formerly were opulent, were reduced to the last stage of misery. On the other hand, the debtors throughout the whole country found themselves liberated from their engagements; the national domains were purchased almost for nothing by the holders of government paper; and the land, infinitely subdivided, required little of the expenditure of capital (1), and became daily more productive from the number and energy of its new cultivators.

Deprived of the extraordinary resource of issuing paper, the Directory were compelled to calculate their real revenue, and endeavour to accommodate their expenditure to that standard. They estimated the revenue for 1796 at 1,100,000,000 or 1,500,000,000, including an arrears of 500,000,000, or 1,150,000,000, of the forced loans, which had never yet been recovered. But the event soon proved that this calculation was fallacious; the revenue proved greatly less, and the expenditure much greater, than had been expected. The land tax had produced only 200 millions, instead of 250; and the 200 millions expected from the sale of the remainder of the national domains had not been half realized, and all the other sources of revenue had failed in the same proportion. Meanwhile, the armies of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Interior, were in the most extreme state of penury, and all the national establishments on the point of ruin. In these circumstances, it was no longer possible to avoid a bankruptcy (2).

The public creditors, as usual in all such extremities, were the first to be sacrificed. After exhausting every expedient of delay and procrastination with the *rentiers*, the Directory at length paid them only a fourth in money, and three-fourths in bills, dischargeable on the national domains, called *Bons des trois Quarts*. The annual charge of the debt was 248 millions of francs, or about 1,110,000,000 sterling; so that, by this expedient, the burden was reduced to 62 millions, or 1,240,000,000. The bills received for the three-fourths were from the first at a ruinous discount, and soon became altogether unsaleable; and the disorders and partiality consequent on this mode of payment speedily became so excessive, that it could no longer be continued. The income of 1797 was estimated at 616,000,000 francs, or about 1,270,000,000, but the expenditure could not be reduced to this, without taking a decisive step in regard to the debt. It was therefore finally resolved to continue the payment of a third only of the debt in specie; and the remaining two-thirds were to be discharged by the payment of a capital in bills, secured on the national domains, at the rate of twenty years' purchase. These bills, like the *Bons des Trois Quarts*, immediately fell to a sixth of their value, and shortly after dwindled away to almost nothing, from the quantity simultaneously thrown into the market. As the great majority of the public creditors were in such circumstances that they could not take land, this was, to all intents, a national bankruptcy, which cut off at one blow two-thirds of their property (3).

(1) Th. viii. 343. Tac. xiii. 38.
(2) Th. viii. 343. 344; ix. 177.

(3) Th. ix. 177. 319. 326. Brit. Hist. Fin. ii. 321.
327. Tac. xiv. 103.

And two-thirds of the national debt confiscated. Aug. 18, 1797.

too profound, for society to relapse, without further convulsions, into a state of repose. It was from the Jacobins that the first efforts proceeded; and the principles of their leaders at this juncture are singularly instructive as to the extremities to which the doctrine of democracy are necessarily pushed, when they take a deep hold of the body of the people.

This terrible faction had never ceased to moun in secret the ninth Thermidor as the commencement of their bondage. They still hoped to establish absolute equality, notwithstanding the variety of human character; and complete democracy, in spite of the institutions of modern civilisation. They had been driven from the government by the fall of Robespierre; and from all influence in the metropolis by the defeat and disarming of the Jacobins. But the necessities of government, on occasion of the revolt of the sections on the thirteenth Vendémiaire, had compelled it to invoke the aid of their desperate hands, to resist the efforts of the Royalists, and the character of the Directors inspired them with hopes of regaining their influence at the helm of affairs. Flattered by these prospects, the broken faction re-assembled. They instituted a new club, under the splendid dome of the Pantheon, which they trusted would rival the far-famed assemblage of the Jacobins; and there instituted a species of idolatrous worship of Marat and Robespierre, whom they still upheld as objects of imitation to their followers (1).

The head of this party was Babeuf, surnamed Gracchus, who aspired to become the chief of the fanatical band. His leading principle was, that the friends of freedom had hitherto failed because they had not ventured to make use of their power which could alone ensure its lasting success. "Robespierre fell," said he, "because he did not venture to pronounce the word 'Agrarian Law.' He effected the spoliation of a few rich, but without benefiting the poor. The *sans-culottes*, guided by too timid leaders, piqued themselves on their foolish determination to abstain from enriching themselves at others' expense. Real aristocracy consists in the possession of riches, and it matters not whether they are in the hands of a Villiers, a Laborde, a Danton, a Barras, or a Rewbell. Under different names, it is ever the same aristocracy which oppresses the poor, and keeps

these their opinions," (iv. 37, 38.) This sect, like all others, founded upon mere Deism and the veneration of the moral virtues, was short-lived, and never embraced any considerable body of the people. Napoleon viewed these enthusiasts, some of whom were still to be found in Paris when he seized the helm of affairs in 1799, in their true light. "They are good actors," said he,—"What?" answered one of the most enthusiastic of their number, "is it in such terms that you stigmatize those whose chiefs are among the most virtuous men in Paris, and whose leaders inculcate only universal benevolence and the moral virtues?"—"What do you mean by that?" replied the First Consul; "all systems of morality are fine, apart from certain dangers, more or less absurd, which were necessary to suit the capacity of the people to whom they were addressed, what do you see in the *Widham*, the *Koran*, the *Old Testament*, or *Confucius*? Every where pure morality; that is to say, a system involving precisely the same respect to the laws, gratitude to God. The gospel alone has exhibited a complete assemblage of the principles of morality divested of absurdity. That is what is truly admirable, and not a few commonplace sentences put into bad verse. Do you wish to see what is truly sublime? Repeat

the Lord's Prayer. You and your friends would willingly become martyrs: I shall do them no such honour. No stocks but those of ridicule shall fill them; and if I know any thing of the French, they will speedily prove effectual." Napoleon's views soon proved correct. "The sect lingered on five years, and two of its members had even the speedily died a natural death. Their number gradually declined; and they were at length so insensitised, that when a decree of government, on the 5th October, 1801, prohibited them from meeting in the four churches which had hitherto occupied as their temples, they were unable to raise money enough to hire a room to carry on their worship. The extinction of this sect was not owing merely to the irreligious spirit of the French nation; it would have undergone the same fate in any other age or country. It is not by flowers and veils, decorations on the beauty of Spring, and the goodness of the Deity, that a permanent improvement is to be made on a being exposed to the temptations, liable to the misfortune, and filled with the desires, incident to the human race.—See DECEASE OF ANABAPTISTS, vi. 38, 41. (1) Lac. xiii. 13. Migne, ii. 441.

them perpetually in the condition of the Spartan Helots. The people are excluded from the chief share in the property of France; nevertheless, the people who constitute the whole strength of the state, should be alone invested with it, and that too in equal shares. There is no real equality without an equality of riches. All the great or former times should, in their turn, be reduced to the condition of Helots; without that the Revolution is stopped where it should begin. These are the principles which *Ly curgus* or *Cracchus* would have applied to Revolutionary or Republican France; and without their adoption, the benefits of the Revolution are a mere chimera (1). "There was a time when plausible doctrines such as these, so well calculated to excite the passions of the squalid multitude in great cities, would in all probability have produced a great effect on the Parisian populace; but time extinguishes passion, and discovers illusions, to a generation as well as an individual. The people were no longer to be deceived by these high-sounding expressions; they knew, by dear-bought experience, that the equality of democracy is only an equality of subjection, and the equal division of property only a pretence for enriching the popular rulers. The lowest of the populace alone, accordingly, were moved by the efforts of the Jacobins, and the Directory, finding their government firmly established in the eyes of the opinion of the better classes, closed the Club at the *Rantillon*, and seized several numbers of *Babœuf's* journal, containing passages tending to overthrow the constitution. To avert the further encroachments of the Jacobin party, they endeavoured to introduce a restriction on the liberty of the press, but the two Councils, after a solemn discussion, refused to sanction any such attempts (2). Defeated in this attempt, the Jacobins formed an insurrectional Committee of Public Safety, which communicated, by means of twelve confidential agents, with affiliated societies in every part of Paris. *Babœuf* was at their head, the chiefs assembled in a place called the *Temple of Reason*, where they sang songs, deploring the death of *Robespierre* and the slavery of the people. They had some communication with the troops in the camp at *Cremelle*, and admitted to their secret meetings a captain in that force, named *Crizei*, whom they considered one of their most important adherents. Their design was to establish the "*Public Good*," and for that end to divide property of every description, and put at the head of affairs a government, consisting of "true, pure, and absolute democrats." It was unanimously agreed to murder the Directors, disperse the Councils, and put to death their leading members, and erect the sovereignty of the people; but to whom to intrust the supreme authority of the executive, after this was achieved, was a matter of anxious and difficult deliberation. At length they fixed on sixty-eight persons who were esteemed the most pure and absolute democrats, in whom the powers of the state were to be invested until the complete democratic regime was established. The day for commencing the

Revolutionary
Committee of
Public Safety

(1) The doctrine of *Babœuf*, which were nothing more than the maxims of the Revolution pushed to their legitimate consequences, instead of being turned about when they had served the purpose of

to themselves an army, by dividing among the

insurrection was fixed, and all the means of carrying it into effect arranged. It was to take place on the 21st May. Placards and banners were prepared, bearing the words, "Liberty, Equality, Constitution of 1793, Common Good," and others having the inscription, "Those who usurp the sovereignty of the people should be put to death by freemen." The conspirators were to march from different quarters to attack the Directors: and the Councils, and make themselves masters of the Luxembourg, the treasury, the telegraph, and the arsenal of artillery at Menden; a correspondence had been opened with the Jacobins in other quarters, so that the revolt would break out simultaneously in all parts of France. To induce the lower classes to take part in the proceedings, proclamations were immediately to be issued, requiring every citizen of any property to lodge, and maintain a man who had joined in the insurrection; and the bakers, butchers, and wine-merchants were to be obliged to furnish the articles in which they dealt to the citizens, at a low price fixed by the government. All soldiers who should join the people were to receive instantly a large sum in money, and their discharge; or, if they preferred remaining by their colours, they were to get the houses of the Royalists to pillage (1).

These desperate and extreme measures, worthy of Catiline's conspirators, the natural result of a long-continued revolutionary strife, indicated a perfect knowledge of human nature, and might, at an earlier period, have roused the most vehement democratic passions. But, coming as they did at a time when such opinions inspired all men of any property with horror, they failed in producing any considerable effect. The designs of the conspirators were divulged to government by Grizel; and, on the 20th May, the day before the plot was to have been carried into execution, Babœuf, and all the leaders of the enterprise, were seized at their place of assembly, and with them the documents which indicated the extent of the conspiracy. Babœuf, though in captivity, abated nothing of his haughty bearing, and would only condescend to negotiate with the government on a footing of perfect equality. "Do you consider it beneath you," said he to the Directory, "to treat with me as an independent power? You see of what a vast party I am the centre; you see that it nearly balances your own; you see what immense ramifications it contains. I am well assured that the discovery must have made you tremble. It is nothing to have arrested the chiefs of the conspiracy; it will revive in other bosoms, if theirs are extinct. Abandon the idea of shedding blood in vain; you have not hitherto made much noise about the affair; make no more; treat with the patriots; they recollect that you were once sincere Republicans; they will pardon you, if you consent with them in measures calculated to effect the salvation of the Republic." Instead of acceding to this extravagant proposal, the Directory published the letter; and ordered the trial of the conspirators before the High Court at Vendôme. This act of vigour contributed more than any thing they had yet done, to consolidate the authority of government (2).

The partisans of Babœuf, however, were not discouraged. Some months afterwards, and before the trial of the chiefs had come on, they marched in the night, to the number of six or seven hundred, armed with sabres and pistols, to the camp at Grenelle. They were received by a regiment of dragons, which, instead of fraternizing with them as they expected, charged and dispersed the motley array. Great numbers were cut

(1) *Th. viii. 103, 106; Mignet, ii. 412, 415.*
(2) *Th. viii. 107, 108; Mignet, ii. 413.*

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(2) Mign. n. 413 Th. 414
(1) Th. 411 319 Mign. 414

But the passions raised were too violent, the wounds inflicted too profound, for society to relapse, without further convulsions, into a state of repose; and France was again destined to undergo the horrors of Jacobin rule, before she settled down under the despotism of the sword. The Directory was essentially democratic; but the first elections having taken place during the excitement produced by the suppression of the revolt of the Sections at Paris, and two-thirds of the Councils being composed of the members of the old Convention, the legislature was, in that

rals as well as society, which the Revolution had effected (1).
 In these assemblies were to be seen the elements out of which the Imperial court was afterwards formed. The young officers who had risen to eminence in the Republican armies, began here to break through the rigid circle of aristocratic etiquette; and the mixture of characters and ideas which the Revolution had produced, rendered the style of conversation incomparably more varied and animating than any thing which had been known under the ancient *régime*. In a few years the world had lived through centuries of knowledge. There was to be seen Hoche, not yet twenty-seven years of age, who had recently extinguished the war in la Vendée, and whose handsome figure, brilliant talents, and rising glory, rendered him the idol of women even of aristocratic habits; while the thoughtful air, energetic conversation, and eagle eye of Napoleon, already, to persons of discernment, foretold no ordinary destinies. The beauty of Madame Tallien was still in its zenith; while the grace of Madame Beauharnais, and the genius of Madame de Staël, threw a lustre over the reviving society of the capital, which had been unknown since the fall of the monarchy. The illustrious men of the age, for the most part, at this period selected their partners for life from the brilliant circle by which they were surrounded; and never did such destinies depend on the decision or caprice of the moment. Madame Permon, a lady of rank and singular attractions, from Corsica, in whose family Napoleon had from infancy been intimate, and whose daughter afterwards became Duchess of Abrantes, refused in one morning the hand of Napoleon for herself, that of his brother Joseph for her daughter, and that of his sister Pauline for her son. She little thought that she was declining for herself the throne of Charlemagne; for her daughter, that of Charles V, and for her son, the most beautiful princess in Europe (2).

rank, remained deserted, but in the quarter of the chaussée d'Antin, and in the Boulevard des Italiens, the riches of the bankers, and of those who had made fortunes in the Revolution, began to shine with unprecedented lustre. Splendid hotels, sumptuously furnished in the Grecian taste, which had now become the fashion, were embellished by magnificent *fêtes*, where all that was left of elegance in France by the Revolution, assembled to indulge the new-born passion for enjoyment. The dresses of the women were carried to extravagance, in the Grecian style; and the excessive nudity which they exhibited, while it proved fatal to many persons of youth and beauty, contributed, by the novel aspect of the charms which were presented to the public eye, to increase the general enchantment. The assemblies of Barras, in particular, were remarkable for their magnificence; but, in the general confusion of ranks and characters which they presented, afforded too clear an indication of the universal destruction of the ancient landmarks, in mo-

did the members of that party carry hostility to the Jacobins, that they questioned the members of the Jacobins as to whether they were

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the Jacobins, deputy of the Bureau, was, amidst loud acclamations, amidst loud acclamations, amidst loud acclamations,

the chief strength which acquired as that of the Jacobins had done at among their number were in force they were.

prevent the Club of Jacobins of the Republic. join the Jacobins (2). to violent measures. Steadily pursuing to good, he had, during the crisis of the Jacobins, and now, when the danger to

(1) The first act of the new third of the Assembly will be to send the peace with Russia and the government. (2) The first act of the new third of the Assembly will be to send the peace with Russia and the government.

but, as usual in such circumstances, was unsuccessful, and shared in the ruin of the vanquished.

The reaction in favour of Royalist principles at this juncture was so strong, that out of seventy periodical journals which appeared at Paris, only three or four supported the cause of the Revolution. Lacroix, the future historian of the Revolution, the Abbé Morellet, La Harpe, Sicard, and all the literary men of the capital, wrote periodically on the Royalist side. Michaud, destined to illustrate and beautify the History of the Crusades, went so far as to publish a direct *éloge* on the princes of the exiled family; an offence which, by the subsisting laws, was punishable with death. He was indicted for the offence, but acquitted by the jury, amidst the general applause of the people. The majority in the Councils supported the liberty of the press, from which their party were reaping such advantages, and, pursuing a cautious but incessant attack upon government, brought them into obloquy by continually exposing the confusion of the finances, which was becoming inextricable, and dwelling on the continuance of the war, which appeared interminable (1).

At this epoch, by a singular but not unnatural train of events, the partisans of royalty were the strongest supporters of the liberty of the press; while the Jacobin government did every thing in their power to stifle its voice. This is the natural course of things when parties have changed places, and the executive authority is in the hands of the popular leaders. Freedom of discussion is the natural resource of liberty, whether menaced by regal, republican, or military violence; it is the insurrection of thought against physical force (2). It may frequently mislead and blind the people, and for years perpetuate the most fatal delusions; but still it is the polar star of freedom, and it alone can restore the light of truth to the generation it has misled. The press is not to be feared in any country where the balance of power is properly maintained, and opposing parties divide the state, because their opposite interests and passions call forth contradictory statements and arguments, which at length extricate truth from their collision: the period of danger from its abuse commences when it is in great part turned to one side either by despotic power, democratic violence, or purely republican institutions. France under Napoleon was an example of the first; Great Britain during the Reform fever in 1831, of the second; America of the third. Wherever one power in the state is overbearing, whether it be that of a sovereign or of the multitude, the press generally becomes the instrument of the most debasing tyranny (3).

To ward off the attacks, the Directory proposed a law for restricting the liberty of the press, and substituting graduated penalties for the odious punishment which the subsisting law authorized, but which could not be carried into effect from its severity. It passed the Five Hundred, but was thrown out in the Assembly, amidst transports of joy in the Royalist party. Encouraged by this success, they attempted to undo the worst parts of the revolutionary fabric: the punishment of imprisonment or transportation, to which the clergy were liable by the revolutionary laws, was repealed, and a proposal made to permit the open use of the ancient worship, allow the use of bells in the churches, the cross on the graves of such as chose to place that emblem there, and relieve the priests

(1) *Mém. n. 422. Loc. cit. 16, 18*
(2) *Id. de Str. n. 183*

(3) *Id. de Str. n. 263*

burg and other towns, where they were eagerly purchased by those who longed ardently to revisit their native land. The clergy returned in still greater numbers, and were received with transports of joy by their faithful flocks, especially in the western departments, who for four years had been deprived of all the ordinances and consolations of religion, the infants were anew baptised, the sick visited, the nuptial benediction pronounced by consecrated lips; and the last rites performed over the remains of the faithful. On this, as on other occasions, however, the energy of the Royalists consisted rather in words than in actions; they avowed too openly the extent of their shame not to value on the vigilance of the revolutionary party; and spoke

In effect, the rapid march of the Councils, and the declamations of the Royalists, both in the tribune, in the club of Clichy, and in the

certainly that the government has a right to
 do it.

majority, to transfer the seat of the legislature to Rouen, on account of its proximity to the eastern provinces, whose Royalist principles had always been so decided. The next election, it was expected, would nearly extinguish the Revolutionary party; and the Directory were aware that the transition was easy for regicides, as the greater part of them were, from the Luxembourg to the scaffold (3).

(1) Loc. XIV 20.54' Elevation is 422.423 Th. fr
(2) Th. fr 191 Mign. 424
EX. 192

In this extremity, the majority of the Directory, consisting of Barras, Rewbell, and Larevillière-Lépaux, resolved upon decisive measures. They could reckon with confidence upon the support of the army, which having been raised during the revolutionary fervour of 1793, and constantly habituated to the intoxication of Republican triumphs, was strongly imbued with democratic principles. This, in the existing state of affairs, was an assistance of immense importance. They, therefore, drew towards Paris a number of regiments, twelve thousand strong, from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, which were known to be most republican in their feelings; and these troops were brought within the circle of twelve leagues round the legislative body, which the constitution forbade the armed force to cross. Barras wrote to Hoche, who was in Holland superintending the preparations for the invasion of Ireland, informing him of the dangers of the Government; and he readily undertook to support them with all his authority. The ministers were changed: Bénézech, minister of the interior; Cacho, minister of police; Petiet, minister of war; Lacroix, minister of foreign affairs; and Truguet, of marine; who were all suspected of inclining to the party of the Councils, were suddenly dismissed. In their place were substituted François de Neufchâteau, in the ministry of the interior; Hoche, in that of war; Lenoir Laroche, in that of the police; and Talleyrand, in that of foreign affairs. The strong sagacity of this last politician, led him to incline, in all the changes of the Revolution, to what was about to prove the victorious side; and his accepting office under the Directory at this crisis, was strongly symptomatic of the chances which were accumulated in their favour (1). Carnot, from this moment, became convinced that his ruin had been determined on by his colleagues. Barras and Larevillière had long borne him a secret grudge, which sprung from his having signed the warrant, during the Reign of Terror, for the arrest of Danton, who was the leader of their party.

Barras and Hoche kept up an active correspondence with Napoleon, whose co-operation was of so much importance to secure the success of their enterprise. He was strongly urged by the Directory to come to Paris and support the Government; while, on the other hand, his intimate friends advised him to proceed there, and proclaim himself Dictator, as he afterwards did on his return from Egypt. That he hesitated whether he should not, even at that period, follow the footsteps of Cæsar, is avowed by himself; but he judged, probably wisely, that the period was not yet arrived for putting such a design in execution, and that the miseries of a republic had not yet been sufficiently experienced to ensure the success of an enterprise destined for its overthrow. He was resolved, however, to support the Directory, both because he was aware that the opposite party had determined upon his dismissal, from an apprehension of the dangers which he might occasion to public freedom, and because their principles, being those of moderation and peace, were little likely to favour his ambitious projects. Early, therefore, in spring 1797, he sent his aide-de-camp, Lavalley, who afterwards acquired a painful celebrity in the history of the restoration, to Paris, to observe the motions of the parties, and communicate to him the earliest intelligence; and afterwards dispatched An-jer, a general of decided character, and known revolutionary principles, to that city to support the Government. He declined coming to the

from the necessity of taking the republican oaths. On this occasion Camille Jordan, deputy from Lyon, whose religious and royalist principles had been strongly confirmed by the atrocities of the Jacobins

and the banished priests assembled in crowds from every part of Europe. Fictitious passports were transmitted from Paris to Maastricht and other towns, where the longer ardently to revisit their greater numbers, and were received, especially in the western departments, who for four years had been deprived of all the ordinances and consolations of religion, the infants were the number of children pronounced by com-

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(1) Carnot, 89, et seq. l. c. xiv. 61, 67. Th. ix. 308, 210. Mignet, i. 421.

capital himself, being unwilling to sully his hands, and risk his reputation by a so-called "after action." The head of the popular party (1), at the head of the republican ardour of his soldiers, Napoleon celebrated the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille on July 14th, by a *fête*, on which occasion he addressed the following order of the day to his troops:—"Sold-

Europe in arms, are ready. Mountains separate us from France. You will cross them with the rapidity of the eagle, if it be necessary, to maintain the constitution, to defend Soldiers! the G-

which it has received they have ceased to exist (2). Have no fears of the result; and swear by the names of the heroes who have died amongst us in defence of freedom, swear on our standards, eternal war to the enemies of the Republic and of the con-

situation." This proclamation proved extremely serviceable to the Directory. The flame spread from rank to rank; addresses, breaching the most alienated republicans, were voted by all the regiments and squadrons of the army, and transmitted to the Directory and the Councils with the signatures attached to them. The whole rancour of the Jacobin spirit, renewed with these words

forwardly is a who disturb and the 29th French are demi-brigade will take to flight. We will pursue our unworthy citizens even into the chambers of their worthy patron George III; and the Club of Clichy will

These are our sentiments, these are your; these are those of the country. Let the Royalists show themselves; they have ceased to live." Other ad-

addresses, in a similar strain, flowed in from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle; it was soon evident that the people had chosen for themselves their masters, and that under the name of freedom, a military despotism was about to be established. The Directory encouraged and published all these addresses, which produced a powerful impression on the public mind. The Councils loudly exclaimed against these menacing deliberations by armed men; but government, as their only reply, drew still nearer to Paris the twelve thousand men who had been brought from Hoche's army, and placed them at Versailles, Meudon, and Vincennes (1).

The party against whom these formidable preparations were directed, was strong in numbers and powerful in eloquence, but totally destitute of that reckless hardihood and fearless vigour, which in civil convulsions is usually found to command success. Tronçon-Ducoudray, in the Council of the Ancients, drew, in strong and sombre colours, a picture of the consequences which would ensue to the Directory themselves, their friends, and the people of France; from this blind stinging of the public voice by the threats of the armies, in prophetic strains he announced the commencement of a reign of blood, which would be closed by the despotism of the sword. This discourse, pronounced in an intrepid accent, recalled to mind those periods of feudal tyranny, when the victims of oppression appealed from the kings or pontiffs, who were about to stifle their voice, to the justice of God, and summoned their accusers to answer at that dread tribunal for their earthly injustice. At the Club of Citizens, Jordan, Vauclaire, and Willot, strongly urged the necessity of adopting decisive measures. They proposed to decree the arrest of Barras, Rewbell, and Lareveillière; to summon Carnot and Barthélemy to the legislative body; and if they refused to obey, sound the tocsin, march at the head of the old scoundrel against the Directory, and appoint Pichegru the commander of that legal insurrection. That great general supported this energetic course by his weight and authority; but the majority, overborne, as the friends of order and freedom often are in revolutionary convulsions, by their scruples of conscience, decided against taking the lead in acts of violence, and resolved only to decree the immediate organization of the national guard under the command of Pichegru. "Let us leave to the Directory," said they, "all the odium of beginning violence." Sage advice, if they had been combating an enemy capable of being swayed by considerations of justice, but fatal in presence of enterprising ambition, supported by the weight of military power (2).

The actual force at the command of the Councils was extremely small. Their body guard consisted only of fifteen hundred grenadiers, who could not be relied on, as the event soon proved, in a contest with their brethren in arms; the national guard were disbanded, and without a rallying point; the Royalists, scattered, and destitute of organization. They had placed the guard under the orders of their own officers; and on the 17th Fructidor, when both Councils had decreed the organization of the national guard under Pichegru, this was to have been followed on the next day, by a decree, directing the removal of the troops from the neighbourhood of Paris. But a sense of their weakness, in such a strife, filled every breast with gloomy pre-

The Directory; on the other hand, they appointed Augereau to the command of the 17th military division, comprehending the environs of Paris, and the principles, decision of character, and rudeness of manners, to the command of the 17th military division, comprehending the environs of Paris, and the

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reversed the garden of the Tuileries, surrounded the hall of the Councils, arrayed Pichegru, Willot, and twelve other leaders of the Legislative Assemblies, and conducted them to the Temple. The members of the Councils, who hurried in confusion to the spot,

the walls covered with proclamations, and military despatches established (5).

streets were filled with crowds, who read in silence the proclamations. More spectators of a strife in which they had taken no part, they testified neither joy nor sorrow at the event. A few detached

groups, issuing from the faubourgs, traversed the streets, exclaiming (1), "Vive la République! A has les Aristocrates!" But the people, in general, was as passive as in a despotical state.

The minority of the Councils, who were in the interest of the Directory, continued their meetings in the Odéon and the School of Medicine; but their considerable numbers demonstrated so clearly the violence done to the constitution, that they did not venture on any resolution at their first sitting, but one authorizing the continuance of the troops in Paris. On the following day, the Directory sent them a message in these terms:—"The 18th Fructidor should have saved the Republic and its real representatives. Have you not observed yesterday the tranquillity of the people, and their joy? This is the 19th, and the people ask, Where is the Republic; and what has the legislative body done to consolidate it? The eyes of the country are fixed upon you; the decisive moment has come. If you hesitate in the measures you are to adopt, if you delay a minute in declaring yourselves, it is all over both with yourselves and the Republic. The conspirators have watched while you were summing up; your silence restored their audacity; they misled public opinion by infamous libels, while the journalists of the Bourbons and London never ceased to distribute their poison. The conspirators already speak of punishing the Republicans for the triumph which they have commenced; and can you hesitate to purge the soil of France of that small body of Royalists, who are only waiting for the moment to tear in pieces the Republic, and to devour yourselves. You are on the edge of a volcano; it is about to swallow you up; you have it in your power to close it, and yet you deliberate! To-morrow it will be too late: the slightest indecision would now ruin the Republic. You will be told of principles, of delays, of the pity due to individuals; but how false would be the principles, how ruinous the delays, how misplaced the pity which should mislead the legislative body from its duty to the Republic! The Directory have devoted themselves to put in your hands the means of saving France; but it was entitled to expect that you would not hesitate to seize them. They believed that you were sincerely attached to freedom and the Republic, and that you would not be afraid of the consequences of that first step. If the friends of kings find in you their protectors,—if slaves excite your sympathy—if you delay an instant—it is all over with the liberty of France; the constitution is overturned, and you may at once proclaim to the friends of their country that the hour of royalty has struck. But if, as they believe, you recoil with horror from that idea, seize the passing moment, become the liberators of your country, and secure for ever its prosperity and glory." This pressing message sufficiently demonstrates the need which the Directory had of some legislative authority to sanction their dictatorial proceedings. The remnant of the Councils yielded to necessity; a council of five was appointed, with instructions to prepare a law of *public safety*; and that proved a decree of ostracism, which condemned to transportation almost all the noblest citizens of France (2).

Following the recommendation of that committee, the Councils, by a stretch of power, annulled the elections of forty-eight departments, which formed a majority of the legislative bodies, and condemned to transportation to Guiana, Carnot, Barthélemy, Pichegru, Camille-

(1) 17th, iv. 295. Mign. ii. 429, 430. Lac. xiv. (2) 17th, ix. 298. Lac. xiv. 94, 99. Mign. ii. 430. 94, 95.

strong and irresistible habit of replying every word upon own wrongs had excited, and mingling in society every where, both on the continent and in the British isles, counteracted in the most powerful manner the enthusiasm in favour of democratic principles, and contributed not a little to the formation of that powerful league which ultimately led to their overthrow. Finally, the Councils openly avowed a national bankruptcy; they cut off for ever two-thirds of the national debt of France; closing thus a sanguinary revolution by the extinction of freedom, the banishment of virtue, and the violation of public faith (1).

that he had opened to the Directory the designs of the revolutionary party; that he had been named Governor of Paris; and that the dismissal of all the civil and military authorities.

misconduct, you have sold the Republic, and you wish to murder those who defend it, inhuman scoundrel!" Carnot answered, with an embittered air—"I despise you! not inhuman, but one day I shall answer there!"
 Auggereau wrote on the 12th August to Napoleon: "Things remain much in the same state; the Christians have resumed their, vacillating and uncertain policy; they do not count on much success here; but on Germany, and only the agitation of the weakness of Ruffians. I for my part, I observe them, and keep incessantly reminding the Directory, for the decisive moment has evidently arrived, and they are that as well as I do." Nothing is more certain, than that, if the public mind is not roused, opening beneath its feet. Such, however, is the

he received intelligence of the success of the enterprise. But these feelings were speedily changed into discontent at the accounts of the use which the government made of their victory. He easily perceived that the excessive severity which they employed, and the indulgence of private spleen which appeared in the choice of their victims, would alienate public opinion, and run an imminent risk of bringing back the odious Jacobin rule. He has expressed in his *Mémoires* the strongest opinion on this subject. "It might have been right," says he, "to deprive Carnot, Barthélemy, and the fifty deputies, of their appointment, and put them under surveillance in some cities in the interior; Pichegru, Willot, Imbert, Colonne, and one or two others, might justly have expiated their treason on the scaffold; but to see men of great talent, such as Portalis, Tronçon-Ducoudray, Fontanes; tried patriots, such as Boissy-d'Anglas, Dumolard, Murinais; supreme magistrates, such as Carnot and Barthélemy, condemned, without either trial or accusation, to perish in the marshes of Sinimari, was frightful. What to punish with transportation a number of writers of pamphlets, who deserved only contempt and a trifling correction, was to renew the prosecutions of the Roman triumphs; it was to act more cruelly than Fouquier-Tinville, since he at least put the accused on their trial, and condemned them only to death. All the armies, all the people, were for a Republic; state necessity could not be alleged in favour of so revolting an injustice, so flagrant a violation of the laws and the rights of the citizens (1)."

Independently of the instability of any government which succeeds to so stormy a period as that of the Revolution, the constitution of France under the Directory contained an inherent defect, which must sooner or later have occasioned its fall. This was ably pointed out from its very commencement by Necker (2), and consisted in the complete separation of the executive from the legislative power. In constitutional monarchies, when a difference of opinion on any vital subject arises between the executive and the legislature, the obvious mode of arranging it is by a dissolution of the latter, and a new appeal to the people; and whichever party the electors incline to, becomes victorious in the strife. But the French Councils, being altogether independent of the Directory, and undergoing a change every two years of a third of their members, became shortly at variance with the executive; and the latter, being composed of ambitious men, unwilling to resign the power they had acquired, had no alternative but to invoke military violence for its support. This is a matter of vital importance, and lying at the very foundation of a mixed government: unless the executive possess the power of dissolution, by legal means, the legislature, the time must inevitably come, when it will disperse them by force. This is in an especial manner, to be looked for when a nation is emerging from revolutionary convulsions; as so many in-

ally changed before the approaching elections, every thing is lost, and a civil war remains as our last resource." On the 31st August, Lacroix informed him, "At length the movement, so long expected, is about to take place. To-morrow night the Directory will arrest fifteen or twenty deputies; I presume there will be no resistance." And on the 3d September, Angereau wrote to him,—"At last, general, my mission is accomplished! the promises of the army of Italy have been kept last night. The Directory was at length induced to act with vigour, At midnight I put all the troops in motion; before daybreak all the bridges and principal points in the city were occupied, the legislators surrounded, and the members, whose names are engraved, arrested."

Mad. de Staël, ii. 170, 173.
 (1) Nap. iv. 233, 250, 266, and Hamb. iv. 503, 518.
 (2) Necker, *Histoire de la Révolution*, iv. 232.

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country. Its own passions were made the ministers of the justice of Heaven; its own desires the means of bringing upon itself a righteous punishment. Contemporaneous with the military despotism established by the victory of Augereau, sprang up the foreign conquests of Napoleon:—His triumphant car rolled over the world, crushing generations beneath its wheels; ploughing, like the chariot of Juggerman, through human flesh; exhausting, in the pursuit of glory, the energies of Republican ambition. France was decimated for its cruelty; the snows of Russia, and the hospitals of Germany, became the winding-sheet and the grave of its blood-stained Revolution. Infidelity may discern in this terrible progress the march of fatalism and the inevitable course of human affairs: let us discover in it the government of an overruling Providence, punishing the sins of a guilty age, extending to nations with severe, but merciful hand, the consequences of their transgression, and preparing in the chastisement of present iniquity, the future amelioration of the species.

—Reflections on that Act—Army regains Egypt—Contests in Egypt during Napoleon's absence—The Angel el Abady—Conquest of Upper Egypt by Desaix—Great Discontents of the Army—Landing of the Turks in Aboukir Bay—Force of the Invaders—Position which the Turks occupied—Napoleon's Dispositions for an Attack—First Line carried—Second Line also forced, after a desperate struggle—Total destruction of the Turks—Napoleon is made acquainted with the Disasters of the Republic in Europe—the secretly sown seed for Europe from Alexandria—and stretches along the coast of Africa to Sardinia—the lands at Ajaccio in Corsica—Sown seed, and avoids the English Fleet—Proof which the Egyptian Expedition affords of the Superiority of the Arms of Civilization to those of Savage Life—General Reflections on the probable fate of an Eastern Empire under Napoleon.

“By seizing the isthmus of Darien,” said Sir Walter Raleigh, “you will wrest the keys of the world from Spain.” The observation, worthy of his reach of thought, is still more applicable to the isthmus of Suez and the country of Egypt. It is remarkable that its importance has never been duly appreciated, but by the greatest conquerors of ancient and modern times, Alexander the Great and Napoleon Bonaparte.

The geographical position of this celebrated country has destined it to be the great emporium of the commerce of the world. Placed in the centre between Europe and Asia, on the confines of Eastern wealth and Western civilisation; at the extremity of the African continent, and on the shores of the Mediterranean sea, it is fitted to become the central point of communication for the varied productions of these different regions of the globe. The waters of the Mediterranean bring to it all the fabrics of Europe; the Red Sea waits to its shores the riches of India and China; while the Nile floats down to its bosom the produce of the vast and unknown regions of Africa. Though it were not one of the most fertile countries in the world,—though the inundations of the Nile did not annually cover its fields with riches, it would still be, from its situation, one of the most favoured spots on the earth. The greatest and most durable monuments of human industry accordingly, the earliest efforts of civilisation, the sublimest works of genius have been raised in this universal seat of mankind. The temples of Rome have decayed, the arts of Athens have perished; but the Pyramids “still stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile (1).” When, in the revolution of ages, civilisation shall have returned to its ancient era, and when the desolation of Mahometan rule shall have ceased, and the light of religion illumined the land of its birth, Egypt will again become one of the great centres of human industry; the invention of steam will restore the communication with the East to its original channel; and the nation which shall revive the canal of Suez, and open a direct communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, will pour into its bosom those streams of wealth, which in every age have constituted the principal sources of European opulence.

The great Leibnitz, in the time of Louis XIV, addressed to the *French monarch a memorial, which is one of the noblest monuments of political foresight*. “Sire,” said he, “it is not at home that you will succeed in subduing the Dutch: you will not cross their dykes, and you will rouse Europe to their assistance. It is in Egypt that the real blow is to be struck. There you will find the true commercial route to India; you will wrest that lucrative commerce from Holland, you will secure the eternal dominion of France in the Levant, you will fill Christianity with joy (2).” These ideas, however, were beyond the age, and they lay dormant till revived by the genius of Napoleon.

hand to the affairs of the Cisalpine Republic. Venice was delivered over, amidst the tears of all its patriotic citizens, to Austria; the French auxiliary force in the new republic was fixed at thirty thousand men, under the orders of Berthier, to be maintained at the expense of the allied state; and all the republican organization of a directory, legislative assemblies, national guards, and troops of the line, put in full activity. "You are the first people in history," said he, in his parting address to them, "who have become free without factions, without revolutions, without convulsions. We have given you freedom; it is your part to preserve it. You are, after France, the richest, the most populous republic in the world. Your position calls you to take a leading part in the politics of Europe. To be worthy of your destiny, make no laws but what are wise and moderate; but execute them with force and energy (1)." The wealth and population of the beautiful provinces which compose this Republic, embracing 5,500,000 souls, the fortress of Mantua, and the plains of Lombardy, indeed formed the elements of a powerful state; but had Napoleon looked into the book of history, or considered the human mind, he would have perceived that, of all human blessings, liberty is the one which is of the slowest growth; that it must be won, and cannot be conferred; and that the institutions which are suddenly transferred from one country to another, perish as rapidly as the full-grown tree, which is transplanted from the soil of its birth to a distant land.

Napoleon's journey from Italy to Paris was a continual triumph. The Italians, whose national spirit had been in some degree revived by his victories, beheld with regret the disappearance of that brilliant apparition. Every thing he did and said was calculated to increase the public enthusiasm. At Mantua, he combined with a fête in honour of Virgil a military procession on the death of General Hoche, who had recently died, after a short illness, in France; and about the same time formed that friendship with Desaix, who had come from the army of the Rhine to visit that of Italy, which mutual esteem was so well calculated to inspire, but which was destined to terminate prematurely on the field of Marengo. The towns of Switzerland received him with transport; triumphal arches and garlands of flowers every where awaited his approach; he passed the fortresses amidst discharges of cannon; and crowds from the neighbouring countries lined the roads to get a glimpse of the hero who had filled the world with his renown (2). His progress, however, was rapid: he lingered on the field of Morat to examine the scene of the terrible defeat of the Burgundian chivalry by the Swiss peasantry. Passing Basle, he arrived at Rastadt, where the congress was established; but, foreseeing nothing worthy of his genius in the minute matters of diplomacy which were there the subject of discussion, he proceeded to Paris, where the public anxiety had arisen to the highest pitch for his return (3).

The successive arrival of Napoleon's lieutenants at Paris with the standards taken from the enemy in his memorable campaigns, the vast conquests he had achieved, the brief but eloquent language of his proclamations, and the immense benefits which had accrued to the Republic from his triumphs, had

(1) Nap. iv. 271.
(2) His words, though few, were all such as were calculated to produce revolution. At Geneva, he boasted that he would democratize England in three months; and that there were, in truth, but two lieg

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raised to the very highest pitch the enthusiasm of the people. The public anxiety, accordingly, to see him was indescribable; but he knew enough of mankind to feel the importance of enhancing the general esteem, in the most refined manner, we ourselves in the rue Chan- lussier, Deshay, Lefebvre, Caffarelli, Kleber, and a few of the deputies. On oc- casion of being presented to Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, he singled out, amidst the splendid cortege of public characters by which he was sur- rounded, M. Bonaiville, and conversed with him on the celebrated voyage which he had performed (1). Such was the profound nature of his ambition through life, that on every occasion he looked rather to the impression his conduct was to produce on men's minds in future, than the gratification he was to receive from their admiration of the past. He literally "deemed nothing done, while any thing remained to do (2)." Even in the assumption of the dress, and the choice of the society of the Institute, he was guided by motives of ambition, and a profound knowledge of the human heart. "Man- kind," said he, "are in the end governed always by superiority of intelle- tual qualities, and none are more sensible of this than the military profes- sion. When on my return from Italy I assumed the dress of the Institute, I knew what I was doing. I was sure of not being misunderstood by the lowest drummer of the army (3)."

Shortly after his arrival he was received in state by the Directory, in their now magnificent court of the Luxembourg. The public anxiety was wound up to the highest pitch for this imposing cere- mony, on which occasion Toubert was to present the standard of the army of Italy, inscribed with all the great actions it had performed, and the youthful conqueror himself was to lay at the feet of government the treaty of Campo Formio. Vast galleries were prepared for the accommodation of the public, which were early filled with all that was distinguished in rank, character, and beauty in Paris. He made his entry, accompanied by M. Talleyrand, who was to present him to the Directory as the bearer of the treaty. The aspect of the hero, his thin but graceful figure, the Roman cast of his features, and fire of his eye, excited universal admiration, the court rang with applause. Talleyrand introduced him in an eloquent speech, in which, after extolling his great actions, he concluded: "For a moment I did feel on his account that disquietude, which, in an infant republic, arises from every thing which seems to destroy the equality of the citizens. But I was wrong, individual grandeur, far from being dangerous to equality, is its highest triumph, and on this occasion, every Frenchman must feel himself

all that constitutes the pride of ignoble minds, I am convinced that, far from

dreading his ambition, we shall one day have occasion to rouse it anew to allure him from the sweets of stuporous retirement; France will never lose its freedom; but perhaps he will not for ever preserve his own (1)."

Napoleon replied in these words: "The French people, to attain their freedom, had kings to combat; to secure a constitution founded on reason, they had eighteen hundred years of prejudices to overcome. Religion, feudalism, despotism, have, in their turns, governed Europe; but from the peace now concluded, dates the era of representative government. You have succeeded in organizing the great nation, whose territory is not circumscribed but because nature herself has imposed it limits. I lay at your feet the treaty of Campo Formio, ratified by the Emperor (2). As soon as the happiness of France is secured by the best *organic laws*, the whole of Europe will be free." The Directory, by the voice of Barras, returned an inflated reply, in which they invited him to strive for the acquisition of fresh laurels, and pointed to the shores of Great Britain as the place where they were to be gathered (3).

On this occasion, General Joubert, and the chief of the staff, Andreossi, bore the magnificent standard which the Directory had given to the Army of Italy, and which contained an enumeration of triumphs so wonderful, that it would have passed for fabulous in any other age (4). It was sufficient to intoxicate all the youth of France with the passion for military glory. This *fecit* was followed by others, given by the legislative body and the minister of foreign affairs; Napoleon appeared at all these, but they were foreign to his disposition; and he retired, as soon as politeness would permit, to his own house. At that given by M. Talleyrand, which was distinguished by the good taste and elegance which prevailed, he was asked by Madame de Stael, in presence of a numerous circle, who was, in his opinion, the greatest woman that ever existed. "She," he replied, "who has had the greatest number of children;" an answer very different from what she anticipated, and singularly characteristic of his opinions on female influence. At the institute, he was to be seen always seated between Lagrange and Laplace, wholly occupied in appearance with the abstract sciences. To a deputation of that learned body, he returned an answer:—"I am highly honoured with the approbation of the distinguished men who compose the institute. I know well that I must long be their scholar before I become their equal. The true conquests, the only ones which do not cause a tear, are those which are gained over ignorance. The most honourable, as well as the most useful, occupation of men is, to contribute to the extension of ideas. The true power of the French Republic should henceforth consist

(1) Bourc., ii. 21.
(2) Napoleon had added these words in this place:—"That peace secures the liberty, the prosperity, and glory of the Republic;" but these words were struck out by order of the Directory: a sufficient proof of their disapproval of his conduct in signing it, and one of the many inducements which led him to turn his face to the East.—See *Mad.* v. 71.
(3) Th., ix. 368. Nap., iv. 283 384.
(4) It bore these words:—"The army of Italy has made 550,000 prisoners; it has taken 170 standards, 500 pieces of heavy artillery, 600 first pieces, 5 pontoon trains, 9 ships of the line, 12 frigates, 12 corvettes, 18 galleys. Armistice with the Kings of Sardinia, Naples, the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and the Pope. Preliminaries of Leoben; Convention of Montebello with Genoa. Treaty of Tolentino. Treaty of Campo Formio. It has given freedom to the people of Bologna, Ferrara, Modona, Massa-Carrara, Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Cremona, a part of the Veronese, Livorno, Borno, and the Valbelline; to the people of Genoa, the Imperial Riefs, Coreza, and Istria. Sent to Paris the *effigies* of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Albano, the Carracci, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, etc. Triumphed in 18 pitched battles; Montevideo, Milledio, Mondovi, Lodi, Morgheita, Lonato, Castiglione, Roveredo, Bassano, St. George's, Komana Vira, Caldiero, Arcola, Rivoli, La Favorita, the Tagliamento, Tarvis, Novomarch; and then followed the names of 67 combats or lesser engagements." [Th., ix. 369.] The legends of Caesar had not, in so short a time, so splendid a roll of achievements, to exhibit.

ned the shores of France and Holland, from Brest to the Texel; nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men were stationed on these coasts, under the name of the Army of England. This immense force might have occasioned great disquietude to the British government, had it been supported by a powerful navy; but the battles of St. Vincents and Camperdown relieved them of all apprehensions of a descent by these numerous enemies. It does not appear that the Directory then entertained any serious thoughts of carrying the invasion into early execution: although the troops were encamped in the maritime departments, no immediate preparation for embarkation had been made. However, their language breathed nothing but menaces: Napoleon was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of England, and he was dispatched on a mission to the coasts to superintend the completion of the armament (1).

"Crown," said Barras, "so illustrious a life, by a conquest which the great nation owes to its outraged dignity. Go, and by the punishment of the cabinet of London, strike terror into the hearts of all who would miscalculate the powers of a free people. Let the conquerors of the Po, the Rhine, and the Tiber, march under your banners; the ocean will be proud to bear them; it is a slave still indignant, who blushes for his fellows. He invokes, in a voice of thunder, the wrath of the earth against the oppressor of the waves. Pompey did not esteem it beneath him to wield the power of Rome against the pirates: Go, and chain the monster who presses on the seas; go, and punish in London the injured rights of humanity. Hardly will the tricolor standard wave on the blood-stained shores of the Thames, ere a unanimous cry will bless your arrival, and that generous nation, perceiving the dawn of its felicity, will receive you as liberators, who come not to combat and enslave, but to put a period to its calamities." Under these high-sounding declamations, however, all parties concealed very different intentions. Immense preparations were made in Italy and the south of France, the whole naval resources of the Mediterranean were put in requisition, the *élite* of the army of Italy moved to Toulon, Genoa, and Civita Vecchia. The Directory were more desirous to see Napoleon engulfed in the sands of Lybia, than conquering on the banks of the Thames; and he dreamt more of the career of Alexander and of Mahomet, than of the descent of Caesar on the shores of Britain (2).

Independently of his anxiety to engage in some enterprise which might immortalize his name, Napoleon was desirous to detach himself from the government, from his strong and growing aversion for the Jacobin party, whom the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire had placed at the head of the Republic. Already he had, on more than one occasion, openly expressed his dislike at the violent revolutionary course which the Directory were pursuing, both at home and abroad (3); and in private he gave vent, in the strongest terms, to his horror at that grasping insatiable democratic spirit which, through his subsequent life, he set himself so vigorously to resist. "What," said he, "would these Jacobins have? France is revolutionized, Holland is revolutionized, Italy is revolutionized, Switzerland is revolutionized, Europe will soon be revolutionized. But this, it seems, will not suffice them. I know well what they want; they want the domination of thirty or forty individuals founded on the massacre

Napoleon's
growing
horror of
the revolu-
tionary
system.

Real views
of both
parties.

Pompeus
Barro on
speech of
the com-
mand of the
Army of
England.

(3) Nap. iv. 301.

(1) Bour. ii. 38. Tac. xiv. 138, 139. Nap. ii. 165.
(2) Nap. ii. 164. Tac. xiv. 138, 139, 140. Nap.

iv. 287. Bour. ii. 37.

Swiss Confederacy during more than two hundred years, should have been one motive for the attack on the independence of that inoffensive republic (1). From his headquarters at Paris, Napoleon directed the vast preparations for this armament, which were going forward with the utmost activity in all the ports of Italy and the south of France. Four stations were assigned for the assembly of the convoys and the embarkation of the troops, Toulon, Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia, at the latter harbour, transports were moored alongside of the masonry piers of Roman architecture to the bronze rings, still undecayed, which were fixed in their blocks by the emperor Trajan. A numerous artillery, and three thousand cavalry, were assembled at these different stations, destined to be mounted on the incomparable horses of Egypt. The most celebrated generals of the Republic, Desaix and Klüber, as yet strangers to the fortunes of Napoleon, as well as those who had so ably seconded his efforts in Italy, Lannes, Murat, Junot, Riquier, Barragany-d'Hilliers, Vaubois, Bon, Belliard, and Dommartin, were ranged under his command. Caffarelli commanded the engineers; Berthier, who could hardly tear himself from the fascination of beauty at Paris, the staff, the most illustrious philosophers and artists of the age, Monge, Berthollet, Fournier, Larrey, Desgenettes, Geoffroy St-Hilaire, and Denon, attended the expedition. Genius, in every department, hastened to range itself under the banners of the youthful hero (2).

The disturbance at Vienna, on account of the *fête* given by Bernadotte, the ambassador of the Republic at the Imperial Court, which will be afterwards mentioned, retarded for fifteen days the departure of the expedition. During that period, Europe awaited with breathless anxiety the course of the storm, which it was well known was now ready to burst. Bouchienne, on this occasion, asked Napoleon, if he was finally determined to risk his fate on the expedition to Egypt — "Yes," he replied; "I have tried every thing, but they will have nothing to do with me. If I stayed here, it would be necessary to overturn them, and make myself king, but we must not think of that as yet, the nobles would not consent to it, I have sounded, but I find the time for that has not yet arrived (3); I must first dazzle these gentlemen by my exploits." In truth, he was convinced, at this period, that he had no chance of escaping destruction, but by persisting in his Oriental expedition (4).

The two
 (1) The partisans of Napoleon are
 sure at first, dignified at the insult of his
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well as the treasury has given orders that

however, that we are it all you will find
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 Confid de Vapoleon, v. 74 85 86, 87 102
 (2) Vapoleon, 1 25 76 18 89, 91 102
 (3) Bonaparte 48 51 76 18 91
 (4) The intelligence of the tumult at Vienna, and
 the appearance of approaching hostilities between

this month, from Bern for Lyon. You will find
 I am in all I will the order from the treasury to

April 1802

Napoleon having completed his preparations, arrived at Toulon on the 9th May, 1798, and immediately took the command of the army. Never had so splendid an armament appeared on the ocean. The fleet consisted of 15 ships of the line, two of 64 guns, 14 frigates, 72 brigs and cutters, and 400 transports. It bore 36,000 soldiers of arms, and above 10,000 sailors. Before embarking, the general-in-chief, after his usual custom, addressed the following proclamation to his troops:—"Soldiers! You are one of the wings of the Army of England; you have made war in mountains, plains, and cities; it remains to make it on the ocean. The Roman legions, whom you have often imitated but not yet equalled, combated Carthage, by turns, on the seas and on the plains of Zama. Victory never deserted their standards, because they never ceased to be brave, patient, and united. Soldiers! the eyes of Europe are upon you; you have great destinies to accomplish; battles to fight; dangers and fatigues to overcome; you are about to do more than you have yet done for the prosperity of your country, the happiness of man, and your own glory. The genius of liberty, which has rendered, from its birth, the Republic the arbiter of Europe, has now determined that it should become so of the seas, and of the most distant nations (1)." In such magnificent mystery did this great man envelope his designs, even when on the eve of their execution.

One of the last acts of Napoleon, before embarking, was to issue a humane proclamation to the military commissions of the 9th division, in which Toulon was situated, in which he severely censured the cruel application of one of the harsh laws of the 19th Fructidor to old men above seventy years of age, children in infancy, and women with child, who had been seized and shot for violating that tyrannical edict. This interposition gave universal satisfaction, and added another laurel of a purer colour to those which already encircled the brows of the general (2).

At length, on the 19th May, the fleet set sail in the finest weather, amidst the discharges of cannon, and the acclamations of an immense crowd of inhabitants. The L'Orient grounded at leaving the harbour, by reason of its enormous bulk; it was taken as a sinister omen by the sailors, more alive than any other class of men to superstitious impressions. The fleet sailed in the first instance towards Genoa, and thence to Ajaccio and Civita-Castellana, and having effected a junction with the squadron in those harbours, bore away with a fair wind for Malta. In coasting the shores of Italy, they described from on board the L'Orient the snowy summit of the Alps in the extreme distance. Napoleon gazed with feeling at the mountains which had been the witnesses of his early achievements. "I cannot," said he, "behold without emotion the land of Italy; these mountains command the plains where I have so often led the French to victory. Now we are bound for the east; with them victory is still secure." His conversation was peculiarly animated during the whole voyage; every headland, every promontory,

his plan; and he earnestly represented to the British the impolicy of continuing the Egyptian project at such a crisis. But the rulers of France were now thoroughly awakened to the danger they ran from the ascendancy of Napoleon, and the only answer they made to his representation, was a positive order to leave Paris on the 3d May. This led to a warm altercation between him and the Directory, in the course of which he resorted to his former manoeuvre of lending his resignation. But on this occasion it did not succeed. Presenting him with a pen, New-Austria and France, induced Napoleon to change his plan; and he earnestly represented to the British the impolicy of continuing the Egyptian project at such a crisis. But the rulers of France were now thoroughly awakened to the danger they ran from the ascendancy of Napoleon, and the only answer they made to his representation, was a positive order to leave Paris on the 3d May. This led to a warm altercation between him and the Directory, in the course of which he resorted to his former manoeuvre of lending his resignation. But on this occasion it did not succeed. Presenting him with a pen, New-

bell said coldly, "You wish to retire from the service, general? If you do, the Republic will doubtless lose a brave and skilful chief; but it has still enough of sons who will not abandon it." Merit upon this interposed, and put an end to so dangerous an alternative; and Napoleon, deavouring the affront, prepared to follow out his Egyptian expedition, saying, in private, to Bourienne, "The fear is not yet ripe; let us depart, we shall return when the moment is arrived."—*Hard, vi. 513, 514.*

(1) Bour. ii. 48, 54. Th. ix. 81. *Journ. x. 391.*
(2) Bour. ii. 59.

recalled some glorious exploit of ancient history; and his imagination kindled with fresh fire, as the fleet approached the shores of Asia, and the scenes of the greatest deeds which have illustrated the annals of mankind (1).

On the 10th June, after a prosperous voyage, the white cliffs and superb fortifications of Malta appeared in dazzling brilliancy above the unruddied sea. The fleet anchored before the harbour which had so gloriously resisted the whole force of the Turks under Soliman the Magnificent; its bastions were stronger, its artillery more numerous, than under the heroic Lavalley; but the spirit of the order was gone: a few hundred cavaliers, lost in effeminate and indolence intrusted to three thousand feeble mercenaries and as many militia the defence of the place, and its noble works seemed ready to become the prey of any invader who had inherited the ancient spirit of the defenders of Christendom. Before leaving France, the capitulation of the place had been secured by secret intelligence with the Grand Master and principal officers. Desaix and Savary landed, and advanced without opposition to the foot of the ramparts. Terms of accommodation were speedily agreed on; the town was surrendered on condition that the Grand Master should obtain 600,000 francs, a principality in Germany, or a pension for life of 500,000 francs (2); the French cavaliers were promised a pension of 700 francs a-year each, and the tricolor flag speedily waved on the ancient bulwark of the Christian world.

So strongly were the generals impressed with their good fortune on this occasion, that in passing through the impregnable defences, Gallatelli said to Napoleon, "It is well, general, that there was some one

left at the head of three thousand men to superintend its defence. All the Turkish prisoners found in the galleys were set at liberty, and scattered throughout the fleet, in order to produce a moral influence on the Mahomedan population in the countries to which their course was bound (3).

The secret of the easy conquest of this impregnable island by Napoleon, is to be found in the estrangement of the chieftains of other nations from Baron Hompesch, the Grand Master, whom they disliked on account of his German descent, and the intrigues long before practised among the knights of French and Italian birth by a secret agent of Napoleon. Such was the division produced by the circumstances, that the garrison was incapable of making any resistance; and the leading knights, themselves chiefs in the conspiracy, had so prepared matters, by disarming batteries, providing neither stores, nor ammunition, and disposing the troops in disadvantageous situations,

(1) Home 11 62 72, 74, 76 78 ix 62.
(2) Ib x 85 Home 11 63 Savary, 1, 20 20m. Barb. vi 73.
(3) Home x 252. Savary, 1 32. Home 11 65, 66.

Cleopatra, and the pillar of Pompey, awakened those dreams of ancient grandeur and Oriental conquest, which had long floated in the mind of Napoleon. It was soon learned that the English fleet had only left the roads two days. French troops, it was almost expected, would be in the morning, and at one in the night, and at the state of

At day break, Napoleon advanced at the head of about five thousand men, being all that were already formed, towards Alexandria. The shouts from the ramparts, and the discharge of some pieces of the flame-throwers, the French on the head, and then thrown down from the top of the rampart to the bottom; but the ardour of the French soldiers overcame every resistance; and the negligence of the Turks having left one of the principal gates open during the assault, the defenders of the walls were speedily taken in rear by those who rushed in at that entrance, and fled in confusion into the interior of the city (2).

The conquerors were astonished to find a large space filled with ruins between the exterior walls, and the inhabited houses, an ordinary feature in Asiatic towns, where the ruin of the government usually occasions an incessant diminution of population, and ramparts, even of recent formation, are speedily found to be too extensive for the declining numbers of the people. The soldiers, who, notwithstanding their military ardour, did not share the Eastern visions of their chief, were soon dissatisfied with the poverty and wretchedness which they found among the inhabitants, the brilliant anticipations of Oriental luxury gave way to the sad realities of a life of privation; and men, in want of food and lodging, derived little satisfaction from the obelisks of the Ptolemies, or the sarcophagus of Alexander (3).

Before advancing into the interior of the country, Napoleon issued the following proclamation to his soldiers—"Soldiers! You are about to undertake a conquest fraught with incalculable effects upon the commerce and civilisation of the world. You will inflict upon Egypt and the most grievous stroke she can sustain before receiving her death-blow. The people with whom we are about to live are Mahomedans. Their first article of faith is, 'There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Believe to them as you have done to the Jews and the Christians, show the same regard to their customs and manners as you did to their

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(1) Savary, i. 25. 26. Bernier, 2. 4. 15. x. 28. (2) Savary, i. 25. Bernier, 2. 4. 15. x. 28. (3) Savary, i. 25. Bernier, 2. 4. 15. x. 28.

considered the Christian faith as an entire fabrication, but wrote not and never part ignorant of its very elements. Lavalley has recorded, that hardly one of

them had ever been in a church; and in Palestine, they were ignorant even of the names of the holiest places in sacred history (1).

of Egypt, on which the French army was now fairly landed, and which became the theatre of such memorable exploits, is one of the most singular countries in the world, not only from its geographical position but its physical conformation. It consists entirely of the valley of the Nile, which, taking its rise in the mountains of Abyssinia, after traversing for 600 leagues the arid deserts of Africa, and receiving the tributary waters of the Bahr-el-Abiad, precipitates itself by the cataracts of Sennaar into the lower valley, 200 leagues long, which forms the country of Egypt. This valley, though of such immense length, is only from one to six leagues in breadth, and bounded on either side by the rocky mountains of the desert. Its inhabitable and cultivated portion is entirely confined to that part of the surface which is overflowed by the inundations of the Nile; as far as the waters rise, the soil is of extraordinary fertility; beyond it, the glowing desert is alone to be seen. At the distance of fifty leagues from the sea, the Nile divides itself into two branches which fall into the Mediterranean, one at Rosetta, the other at Damietta. The triangle having these two branches for its sides and the sea for its base, is called the Delta, and constitutes the richest and most fertile district of Egypt, being perfectly level, intersected by canals, and covered with the most luxuriant vegetation (2).

The soil of this singular valley was originally as barren as the arid ridges which adjoin it; but it has acquired an extraordinary degree of richness from the well-known inundations of the Nile. These floods, arising from the heavy rains of July and August in the mountains of Abyssinia, cause the river to rise gradually, during a period of nearly three months. It begins to swell in the middle of June, and continues to rise till the end of September, when it attains the height of sixteen or eighteen feet. The fertility of the country is just in proportion to the height of the inundation: hence it is watched with the utmost anxiety by the inhabitants, and public rejoicings are ordered when the *Vilometer* at Cairo indicates a foot or two greater depth of water than usual. It never rains in Egypt. Centuries may elapse without more than a shower of drizzling mist moistening the surface of the soil. Hence cultivation can only be extended beyond the level to which the water rises by an artificial system of irrigation; and the efforts made in this respect by the ancient inhabitants, constitute, perhaps, the most wonderful of the many monuments of industry which they have left to succeeding ages (3).

During the inundation, the level plain of Egypt is flooded with water; the villages, detached from each other communicate only by boats, and appear like the islands on the Lagoon of Venice, in the midst of the watery waste. No sooner, however, have the floods retired, than the soil, covered to a considerable depth by a rich slime, is cultivated and sown, and the seed, vegetating quickly in that rich mould, and under a tropical sun, springs up, and in three months yields a hundred, and sometimes a hundred and fifty fold. During the whole winter months the soil is covered with the richest harvests, besprinkled with flowers; and dotted by innumerable flocks; but in March the great heats begin, the earth cracks from excessive drought, vegetation disappears, and the country is fast relapsing into the sterility of the desert;

(1) *Law*, i. 287. *Bour.* ii. 77, 78. *Th. x.* 91.
(2) *Th. x.* 92, 93. *Bour.* ii. 271, 275. *Savary*, i.
(3) *Nap.* in *Bour.* ii. 270, 275. *Th. x.* 91, 95.

waters (1) when the annual floods of the Nile again cover it with their vivifying
 flourishes in this favoured region. Besides all the grains of Europe,
 Egypt produces the finest crops of rice, maize, sugar, indigo, cotton, and
 senna. It has no oil, but the opposite coasts of Greece furnish it in abundance,
 nor coffee, but it is supplied in profusion from the adjoining mountains of
 Arabia. Hardly any trees are to be seen over its vast extent, a few palms and
 sycamores, in the villages alone, rise above the luxuriant vegetation of the
 plain. Its horses are celebrated over all the world for their beauty, their
 spirit, and their incomparable docility, and it possesses the camel, that
 wonderful animal, which can support thirst for days together, tread without
 fatigue the moving sands, and traverse like a living ship the ocean of the
 desert (2).

Every year, immense caravans arrive at Cairo from Syria and
 Arabia on the one side, and the interior of Africa on the other.
 They bring all that belongs to the regions of the sun, gold, ivory, ostrich
 feathers, gum, aromatics of all sorts, coffee, tobacco, spices, perfumes with
 the numerous slaves which mark the degradation of the human species in
 those favoured countries. Cairo becomes, at that period, an *entrepôt* for the
 finest productions of the earth, of those which the genius of the West will
 never be able to rival, but for which their opulence and luxury afford a
 never failing demand. Thus the commerce of Egypt is the only one in the
 globe which never can decay, but must, under a tolerable government, con-
 tinue to flourish, as long as the warmth of Asia furnishes articles which the
 industry and perseverance of Europe are desirous of possessing (3).

In ancient times, Egypt and Lybia, it is well known, were the
 granary of Rome, and the masters of the world depended for their
 subsistence on the floods of the Nile (4). Even at the time of the con-
 quests of the Mohammedans, the former is said to have contained in every millions
 of souls, including those who dwell in the adjoining Oases of the desert. This
 vast population is by no means incredible, if the prodigious fertility of the
 soil, wherever water can be conveyed, is considered, and the extent to which,
 under a paternal government, the system of artificial irrigation can be car-
 ried. It is to the general decay of all the great establishments for the watering
 of the country which the industry of antiquity had constituted, that we are
 to ascribe the present limited extent of agriculture, and the perpetual en-
 croachments which the sands of the desert are making on the region of human
 cultivation (5).

Impos-
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with water in extraordinary floods. Its harbour, capable of containing all the
 navies of Europe, is the only safe or accessible port between Carthage and the
 shores of Palestine. Vessels drawing twenty-one feet of water can enter
 without difficulty, but those of larger dimensions only when the entrance
 of their harbours having only six feet of water (6). At the period of this expedition to Egypt, the population of the country,

(1) 74 x 65 200 x 202
 (2) 74 x 65 200 x 202
 (3) 74 x 65 200 x 202
 (4) 74 x 65 200 x 202
 (5) 74 x 65 200 x 202
 (6) 74 x 65 200 x 202

consisting of two millions five hundred thousand souls, was divided into four classes; the Mamelukes or Circassians, the Janizaries, the Arabs, and the Copts or natives of the soil (1).

The Mamelukes, who were the actual rulers of the country, consisted of young Circassians, torn in infancy from their parents and transported into Egypt, to form the armed force of that province of the Turkish empire. Bred up in camps, without any knowledge of their country or relations, without either a home or kindred, they provided themselves solely on their horses, their arms, and their military prowess. This singular militia was governed by twenty-four Beys, the least considerable of whom was followed by five or six hundred Mamelukes, whom they maintained and equipped. This body of twelve thousand horsemen, each of whom was attended by two helots or servants, constituted the military strength of the country, and formed the finest body of cavalry in the world (2).

The office of Bey was not hereditary: sometimes it descended to the son, more generally to the favorite officer of the deceased commander. They divided the country among them in feudal sovereignty; nominally equal, but necessarily subject to the ascendant of talent, they exhibited alternately the anarchy of feudal rule, and the severity of military despotism. They seldom have been perpetuated beyond the third or fourth generation on the shores of the Nile; and their numbers are only kept up by annual accessions of active youths from the mountains of Circassia.

The force of the Beys was at one period very considerable, but it had been seriously weakened by the Russian conquests in Georgia, which cut off the source from which their numbers were recruited, and at the time when the French landed in Egypt, they were not a half of what they formerly had been; a circumstance which contributed more than any other to the rapid success with which the invasion of the latter was attended (3). The Turks or Janizaries, forming the second part of the population, were introduced on occasion of the conquest of Egypt by the Sultans of Constantinople. They were about two hundred thousand in number, almost all inscribed on the books of the Janizaries, to acquire their privileges; but, as usual in the Ottoman empire, with a very few of their number in reality following the standard of the Prophet. Those actually in arms formed the guards of the Pacha, who still maintained a shadow of authority for the Sultan of Constantinople; but the great majority were engaged in trades and handicrafts in the towns, and kept in a state of complete subjection to the haughty rule of the Mamelukes (4).

Arabs.

The Arabs constituted the great body of the population—at least two millions out of the two millions and a half of which the inhabitants

(1) Nap. ii. 213. Th. x. 94

(2) The bits in their horses' mouths are so powerful, that the most heavy reeds are speedily checked, even at full career, by an ordinary hand. Their stirrups are extremely short, and give the rider great power both in commanding his horse, and striking with his sabre; and the pommel and back part of the saddle are so high, that the horseman, though wounded, can scarcely lose his balance; he can even sleep without falling, as he would do in an arm-chair. The horse is burdened by no baggage or provisions, all of which are carried by the riders servants; while the Mameluke himself, covered with shawls and turbans, is protected from the strokes of

214. 215.

(3) Harel. vi. 92, 93. Th. x. 100, 101. Nap. ii. 214. 215.

(4) Th. x. 97. Nap. ii. 216.

consist. Their condition was infinitely various; some forming a body of nobles who were the chief proprietors of the country, others, the doctors of the law and the ministers of religion, a third class, the little proprietors, farmers, and cultivators. The whole instruction of the country, the maintenance of its schools, its mosques, its laws, and religion, were in their hands. A numerous body, living on the borders of the desert, retained the roving propensities and barbaric vices of the Bedouin race. Mounted on camels or horses, driving numerous herds before them, escorting or pillaging the caravans which come to Cairo from Syria and Arabia, they alternately cultivated their fields on the banks of the Nile, or fled from its shores loaded with the spoils of plundered villages. The indifference or laxity of the Turkish rule almost always suffered their excesses to escape with impunity. Industry languished, and population declined in the districts exposed to their ravages, and the plunderers, retreating into the desert, resumed the wandering life of their forefathers, and re-appeared on the frontiers of civilisation, only, like the moving sands, to devour the traces of human industry. A hundred, or a hundreded through the wild of the Nile they could see mounted, and matches in the skill with which their horses were managed, but destitute of discipline or of the firmness requisite to sustain the attack of regular forces (1).

Coptic

The Copts constituted the fourth class of the people. They are the descendants of the native inhabitants of the country, of those Egyptians who so early excelled in the arts of civilisation, and have left so many monuments of immortal endurance. Now insulted and degraded, on account of the Christian faith which still profess, they were cast down to the lowest stage of society, their numbers not exceeding two hundred thousand, and their occupations being of the meanest description. By one of those wonderful revolutions which mark the lapse of ages, the greater part of the slaves in the country were to be found among the descendants of the followers of Sesostris (2).

At the period of the arrival of the French, two Bays, Ibrahim Bey and Mourad Bey, divided between them the sovereignty of Egypt. The first, rich, sagacious, and powerful, was, by a sort of tacit understanding, invested with the civil government of the country, the latter, young, active, and enterprising, was at the head of its military establishment. His ardour, courage, and brilliant qualities, rendered him the idol of the soldiers, who advanced, confident of victory, under his standard (3). The policy of Napoleon in invading a country, uniformly was, of the latter would be necessary, not to be successful for the invading force. To accomplish this

Policy of Napoleon, in Egypt

and to gain the affections of the Arabs by flatter- ing their prejudices. For this purpose he left the administration of justice and the affairs of religion exclusively in the hands of the Scheiks, and addressed himself to the feelings of the multitude through the medium of their established teachers. For the Mahomedan religion and its precepts he professed the highest veneration; for the restoration of Arabian inde- pendency the most ardent desire; to the Bays alone he swore eternal and uncompromising hostility. In this manner he hoped to awaken in his favour both the national feelings of the most numerous part of the people, and the religious enthusiasm which is ever so powerful in the East; and, inverting the passions of the empires, to rouse in favour of European conquest the

rehearsance of Oriental fanaticism (1). Proceeding on these principles, Napoleon addressed the following singular proclamation to the Egyptian people. "People of Egypt! you will be told by our enemies, that I am come to destroy your religion. Believe them not. Tell them that I am come to restore your rights, punish your usurpers, and revive the true worship of Mahomet, which I venerate more than the Mamelukes. Tell them that all men are equal in the sight of God; that wisdom, talents, and virtue alone constitute the difference between them. And what are the virtues which distinguish the Mamelukes, that entitle them to appropriate all the enjoyments of life to themselves? If Egypt is their farm, let them show the tenure from God by which they hold it. No! God is just and full of pity to the suffering people. For long a horde of slaves, bought in the Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the finest part of the world; but God, upon whom every thing depends, has decreed that it should terminate. Cadis, Scheiks, Imams, tell the people that we too are true *Mussulmans*. Are we not the men who have destroyed the Pope, who preached eternal war against the Mussulmans? Are we not those who have destroyed the chevaliers of Malta, because those madmen believed that they should constantly make war on your faith? Are we not those who have been in every age the friends of the most High, and the enemies of his enemies (2)? Three happy those who are with us; they will prosper in all their undertak- ings: wo to those who shall join the Mamelukes to resist us; they shall perish without mercy."

Napoleon was justly desirous to advance to Cairo, before the in- undations of the Nile rendered military operations in the level country impossible; but for this purpose it was necessary to ac- celerate his movements, as the season of the rise of the waters was fast ap- proaching. He made, accordingly, the requisite arrangements with extra- ordinary celerity; left three thousand men in garrison at Alexandria under Kieber, with a distinguished officer of engineers to put the works in a posture of defence, established the civil government in the persons of the Scheiks and Imams, gave directions for sounding the harbour, with a view to placing

(1) *Nap. ii.* 226, 227. "The French army," says Napoleon, "since the Revolution, had practised no sort of worship; in Italy even, the soldiers never went to church; we took advantage of that circumstance to present the army to the Mussulmans, as readily disposed to embrace their faith. I had many discussions with the Scheiks on this subject; and after many weeks spent in fruitless discussion, they arrived at the conclu- sion, that circumcision, and the prohibition against wine, might be dispensed with, provided not a tenth part of the income, was spent in acts of bene- fect—*App. in Moscow. ii.* 211, 212. (2) *Ibid.* 211, 212. The general-in-chief then traced out the plan of a mosque, which was to exceed that of Jani- lazar, and declared it was to be a monument of the conversion of the army. In all this, however, he declared the friend of the Prophet, and specially placed under his protection. The report spread ge- nerally, that it before the expiry of a year, the soldiers would wear the turban. This produced the very best effect; the people ceased to regard them as idola- ters—*App. in Moscow. ii.* 211, 212.

at Constantinople to assure the Porte of his anxious desire to remain at peace with the Turkish Government (2).

On the 6th July, the army set out on their march, being now reduced, by the garrisons of Malta and that recently left in Alexandria, to 50,000 men. At the same time, Kieber's division, under the orders of Dugua, was directed to move upon Rosetta, to secure that town, and facilitate the entrance of the flotilla into the Nile. Desaix was at the head of the vanguard; his troops began their march in the evening, and advanced with tolerable cheerfulness during the cool of the night; but when morning dawned, and they found themselves traversing a boundless plain of sand, without water or shade—with a burning sun above their head, and troops of Arabs flitting across the horizon, to cut off the way or stragglers—they were filled with the most gloomy forebodings. Already the desire for rest had taken possession of their minds; they had flattered themselves that they were to find repose and a terrestrial paradise in Egypt; and when they found themselves, instead, surrounded by a pathless desert, their discontent broke out in loud lamentations. All the wells on the road were either filled up or exhausted; hardly a few drops of muddy and brackish water were to be found to quench their burning thirst. At Damman-hour, a few houses afforded shelter at night only to the generals; the remainder of the troops bivouached in squares on the sand, incessantly harassed by the clouds of Arabs who wheeled round their position, and sometimes approached within fifty yards of the videttes. After a rest of two days, the army resumed its march across the sandy wilderness, still observed in the distance by the hostile Bedouins; and soon the suffering from thirst became so excessive, that even Lannes and Murat threw themselves on the sand, and gave way to every expression of despair (3). In the midst of the general depression, a sudden gleam of hope illuminated the countenances of the soldiers; a lake appeared in the arid wilderness, with villages and palm-trees clearly reflected in its glassy surface. Instantly the parched troops hastened to the enchanting object, but it receded from their steps; in vain they pressed on with burning impatience, it for ever fled from their approach; and they had at length the mortification of discovering that they had been deceived only by the mirage of the desert (4).

The firmness and resolution of Napoleon, however, triumphed over every obstacle; the approach to the Nile was shortly indicated by the increasing bodies of Arabs, with a few Mamelukes, who watched the columns; and at length the long wished for stream was seen glittering through the sandhills of the desert. At the joyful sight the ranks were immediately broken (†); men, horses, and camels, rushed simultaneously to the banks, and threw themselves into the stream; all heads were instantly lowered into the water; and, in the transports of delight, the sufferings of the preceding days were speedily forgotten.

While the troops were thus assuaging their thirst, an alarm was given that the Mamelukes were approaching: the drums beat to arms, and eight hundred horsemen, clad in glittering armour, soon appeared in sight. Finding, however, the leading division prepared, they passed on, and attacked the division of Desaix, which was coming up; but the troops rapidly forming in squares, with the artillery at the angles, dispersed the assailants by a single discharge of grape-shot. The whole army came up, and the Hostia having appeared in sight about the same time, the soldiers rested in plenty for a whole day beside the stream. A severe action had taken place on the Nile, between the French and Egyptian Hostias, but the Asiatics were defeated, and the boats arrived at the destined spot at the precise hour assigned to them. The landscape now totally changed; luxuriant verdure on the banks of the river succeeded to the arid uniformity of the desert; incomparable fertility in the soil promised abundant supplies to the troops, and the shade of palm-trees and sycamores afforded an enjoyment unknown to those who have never traversed an Eastern wilderness (‡).

After a day's rest, the army pursued its march along the banks of the Nile, towards Chebriss. Mornad Bey, with four thousand Mamelukes and Fellahs or foot soldiers, lay on the road, his right resting on the village, and supported by a Hostia of gun-boats on the river. The French Hostia out-stripped the march of the land forces, and engaged in a furious and doubtful combat with the enemy before the arrival of the army. Napoleon immediately formed his army in five divisions, each composed of squares six deep, with the artillery at the angles, and the grenadiers in platoons, to support the menaced points. The cavalry, who were only two hundred in number, and still extenuated by the fatigues of the voyage, were placed in the centre of the square. No sooner had the troops approached within half a league of the enemy, than the Mamelukes advanced, and, charging at full gallop, assailed their moving squares with loud cries, and the most determined intrepidity. The artillery opened upon them as soon as they approached within point-blank range, and the rolling fire of the infantry soon moved down those who escaped the grape-shot. Animated by this success, the French deployed and attacked the village, which was speedily carried. The Mamelukes retreated in disorder towards Cairo, with the loss of 600 men, and the Hostia at the same time abandoned the scene of action, and drew off further up the Nile (§).

This action, though by no means decisive, sufficed to familiarize the soldiers with the new species of enemy they had to encounter.

[†] The army advances to Mamelukes. As you approach the village it recedes from the view; when you arrive at it, you find it is still in the midst of burning sand, and the deception begins anew with some more distant object. The phenomenon admits of an easy explanation on optical principles.—See *Alchor*, 28, 32.

[‡] *Las Casas*, i. 221. *Northey*, ii. 12, 13. *Th. x.* 109, 110. *Sav. i.* 50. *Milod.* 26, 38, 39.

[§] *Sav. i.* 50. *Berth.* 13. *Th. x.* 110, 111.

[¶] *Dann.* ii. 134, 135. *Berth.* 15, 16. *Th. x.* 112.

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 was with the utmost
 city of the Nile, how-
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 constantly from
 necessity of keep-
 sight of the Pyramids, and the town of Cairo. All eyes were in-
 and the sight of
 who had been

Mourad Bey had there collected all his forces, consisting of six thousand

which were stationed above eight thousand of the finest horsemen in the
 world, with their right resting on the village, and their left stretching towards
 the pyramids. A few thousand Arabs, assembled to pillage the vanquished,
 whoever they should be, filled up the space to the foot of those gigantic
 monuments (1)

Napoleon no sooner discovered, by means of his telescopes, that
 the cannon in the intended camp were immovable, and could not
 be turned from the direction in which they were placed, than he resolved
 to move his army further to the right, towards the pyramids, in order to be
 beyond the reach, and out of the direction of the guns. The columns accord-
 ingly began to march, Desaix, with his division in front, next Bessières, then
 Dugua, and lastly, Vial and Bon. The sight of the pyramids, and the anxious
 nature of the moment, inspired the French general with even more than his
 usual ardour (2), the sun glittered on those immense masses, which seemed
 to rise in height with every step the soldiers advanced, and the army, shar-
 ing his enthusiasm, gazed, as they marched, on the everlasting monuments,
 "I remember," said he, "that from the summit of those pyramids forty cen-
 turies contemplate your actions."

With his usual sagacity, the general had taken extraordinary pre-
 cautions to ensure success against the formidable cavalry of the
 desert. The divisions were all drawn up as before, in hollow squares six
 deep, the artillery at the angles, the generals and baggage in the centre.
 When they were in mass, the two sides advanced in column, those in front
 and rear moved forward in their ranks, but the moment they were engaged,
 the whole were to halt, and face outwards on every side. When they were
 themselves to charge, the three front ranks were to break off and form the
 column of attack, those in rear remaining behind, still in square, but three
 deep only, to constitute the reserve. Napoleon had no fear for the result,
 if the infantry were steady, his only apprehension was that his soldiers,
 accustomed to charge, would yield to their impetuosity too soon, and would

not be brought to the immovable firmness which this species of warfare required (1).

Mourad Bey no sooner perceived the lateral movement of the French army, than, with a promptitude of decision worthy of a skillful general, he resolved to attack the columns while in the act of completing it. An extraordinary movement was immediately observed in the Mamluke line, and speedily seven thousand horsemen detached themselves from the remainder of the army and bore down upon the French columns. It was a terrible sight, capable of daunting the bravest troops, when this immense body of cavalry approached at full gallop the squares of infantry. The horsemen, admirably mounted, and magnificently dressed, rent the air with their cries. The glitter of spears and scimitars dazzled the sight, while the earth groaned under the repeated and increasing thunder of their feet. The soldiers, impressed but not panic-struck by the sight, stood firm, and anxiously waited, with their pieces ready, the order to fire. Desaix's division being entangled in a wood of palm-trees, was not completely formed when the swiftest of the Mamluks came upon them; they were in consequence partially broken, and thirty or forty of the bravest of the assailants penetrated, and died in the midst of the square at the feet of the officers; but before the mass arrived, the movement was completed, and a rapid fire of musketry and grape drove them from the front round the sides of the column. With matchless impetuity, they pierced through the interval between Desaix's and Reznier's divisions, and riding round both squares, strove to find an entrance; but an incessant fire from every front moved them down as fast as they poured in at the opening. Furious at the unexpected resistance, they dashed their horses against the rampart of bayonets, and threw their pistols at the heads of the grenadiers; while many who had lost their swords, crept along the ground, and cut at the legs of the front rank with their scimitars. In vain thousands succeeded, and galloped round the flaming walls of steel; multitudes perished under the rolling fire which, without intermission, issued from the ranks, and at length the survivors, in despair, fled towards the camp whence they had issued. Here, however, they were charged in flank by Napoleon at the head of Dugna's division, while those of Vial and Bon on the extreme left, stormed the intrenchments. The most horrible confusion now reigned in the camp; the horsemen, driven in in disorder, trampled under foot the infantry, who, panic-struck at the rout of the Mamluks, on whom all their hopes were placed, abandoned their ranks, and rushed in crowds towards the boats to escape to the other side of the Nile. Numbers saved themselves by swimming, but a great proportion perished in the attempt. The Mamluks, rendered desperate, seeing no possibility of escape in that direction, fell upon the columns who were approaching from the right, with their wings extended in order of attack; but they, forming square again with inconceivable rapidity, repulsed them with great slaughter, and drove them finally off in the direction of the pyramids. The intrenched camp, with all its artillery, stores, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. Several thousands of the Mamluks were dro

killed; and of the formidable array which had appeared in such in the morning, not more than two thousand five hundred escaped. Mourad Bey into Upper Egypt. The victors hardly lost two hundred the action; and several days were occupied after it was over in slay-

slain of their magnificent appointments, or asping up the rich spoils which

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Egypt excited the strongest sentiments of wonder and admiration; and the Orientals, whose imaginations were strongly impressed by the flaming citadels which had dissipated their terrible squadrons, named Napoleon, Sultan Kébir, or the Sultan of Fire (1).

Napoleon, in addition to the terror inspired by his military exploits, strove to acquire a lasting hold of the affections of the people by the justice and impartiality of his civil government. He made all his troops join with the multitude in celebrating the festival in honour of the inundation of the Nile, which that year rose to an extraordinary height; partook with the Scheiks and Innams in the ceremonies at the Great Mosque; joined in the responses in their litanies like the faithful Mussulmans; and even balanced his body and moved his head in imitation of the Mahometan custom. Nor was it only by an affected regard for their religion that he endeavoured to confirm his civil authority. He permitted justice to be administered by the Scheiks and Innams, enjoining only a scrupulous impartiality in their decisions: established at Cairo a divan, or parliament, to make known the wants of the people; and others, in the different provinces, to send deputies to the Central Assembly; and vigorously repulsed the robbers of the desert, who for centuries had devastated with impunity the frontiers of the cultivated country. Never had Egypt experienced the benefits of regular government so completely as under his administration. One day, when Napoleon was surrounded by the Scheiks, information was received that some Arabs, of the tribe of Ousadis, had slain a Fellah, and carried off the flocks of the village. He instantly ordered that an officer of the staff should take three hundred horsemen, and two hundred camels, to pursue the robbers, and punish the aggressors. "Was the Fellah your cousin," said a Scheik, laughing, "that you are in such a rage at his death?"—"He was more," replied Napoleon; "he was one whose safety Providence had intrusted to my care."—"Wonderful!" replied the Scheik: "You speak like one inspired by the Almightiness (2)."

But while these great designs occupied the commander-in-chief, an extraordinary degree of depression prevailed in the army. Egypt had been held out to the soldiers as the promised land. They expected to find a region flowing with milk and honey, and after a short period of glorious exile, to return with the riches of the East to their native country. A short experience was sufficient to dissipate all these illusions. They found a land illustrious only by the recollections with which it was fraught; filled with the monuments of ancient splendour, but totally destitute of modern comfort; bowed down with tyranny, squallid with poverty, barbarous in manners. When the excitements of the campaign were over, and the troops had leisure to contemplate their situation, a moral feeling of *ennui* and disquietude took possession of every heart. "They thought," says Bourrienne, "of their country, of their relations, of their amours, of *the opera*;" the prospect of being banished for ever from Europe, on that arid shore, excited the most gloomy presentiments; and at length the discontent reached such a height, that Napoleon was obliged to threaten death to any officer, whatever his rank, who should venture to make known to him the feelings which every one entertained (3).

It is a singular proof of the ascendancy which Napoleon had acquired over

(1) Scott, iv, 71.
(2) 1h. x. 128. Bourr. ii. 121, 128. Dum. ii. 170, 222.
(3) Bourr. ii. 130, 135. Sav. i. 59, 60. Las Cas. i. 173. Nap. ii. 222. Las Cas. i. 232.

in this state of person with the
nuguish an insur-
region which Ibrahim had excited in the eastern part of Egypt,
and drive him across the desert into Syria. The French overtook the

Blamelukes at Salameh, on the borders of the desert, and, as their rear-guard was heavily laden with baggage, the Arabs who accompanied the cavalry strongly urged them to charge the retreating columns, who were posted near a wood of palm-trees. The disproportion of force was excessive, the Blamelukes being nearly three as numerous as the Europeans, nevertheless, Napoleon, confident of success, ordered the attack. But, though the discipline of the Europeans prevailed over the desultory valour of the Mussulmans in a close affair of outpost, the Blamelukes had wellnigh

Accordingly, this attempt to shake the throne of the Grand Seigneur failed of effect (5)

While secretly conducting these intrigues, as well as openly as-sailing one of the most valuable provinces of their empire, both Napoleon and the threecorps left nothing united to prolong the slaughter of the Ottoman government, and induce them to believe that the French had no hostile designs whatever against them, and that they were in reality inimical only to the Bays, the common enemy of both. With this view, Napoleon wrote to the Grand Vizier a letter full of assurances of the friendly disposition both of himself and his government, and the eternal

[illegible]

alliance of the Republic with the Mussulmans (1); while Talleyrand, who had been appointed ambassador at Constantinople, received instructions to exert himself to the very utmost to perpetuate the same perfidious illusion. Such was the ability of that able diplomatist, and of Rußin, the envoy at the Turkish capital, that for long the Divan shut their eyes to the obvious indications, which were afforded of the real designs of France. Proportionally great was the general indignation, when accounts arrived of the invasion of Egypt, and it became evident how completely they had been deceived by these perfidious representations. Preparations for war were made with the utmost activity; the French chargé d'affaires, Rußin, was sent to the Seven Towers; and the indignation of the Divan broke forth in one of those eloquent manifestations, which a sense of perfidious injury seldom fails to produce among the honest, though illiterate, rulers of mankind (2).

But while every thing was thus prospering on land, a desperate naval operation awaited Napoleon at sea, brought about by the genius of that illustrious man who seemed to have been the instrument of Providence to balance the destiny of nations, torn from Asia to European revolution the chains of military power, and preserve safe, amidst the western waves, the destined ark of European freedom.

After having sought in vain for the French fleet on the coast of Egypt, Nelson returned to Candia, and from thence to Syracuse, where he obtained, with extraordinary rapidity, the supplies of which he stood so much in need. The failure of his pursuit was owing to a singular cause. Nelson had set sail from Sicily on the 21st June, and the French fleet on the 18th; nevertheless, so much more rapidly did his fleet sail than his antagonists', that he passed them on the voyage, and arrived at Alexandria on the 28th, two days before the French squadron. He set sail immediately for Candia, upon not finding them there; and thus, through his activity and zeal, twice missed the fleet of which he was in search. But the time was now approaching when his wishes were to be realized. He set sail from Syracuse for the Morea on the 25th July, steered boldly through that dangerous passage, the straits of Messina, and, having received intelligence in Greece that the French fleet had been seen four weeks before, steering to the south-east from Candia, he determined to return to Alexandria. On the 1st

(1) Napoleon's letter was in these terms: "The French army, which I have the honour to command has entered Egypt, to punish the bey for the insults he has committed on the French commerce. Citizen Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs in France, has been named, on the part of France, ambassador at Constantinople, and he is furnished with full powers to negotiate that may requisition the occupation of Egypt by the French army, and to consolidate the ancient and necessary friendship with the Ottoman Porte, but to procure for it a barrier of which it stands so much in need against its natural enemies, who are at this moment leagued together for its destruction."—*Despatch*, 22d August, 1798; *Confid. de Nap.*, vi. 3, 4. (2) *Hart.*, vi. 278, 280. The manifest of Turkey, which was a declaration most able state paper, bears, "On the one hand, the French ambassadors, resident of war."

at Constantinople, making use of the same dissimulation and treachery which they have every where practised, gave to the Turkish government, the strongest marks of friendship, and sought by every art of dissimulation to blind it to their real designs, and induce it to come to a rupture with other and friendly powers; while, on the other, the commanders and generals of the French troops in Italy, with the perfidious design of corrupting the subjects of his highness, have never ceased to send into home-lia, the Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago, emissaries known for their perfidy and dissimulation, and to spread every where incendiary publications, tending to excite the inhabitants to revolt. And now, as if to demonstrate to the world, that France makes no distinction between its friends and its enemies, it has, in the midst of profound peace and tranquillity, invaded, without intending to the Porte, the most valuable provinces of the Ottoman empire, from which, to this hour, it has received only marks of friendship."—See the *Manifesto in French*, vi. 483, 493, dated 10th Se.

August, about ten in the morning, they came in sight of the Pharos, the port had been vacant and solitary when they last saw it, now it was crowded with ships, and they perceived, with exultation, that the tricolor flag was flying on the walls. The fleet of Brueys was seen lying at anchor in the bay of Aboukir. For many days before, the anxiety of Nelson had been such, that he neither ate nor slept. He now ordered dinner to be prepared, and appeared in the highest spirits. "Before this time to-morrow," said he to his officers, "when leaving him to take the command of their vessels, I shall have gained a peerage or Westminster Abbey (1)." "Admiral Brueys having been detained, by Napoleon's orders, at the mouth of the Nile, and being unable to get into the harbour of Alexandria, had drawn up his fleet in order of battle, in a position in the bay of Aboukir so strong, that, in the opinion of his best officers, the English would never venture to attack it. The headmost vessel was close to the shoal on the north-west, and the rest of the fleet formed a sort of curve, with its concave side towards the sea, and supported on the right by the batteries on the fort of Aboukir. He had done his utmost to get his ships into the harbour of Alexandria, but finding that the draught of water was too small for the larger vessels, he wisely determined not to adopt a measure which, by divid-

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course of the British ships as they entered the bay soon convinced him that an immediate assault was intended. The moment was felt by the bravest in both fleets; thousands gazed in silence, and with anxious hearts, on each other, who were never destined again to see the sun, and the shore was covered with multitudes of Arabs, anxious to behold a light on which, to all appearance, the fate of their country would depend. When the English fleet came within range, they were received with a steady fire from the broadsides of all the vessels and the batteries on the island. It fell right on the bows of the leading ships; but, without returning a shot, they bore directly down upon the enemy, the men on board every vessel being employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, and making ready for an anchorage. Captain Foley led the way in the Coliath, outsailling the Zealous, under Captain Hood, which for some time disputed the post of honour with him; and when he reached the van of the enemy's line, he steered between the outermost ship and the shoal, so as to interpose between the French fleet and the shore. In ten minutes he shot away the masts of the Conquerant, while the Zealous, which immediately followed in the same time totally disabled the Guerrier, which was next in line. The other ships in that column followed in their order, still inside the French line, while Nelson, in the Vanguard, at the head of five ships, anchored outside of the enemy, within pistol-shot of their third ship, the Spartan. The effect of this manoeuvre was to bring an overwhelming force against two-thirds of the enemy's squadron, while the other third, moored at a distance from the scene of danger, could neither aid their friends nor injure their enemies (1).

Nelson had arranged his fleet with such skill, that from the moment that the ships took up their positions, the victory was secure. Five ships had passed the line, and anchored between the first nine of the enemy and the shore, while six had taken their station on the outer side of the same vessels, which were thus placed between two fires, and had no possibility of escape. Another vessel, the Leander, was interposed across the line, and cut off the Vanguard from all assistance from the rear-most ships of the squadron, while her guns raked right and left those between which she was placed. The Cul-loden, which came up sounding after it was dark, ran aground two leagues from the hostile fleets, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of her captain and crew, could take no part in the action which followed; but her fate served as a warning to the Alexander and Swifsure, which would else have infallibly struck on the shoal and perished. The way in which these ships entered the bay and took up their stations amidst the gloom of night by the light of the increasing cannonade, excited the admiration of all who witnessed it (2).

The British ships, however, had a severe fire to sustain as they successively passed along the enemy's line to take up their appointed stations; and the great size of several of the French squadron rendered them more than a match for any single vessel the English could oppose to them. The Vanguard, which bore proudly down, bearing the admiral's flag and six colours on different parts of the rigging, had every man at the first six guns on the fore-castle killed or wounded in a few minutes, and they were three times swept off before the action closed. The Bellefleur dropped her stern anchor close under the bow of the Orient, and, notwithstanding the

(1) Southey, i. 228, 229. James, ii. 238, 239. Ann. Reg. 1798, 143. Dum., ii. 119. Dum., xi. 11, 17. (2) Dum., ii. 150. South., i. 231. Ann. Reg. 1798.

threw themselves into the Nile, and perished, with their arms and baggage. When the generals passed by, they cry, "There go the murderers of the French," involuntarily burst from the ranks. By degrees, however, this stinging misfortune, like every other disaster in life, was softened by time. The soldiers, deprived of the possibility of returning, ceased to disquiet themselves about it, and ultimately they resigned themselves with much greater composure to a continued residence in Egypt, than they could have done had the fleet remained to keep alive for ever in their breasts the desire of returning to their native country (1).

The consequences of the battle of the Nile were, to the last degree, disastrous to France. Its effects in Europe were immense, by reviving, as will be detailed hereafter, the coalition against its Republican government; but in the East, it at once brought on the Egyptian army the whole weight of the Ottoman empire. The French ambassador at Constantinople had found great difficulty for long in restraining the indignation of the Sultan; the good sense of the Turks could not easily be persuaded that it was an act of friendship to the Porte to invade one of the most important provinces of the empire, destroy its militia, and subject its inhabitants to the dominion of an European power. No sooner, therefore, was the Divan at liberty to speak their real sentiments, by the destruction of the armament which had so long spread terror through the Levant, than they gave vent to their indignation. War was formally declared against France, the differences with Russia adjusted, and the formation of an army immediately decreed to restore the authority of the Crescent on the banks of the Nile (2).

Among the many wonders of this eventful period, not the least surprising was the alliance which the French invasion of Egypt produced between Turkey and Russia, and the suspension of all the ancient animosity between the Christians and Mussulmans, in the pressure of a danger common to both. This soon led to an event so extraordinary, that it produced a profound impression even on the minds of the Mussulman spectators. On the 1st September, a Russian fleet, of ten ships of the line and eight frigates, entered the canal of the Bosphorus, and united at the Golden Horn with the Turkish squadron; from whence the combined force, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, whose acclamations rent the skies, passed under the walls of the Seraglio, and swept majestically through the classic stream of the Hellespont. The effect of the passage of so vast an armament through the beautiful scenery of the straits, was much enhanced by the brilliancy of the sun, which shone in unclouded splendour on its full-spread sails; the placid surface of the water reflected alike the Russian masts and the Turkish minarets; and the multitude, both European and Mussulman, were never weary of admiring the magnificent spectacle, which so forcibly imprinted upon their minds a sense of the extraordinary alliance which the French Revolution had produced, and the slumber in which it had plunged national antipathies the most violent, and religious discord the most inveterate (3).

The combined squadrons, not being required on the coast of Egypt, steered for the island of Corfu, and immediately established a rigorous blockade of its fortress and noble harbour, which soon began to feel the want of provi-

(1) Hour. ii. 134, 138. Sav. i. 65.
(2) Th. x. 143. Dum. ii. 160, 161. Hard. vi.
(3) Hard. vi. 298, 299.

300. Nap. ii. 172.

imminent danger. Already the water was up to their middle, and still rapidly flowing, when the presence of mind of Napoleon extricated them from their perilous situation. He caused one of his escort to go in every direction, and shout when he found the depth of water increasing, and that he had lost his footing, by this means it was discovered in what quarter the slope of the shore ascended, and the party at length gained the coast of Egypt. "Had I perished in that manner like Pharaoh," and Napoleon, "it would have furnished all the preachers of Christendom with a magnificent text against me (1)."

The suppression of the revolts drew from Napoleon one of those singular proclamations which are so characteristic of the vague ambition of his mind,—"Schicks, Lemais, Orators of the Mosque, teach the people, that those who become my enemies shall have no refuge in this world or the next. Is there any one so blind as not to see that I and the Man of Destiny? Make the people understand, that from the beginning of time it was ordained, that, having destroyed the enemies of Islam, and vanquished the Cross, I should come from the distant parts of the West, to accomplish my destined task. Show them, that in twenty passages of the Koran my coming is foretold. I could demand a reckoning from each of you, of the most secret thoughts of his soul, since to me every thing is known, but the day will come, when all shall know from whom I derived my commission, and that human efforts cannot prevail against me." Thus at the very time when he was executing thirty of their number a-day, and throwing their corpses, in sacks, every night into the Nile (2).

Being now excluded from all intercourse with Europe, and menaced with a serious attack by land and sea from the Turks, Napoleon resolved to assail his enemies by an expedition into Syria, where the principal army of the Sultan was assembling. Prudence prescribed that he should anticipate the enemy, and not wait till, having assembled their strength, a preponderating force was ready to fall upon the French army. But it was not merely defensive operations that the general contemplated, his ardent mind, now thrown upon its own resources, and deprived of all assistance from Europe, indulged in visions of Oriental conquest. To advance into Syria, with a part of his troops, and rouse the population of that country and Asia Minor against the Turkish rule, assignable in an army of African thousand French veterans, and a hundred thousand visible auxiliaries on the Euphrates, and overawe at once Persia, Turkey, and India, formed the splendid project which filled his imagination. His eyes were continually fixed on the deserts which separated Asia Minor from Persia, he had sounded the dispositions of the Persian court, and ascertained that, for a sum of money, they were willing to allow the passage of his army through their territories, and he confidently expected to renew the march of Alexander, from the shores of the Nile to those of the Ganges. Having overrun India, and established a colonial population, he projected returning to Europe, attacking Turkey and Austria with the whole forces of the East, and establishing an empire, greater than that of the Romans, in the centre of Eu-

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had arrived on the shores of the Red Sea with an invincible army, and inviting him to send a confidential person to Suez, to concert measures for the destruction of the British power in India. (1)."

The forces, however, which the French general could command for the Syrian expedition, were by no means commensurate to these magnificent projects. They consisted only of thirteen thousand men; for although the army had been recruited by the three thousand prisoners sent back by the British after the battle of the Nile, and almost all the sailors of the transports, yet such were the losses which had been sustained since the period when they landed, by fatigue, sickness, and the sword, that no larger number could be spared from the defence of Egypt. These, with nine hundred cavalry, and forty-nine pieces of cannon, constituted the whole force with which Napoleon expected to change the face of the world; while the reserves left on the banks of the Nile did not exceed in all sixteen thousand men. The artillery destined for the siege of Acre, the capital of the Pacha Djezzar, was put on board three frigates at Alexandria, and orders dispatched to Villeneuve at Malta to endeavour to escape the vigilance of the English cruisers, and come to support the maritime operations (2).

On the 11th February, the army commenced its march over the desert which separates Africa from Asia. The track, otherwise imperceptible amidst the blowing sand, was distinctly marked by innumerable skeletons of men and animals, which had perished on that solitary pathway, the line of communication between Asia and Africa, which from the earliest times had been frequented by the human race. Six days afterwards, Napoleon reached El Arish, where the camp of the Mamelukes was surprised during the night, and after a siege of two days the fort capitulated. The sufferings of the troops, however, were extreme in crossing the desert; the excessive heat of the weather, and the want of water, produced the greatest discontent among the soldiers, and Napoleon felt the necessity of bringing his men as rapidly as possible through that perilous district. The garrison were conveyed as prisoners in the rear of the army, which augmented their difficulty in obtaining subsistence. Damas was abandoned by the Mussulman forces at the sight of the French squares of infantry, and at length the granite pillars were passed which marked the confines of Asia and Africa; the bittero clear and glowing sky was streaked by a veil of clouds, some drops of rain refreshed the parched lips of the soldiers, and the suffering troops beheld the green valleys and wood-covered hills of Syria. The soldiers at first mistook them for the *mirage* of the desert, which had so often disappointed their hopes; they hardly ventured to trust their own eyes, when they beheld woods and water, green meadows, and olive groves, and all the features of European scenery; but at length, the appearance of verdant slopes and clear brooks convinced them, that they had passed from the sands of Africa to a land watered by the dew of heaven. But if the days were more refreshing, the nights were far more uncomfortable than on the banks of the Nile; the heavy dews and rains of Syria soon penetrated the thin clothing of the troops, and rendered their situation extremely disagreeable; and, drenched with rain, they soon came to regret, at least for

(1) *Revue*, ii. 188, 189. *Nap.* ii. 300, 301, and 180.
 (2) *Mémoires*, i. 111. *Journ.* xi. 397, 400. *Dum.* ii. 186, 187.
Corresp. *Conf.* vi. 192.

the Ottoman crescent, joined to the English pendant, approached the road of Acre. Soon after a fleet of thirty sail entered the bay, with seven thousand men, and abundance of artillery and ammunition, from Rhodes. Napoleon, calculating that this reinforcement could not be disembarked for at least six hours, resolved to anticipate its arrival by an assault during the night. For this the division of Bon, at ten at night, drove the enemy from their exterior works. The artillery took advantage of that circumstance to approach to the counterscarp, and batter the curtain. A daybreak, another breach in the rampart was declared practicable, and an assault ordered. The division of Labrecq renewed the attack on the tower, while General Rambeau led the column to the new breach. The grenadiers, advancing with the most heroic intrepidity, made their way to the summit of the rampart, and the morning sun displayed the tricolor flag on the outer angle of the bastion.

Klüber, which had been recalled in haste from its advanced post on the Jordan. Early on the 10th May, he advanced in person to the foot of the breach, and, seeing that it was greatly enlarged by the fire of the preceding days, a new assault was ordered. The summit of the breach was again attained, but the troops were there arrested by the murderers fire which issued from the battlements, and intrenchments, with which the garrison had strengthened the interior of the tower. In the evening, the division of Klüber arrived, and, proud of its triumph at Mount Thabor, eagerly demanded to be led to the assault. "If St-Jean d'Acre is not taken this evening," said one of the colonels, as he was marching at the head of his regiment to the assault, "be assured Venoux is slain." He kept his word; the fortress held out, but he lay at the foot of the walls (1). A little before sunset, a dark massy column issued from the trenches, and advanced with a firm and solemn step to the breach. The assailants were permitted to ascend unmolested to the summit, and descended into the garden of the Pacha; but no sooner had they reached that point, than they were assailed with irresistible fury by a body of Janizaries, who, with the sabre in one hand, and the dagger in the other, speedily reduced the whole column to headless trunks. In vain other columns, and even the guides of Napoleon, his last reserve, advanced to the attack; they were all repulsed with dreadful loss. Among the killed in this last encounter was General Bon, and the wounded, Crozier, aide-de-camp of the general-in-chief, and a large proportion of his staff (2). On this occasion, as in the assault on Schumla in 1808, it was proved that, in a personal struggle, the bayonet of the European is no match for the Turkish scimitar.

Success being now hopeless, preparations were made for a retreat, after sixty days of open trenches; a proclamation was issued to the troops, announcing that their return was required to withstand a descent which was threatened from the island of Rhodes, and the five from the trenches kept up with such vigor to the last moment, that the Turks were not aware of the preparations made for a retreat. Meanwhile, the baggage, sick, and field-artillery were silently deffing to the rear, the heavy cannon were buried in the sand, and, on the 20th May, Napoleon, for the first time in his life, ordered a retreat (3).

No event, down to the retreat from Moscow, so deeply affected Napoleon as the repulse at Acre. It had cost him 5000 of his bravest troops, slain or dead of their wounds; a still greater number were irrevocably mangled, or had in them the seeds of the plague, contracted during the stay at Jaffa; and the illusion of his invincibility was dispelled. But these disasters, great as they were to an army situated as his was, were not the real cause of his chagrin. It was the destruction of his dreams of Oriental conquest which cut him to the heart. Standing on the mound which still bears the name of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, on the evening of the fatal assault when Lannes was wounded, he said to his secretary Bourrienne: "Yes, Bourrienne, that miserable fort has indeed cost me dear; but matters have gone too far not to make a last effort. If I succeed, as I trust I shall, I shall find in the town all the treasures of the Pacha, and arms for 500,000 men. I shall raise and arm all Syria, which at this moment unanimously prays for the success of the assault. I will march on Damascus and Aleppo; I will swell my army as I advance with the discontented in every country through which I pass; I

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Napoleon
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retreats.

(1) Mich., 189.
(2) Ann. Reg., 1799, 33. Journ. v. 417. Dum. ii. Mich., 200.
(3) Dum. ii. 218. Journ. xi. 417. Th. x. 391.

malady, the sick and wounded suffered under the unbounded apprehensions of all who approached them. The dying, laid down by the side of the road, exclaimed with a faltering voice, "I am not sick of the plague, but only wounded;" and to prove the truth of what they said, tore their bandages asunder, and let their wounds bleed afresh. The heavens were darkened during the day by the clouds which rose from the burning villages; the march of the columns was at night illuminated by the flames which followed their steps. On their right was the sea, on their left and rear the wilderness they had made; before them, the desert with all its horrors. In the general suffering, Napoleon set the example of disinterested self-denial; abandoning his horse, and that of all his equipage for the use of the sick, he marched himself at the head of the troops on foot, inspiring all around him with cheerfulness and resolution (1). At last he visited himself the plague hospital, inviting those who had sufficient strength to rise to raise themselves on their beds, and endeavour to get into the litters prepared for their use (2). He walked through the rooms, affected a careless air, striking his boot with his riding whip, in order to remove the apprehensions which had seized all the soldiers in regard to the contagious nature of the malady (3). Those who could not be removed, were, it is to be feared, poisoned by orders of the general; their numbers did not exceed sixty; and, as the Turks were within an hour's march of the place, their recovery hopeless, and a cruel death awaited them at the hands of those barbarians the moment they arrived, the painful act may perhaps be justified, not only on the ground of necessity but of humanity (4). Napoleon did not expressly admit the fact at St. Helena, but he reasoned in such a manner as plainly implied that it was true. He argued, and argued justly, that, in the circumstances in which he was placed, it could not be considered as a crime. "What man," said he, "would not have preferred immediate death to the horror of being exposed to lingering tortures on the part of these barbarians? If my own son, whom I love as well as any man can love his child, were in such a situation, my advice would be, that he should be treated in the same manner; and if I were so myself, I would implore that the same should be done to me (5)." While the history, however, must acquit Napoleon of decided criminality in this matter, the more especially as the Turks murdered all the prisoners and sick who fell into their hands, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the British officers (6), it must record with admiration the answer of the French chief of the medical staff when the proposal was made by Napoleon to him, "My vocation is to prolong life, and not to extinguish it (7)."

- (1) *Bour.* ii. 251, 252. *Mor.* 215. *Dum.* ii. 219.
- (2) *Savary.* i. 105.
- (3) *Bour.* ii. 227. *Las. Cas.* vii. 221, 222.
- (4) *Bour.* ii. 262, 263. *Mor.* 206. *Sir Robert Wilson.* 172. *Th.* x. 393.
- (5) *Las Cas.* i. 214. *Bour.* ii. 264. *O'Meara.* i. 329, 330.
- (6) *Ann.* Reg. 1799, 33, 34.
- (7) *Las. Cas.* i. 214. *Th.* x. 392. *O'Meara.* i. 330.

valuable effect of such seasons of horror on the human mind, that while the soldiers who were ill of the plague expressed the utmost horror at being left behind, and rose with difficulty from the bed of death to stagger a few steps after their departing comrades, their fate excited little or no commiseration in the more fortunate soldiers who had escaped the pestilence. "What would not have suppressed," says the more fortunate soldiers who had escaped the pestilence, "that in such an extremity, the comrades of the unhappy sufferers would have done all they could to succour or relieve them. So far from it, they were the object only of horror and derision. The soldiers avoided the sick as the pestilence with which they were afflicted, and burst into immoderate fits of laughter at the convulsive efforts which they made to flee. He has made up his accounts; said one; He will not get on far, said another; and when the poor wretch fell, for the last time, they exclaimed, His lodging is secured. The terror is a curious fact, illustrative of the inconceivable effect of the plague on the human mind."

After a painful march over the desert, in the course of which numbers of the sick and wounded perished from heat and sufficing, the army reached Jerusalem on the 1st June, and at length exchanged the privations and this

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Though Egypt in general preserved its tranquillity during the absence of Napoleon, disturbances of a threatening character had taken place in the Delta. A chief in Lower Egypt, who had con-
 vided to assemble together a number of Mamelukes and discon-
 tented characters, gave himself out for the angel El-Mehdi, and put to the sword the garrison of Damietta; and it was not till two different
 May 10 had been sent against him that the insurrection was suppressed,
 and its leader killed. Meanwhile Desaix, pursuing with indefatigable activity
 his reluctant opponent, had followed the course of the Nile as far as
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defeat of a large body at Denyauy, and the French division took up its cantonments in the villages which formed the southern limits of the Roman empire (2). Such was the wisdom and equity of Desaix's administration in those distant provinces, that it procured for him the appellation of "Sultan the Just (3)."

Napoleon, ever anxious to conceal his reverses, made a sort of triumphal

in which he boasted of having conquered in all his engagements, and ruined the fortifications of the Pacha of Acre. In truth, though he had failed in the principal object of his expedition, he had effectually prevented an invasion from the side of Syria by the terror which his arms had inspired, and the desolation which he had occasioned on the frontiers of the desert; and he had abundant reason to pride himself upon the vast achievements of the inconsiderable body of men whom he led to these hazardous exploits (1).

"The discontents of the army increased to the highest degree after the disastrous issue of the Syrian expedition. They did not arise from apprehensions of danger, but the desire to return home, which tormented their minds the farther that it seemed removed from the bounds of probability. Every day some generals or officers demanded, under various pretexts, leave of absence to return to Europe, which was always granted, though with such cutting expressions as rendered the concession the object of dread to every honourable mind. Berthier himself, consumed by a romantic passion for a lady at Paris, twice solicited, and obtained his dismissal, and twice relinquished the project, from a sense of honourable shame at abandoning his benefactor. With Kleber the general-in-chief had several warm altercations, and to such a height did the dissatisfaction rise, that the whole army, soldiers and officers, for a time entertained the design of marching from Cairo to Alexandria; to await the first opportunity of returning home; a project which the great personal ascendancy of Napoleon alone prevented them from carrying into effect (2).

Influenced by an ardent desire to visit the indestructible monuments of ancient grandeur at Thebes, Napoleon was on the point of setting out for Upper Egypt, when a courier from Marmon, governor of Alexandria, announced the disembarkation of a large body of Turks in Aboukir bay. They had appeared there on the 10th July, and landed, July 12, 1799: under the protection of the British navy, on the following day. This intelligence was received by him on the evening of the 13th at Cairo; he sat up all night, dictating orders for the direction of all the divisions of his army, and on the 16th, at four in the morning, he was on horseback, and all his troops in full march. On the 25d he arrived at Alexandria with the divisions of Marat, Lançes, and Bon, where he joined the garrison under Marmon, which had not ventured to leave its intrenchments in presence of such formidable enemies. The division of Desaix was at the same time ordered to fall back to Cairo from Upper Egypt, so that, if necessary, the whole French force might be brought to the menaced point: Mourad Bey, in concert with the Turks at Aboukir, descended from Upper Egypt with three thousand horse, intending to cut his way across to the forces which had landed at

(1) Th. x. 391. Hout. ii. 266, 267.
(2) Th. x. 391, 395. Bourn. ii. 298, 303.
It deserves notice, as an indication of the total disregard of Napoleon and the French army for the Christian religion, that all his proclamations and addresses to the powers or people of Egypt, or the East, at this period, set out with the words:—"In the name of the merciful God: there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."—See *Letters to Sultan Daulat*, 30th June, 1799; and 17th July, 1799; to the *Scheyks of Mecca*, 30th June, 1799; *Proclamation to the People of Egypt*, 17th July, 1799; and to the *Sultans of Morocco and Tripoli*, 16th August, 1799.—See *Corresp. Confid. de Nap.*, vi. 377, 391, 402, 436. "After all," said he, at St.-Helena, "it is by

and encamped near the Lake Natron

July 14. Abouki
by Murat, at the
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confusion to the second line, and being charged in their flight by the French horse, rushed unthinkingly into the water, where almost the whole were either drowned or cut down by grape-shot. The same thing occurred at the other extremity of the line. Lannes attacked the heights on the right, while the other division of Murat's cavalry turned it. The Turks fled at the first onset, and were driven by Murat into the sea. Lannes and D'Estaing, now united, attacked the village in the centre. The Janizaries defended themselves bravely, calculating on being supported from the second line; but the column detached for that purpose from the fort of Aboukir having been charged in the interval between the two lines, and routed by Murat, the village was at length carried with the bayonet, and its defenders, who refused all quarter, put to the sword, or drowned in the water (1).

The extraordinary success of this first attack inspired Napoleon with the hope, that by repeating the same manoeuvre with the second, the whole remainder of the army might be destroyed. For this purpose, after allowing a few hours' repose to the troops, and establishing a battery to protect their operations, he commenced a new attack upon the interior and more formidable line of defence. On the right a trench joined the fort of Aboukir to the sea; but on the left it was not carried quite so far, leaving a small open space between the intrenchment and the lake Maadieh. Napoleon's dispositions were made accordingly. On the right D'Estaing was to attack the intrenchment, while the principal effort was directed against the left, where the whole cavalry, marching under cover of Lannes' division, were to enter at the open space, between the trenches and the lake, and take the line in rear. At three o'clock the charge was beat, and the troops advanced to the attack. D'Estaing led his men gallantly forward, arranged in column of battalions; but the Turks, transported by their ardour, advanced out of their intrenchments to meet them, and a bloody conflict took place in the plain. In vain the Janizaries, after discharging their pistols and pikes, rushed at length yielded to the steady pressure of the European bayonet, and they were borne back, struggling every inch of ground, to the foot of the intrenchments. Here, however, the plunging fire of the redoubt, and the sustained discharge of musketry from the top of the works, arrested the French soldiers; Leloutre was killed, fugitives wounded, and the column, in disorder, recoiled from the field of carnage towards the exterior line. Nor was Murat more successful on his side. Lannes indeed forced the intrenchments towards the extremity of the lake, and occupied some of the houses in the village; but when the cavalry attempted to pass the narrow defile between the works, and the lake, they were assailed by such a terrible fire from the gunboats, that they were repeatedly forced to retire. The attack had failed at both extremities, and Napoleon was doubtful whether he should continue the combat, or rest contented with the advantage already gained (2).

From this perplexity he was relieved by the imprudent conduct of the Turks themselves. No sooner did they see the column which had assailed their right retire, than they rushed out of the fort of Aboukir, in the centre, and began to cut off the heads of the dead bodies which lay scattered over the plain. Napoleon instantly saw his advantage, and quickly

(1) Th. v. 100. Tom. vii. 298. Nap. ii. 331.

(2) Mém. 251. Tom. x. ii. 299, 300. Dum. ii. 234. Th. x. 402. Nap. ii. 335.

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turned it to the best account. Advancing rapidly with his reserves in ad-
 rable order, he arrested the *sortie of the centre*, while Lannes returned to
 the attack of the intrenchments, now in a great measure denuded of their de-
 fenders, and d'Estaing re-formed his troops for another effort on the lines to
 the right. All these attacks proved successful, the whole line of redoubts,
 now almost destitute of troops, was captured, while several squadrons, in
 the confusion, per-
 lake, and got into
 confusion towards
 inundated the spa-
 furiously in flank,
 in the waves. Murat penetrated into the camp of Anastapha Pachá, where,
with his own hand, he made that commander prisoner, and shut up the
 remnant of the army, amounting to about two thousand men, in the fort of
 Aboukir. Heavy cannon were immediately planted against the
 fort, which surrendered a few days after. Five thousand corpses floated in
 the bay of Aboukir, two thousand had perished in the battle, and the like
 number were made prisoners of war in the fort. Hardly any escaped; a cir-
 cumstance almost unexampled in modern warfare (1).
 The day after this extraordinary battle, Napoleon returned to
 Alexandria. He had ample subject for meditation. Sir Sidney
 Smith, having dispatched a flag of truce on shore to settle an ex-
 tinction of the same power. His resolution was instantly taken. He determined
 and English, and the close blockade which promised soon to deliver over
 Aelia to the same power. His resolution was instantly taken. He determined
 to return home, leaving the English fleets, to Europe. All prospects of glory
 to regain the scene.
 Orders were imme-
 diately given that two frigates, the *Surion* and the *Cartera*, should be made
 ready for sea, and Napoleon, preserving the utmost secrecy as to his intended
 departure, proceeded to Cairo, where he drew up long and minute instruc-
 tions for Kibber, to whom the command of the army was intrusted, and im-
 mediately returned to Alexandria (2).
 On the 22d August he secretly set out from that town, accom-
 panied by Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Marmont, Androsky, Berthol-
 let, Monge, and Bourcier, and escorted only by a few of his faith-
 ful guides. The party embarked on a solitary part of the beach on board a
 few fishing boats, which conveyed them out to the frigates, which lay at a
 little distance from the shore. The joy which animated all these persons
 when they were told that they were to return to France, can hardly be con-
 ceived. Desirous to avoid a personal altercation with Kibber, whose rude and
 sally of passion on
 his resolution by
 several days after his
 departure, Kibber afterwards expressed the highest indignation at that cir-

(1) Chap. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

circumstance, and in a long and impassioned report to the Directory, charged Napoleon with leaving the army in such a state of destitution, that the defence of the country for any length of time was impossible (1).

It was almost dark when the boats reached the frigates, and the distant lights of Alexandria were faintly described by the glimmering of the stars on the verge of the horizon. How different from the pomp and circumstance of war which attended his arrival on the same shore,—in the midst of a splendid fleet, surrounded by a powerful army, with the visions of hope glittering before his eyes, and dreams of Oriental conquest captivating his imagination, Napoleon directed that the ships should steer along the coast of Africa, in order that, if escape from the English cruisers became impossible, he might land on the deserts of Lybia, and force his way to Tunis, Oran, or some other port, declaring that he would run any danger rather than return to Egypt. For three and twenty days they beat against adverse winds along the coast of Africa, and at length, after passing the site of Carthage, a favourable wind from the southeast enabled them to stretch across to the western side of Sardinia, still keeping near the shore, in order to run aground, if necessary, to avoid the approach of an enemy. The sombre disquietude of this voyage afforded the most striking contrast to the brilliant anticipations of the former. His favourite aides-de-camp were all killed; Caffarelli, Brueys, Casa-Bianca, were no more; the illusions of hope were dispelled, the visions of imagination extinguished; no more scientific conversations enlivened the weary hours of navigation, no more historical recollections glided the islands which they passed. One only apprehension occupied every mind, the dread of falling in with English cruisers; an object of rational disquietude to every one on board, but of mortal anxiety to Napoleon, from the destruction which it would occasion to the fresh ambitious projects which already filled his mind (2).

He lands at Ajaccio in Corsica, where he revisited, for the first time since his prodigious elevation, the house of his fathers and the scenes of his infancy. He there learned the result of the battle of Novi and the death of Joubert. This only increased the feverish anxiety of his mind; and he began to contemplate with horror the *ennui* of the guarantee at Toulon, where he proposed to land. His project at times was to make for Italy, take the command of the Italian army, and gain a victory, the intelligence of which he hoped would reach Paris as soon as that of his victory at Aboukir. At length, after a sojourn of eight days at the place of his nativity, he set sail with a fair wind. On the following evening, an English fleet of fourteen sail was described in the midst of the rays of the setting sun. Admiral Gauthaume proposed to return to Corsica, but Napoleon replied, "No. Spread every sail; every man to his post; steer for the north-west." This order proved the salvation of the ships; the English saw the frigates, and made signals to them; but concluding, from the view they got with their glasses, that they were of Venetian construction, then at peace with Great Britain, they did not give chase. The night was spent in the utmost anxiety, during which Napoleon resolved, if escape was impossible, to throw himself into a boat, and trust for safety to his oars; but the morning sun dispelled these apprehensions, by disclosing the English fleet steering peaceably towards the north-east. All s.

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was now spread for France; and at length, on the 8th October, the long-winded-for-mountain of Provence appeared; and the frigates shortly after anchored in the bay of Frejus. The impatience and enthusiasm

landed in a few hours, and set off the same day for Paris.

Proof which
the 23d given
experience
afforded of the
superiority
of civilized
armies.

of the East, that the invention of fire-arms and artillery, the improvement of discipline, and the establishment of regular soldiers, as a re-
provement of discipline, and the establishment of regular soldiers, as a re-

the same ground where the whole feudal array of France perished, under St.-Louis, from the arrows of the Egyptians; the Mameluke cavalry was dispersed by half the Italian army of the Republic; and ten thousand veterans could with ease have wrested that holy land from the hoofs of Asia, which Saladin successfully defended against the united forces of France and England under Richard Cour-de-

cluded superiority over
by savage violence, it will
ing, but

General re-
actions on
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man power. When it is recollected, that in the parts of the Ottoman empire where the Turkish population is most abundant, the number of Christians is in general triple that of their oppressors, there can be little doubt, that headed by that great general, and distinguished by the French veterans, a force could have been formed which would have subjected the looting fabric of the Turkish power, and possibly secured for its ruler a name as terrible as Genghis Khan or Tamerlane. But there seems no reason to believe that such a sudden apparition, how splendid soever, would have permanently altered the destinies of mankind, or that the Oriental empire of Napoleon would have been more lasting than that of Alexander or Nadir Shah. With the life of the hero who had formed, with the co-operation of the veterans who had commenced it, the vast dominion would have perished. The Crusades, though supported for above a century by the juice-scented tide of European chivalry, were unable to do

arm
the
regiments
of mankind
have come,
and by its inhabitants all the lasting

conquests of history have been effected. Napoleon indirectly paved the way for a permanent revolution in the East; but it was destined to be accomplished, not by the capture of Acre, but the conflagration of Moscow. The recoil of his ambition to Europe, which the defeat in Syria occasioned, still further incited by mutual slaughter the warlike skill of the European states; and from the strife of civilisation at last has arisen that gigantic power which now overshadows the Asiatic empires, and is pouring down upon the corrupted regions of the East the energy of northern valour and the blessings of Christian civilisation.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE PEACE OF CAMBRÉSI TO THE RESUMÉ OF THE WAR.

OCTOBER 1581—MARCH 1589.

ARGUMENT.

of France—National Bankruptcy there—External Policy of the Directory—Attack upon Holland—Its situation since the French Conquest—Measures of the French Directory to revolutionize that State—Systematic acts of the Dutch Directory—Political state of Switzerland—Inequality of Political Rights in the different Cantons—Disorders of the Republic to bring on a Contest with the Swiss Diet—Powerful Impression which they produced in the Subject Cantons—First open acts of Hostility by the French—This is all done under the direction of Napoleon—Conservation in consequence effected in Switzerland—The aristocratic Party make some Concessions—Hostilities commence in the Pays de Vaud—Hercule conduct of the Abolitionists—Commencement of Hostilities in the Canton of Fribourg—Render of Solothurn and Tribourg—Bloody Battle before Fribourg—Hercule's resolution of the

League—Aloys' Rising—First successes, and ultimate Disasters of the Peasants—Hercule

country—Extreme Impolicy, as well as Iniquity of this attack on Switzerland—Great indignation excited by it in Europe—Attack on the Papal States—Alarming situation of the Papal Government at Napoleon, is slain at the French Ambassadors—What is the consequence declared by France against Rome—Further advances to Rome—Revolution there—Atrocious Cruelty of the Republicans to the Pope—Their continued severity towards him—He is removed into France, and there dies—Systematic and abominable pillage of Rome by the Republicans—Conservation of the Church Property in the whole Papal Territory—These disorders excite even the indignation of the French Army—Great Munity at Rome and Naples—Revolt of the Roman Population—Its bloody Suppression—The whole Papal States are revolutionized—New Constitution and Alliance with France—Violent changes effected by the French in the Christian Republic—Laxative Misconduct excited by these changes in Lombardy—The Spoilation of the King of Sardinia is resolved on—Great Humiliations to which he had previously been subjected—His King is reduced to the condition of a prisoner in his own capital—He is at length forced to abdicate, and retire to Savoy—Measures of Naples—Their Military Preparations—The Court order to Secret Negotiations with Austria—and are encouraged to resist by the Duke of the Alle—On Napoleon's arrival at Naples, Hostilities are rashly resumed on Forces sent by the French in the United Republics—Black Lake the Command at Naples—Dispersed situation of the French Troops in the Roman States—The Neapolitans enter Rome—They are every where defeated when advancing further—Fresh Disasters of the Neapolitans—Defeat of

—Indignation which it excites among the Neapolitan Population—Advance of the French against Naples—Desperate Resistance of the Garrison—Frightful Carnage around the Capital—The French force the Gates and enter—Blood—Committee in the Senate—Establishment of the Parthenon Republic—Victory at the Battle of the Mactari—Disaster of that Country—Original Evil arising from Consolidation of Land—Peasants' causes which

have aggravated this evil in that Country—Its inhabitants are as yet unfit for Free Privileges—Intimate Union formed by the Irish Malcontents with France—Revolutionary Organization established throughout the whole Country—Combination of Orangemen to uphold the British Connection—Treaty of Irish Rebels with France—The Insurrection at Vinegar Hill—Imminent Danger from which England then escaped—Nugatory Efforts of the Directory to revive the Insurrection—Maritime Affairs of the Year—Disputes of France with the United States—Shameful Rapacity of the French Government—Contributions levied on the Hanse Towns by the Directory—Retrospect of the late Envoisements of France—Their System rendered the continuance of Peace impossible—Leads to a general Feeling in favour of a Confederacy, in which Russia joins—Tumult at Vienna, and insult to the French Ambassador—Who leaves the Austrian Capital—Progress of the Negotiation at Rastadt—The Secret Understanding between France and Austria is made manifest—Financial Measures of the Directory to meet the approaching Hostilities—Adoption of the law of the Conscription by the Legislature—Reflections on this Event.

The two great parties into which the civilized world had been divided by the French Revolution, entertained different sentiments in regard to the necessity of the war which had so long been waged by the aristocratic monarchies against its unruly authority. The partisans of democracy alleged that the whole misfortunes of Europe, and all the crimes of France, had arisen from the iniquitous coalition of kings to overturn its infant freedom; that if its government had been let alone, it would neither have stained its hands with innocent blood at home, nor pursued plans of aggrandisement abroad; and that the Republic, relieved from the pressure of external danger, and no longer roused by the call of patriotic duty, would have quietly turned its sword into pruning-hooks, and, renouncing the allurements of foreign conquest, thought only of promoting the internal felicity of its citizens. The aristocratic party, on the other hand, maintained that democracy is in its very essence and from necessity ambitious; that the turbulent activity which it calls forth, the energetic courage which it awakens, the latent talent which it develops, can find vent only in the enterprise of foreign warfare; that being founded on popular passion, and supported by the most vehement and enthusiastic classes in the state, it is driven into external aggression as the only means of allaying internal discontent; that it advances before a devouring flame, which, the instant it stops, threatens to consume itself; and that, in the domestic suffering which it engenders, and the stoppage of pacific industry which necessarily results from its convulsions, is to be found both a more cogent inducement to foreign conquest, and more formidable means for carrying it on, than either the ambition of kings or the rivalry of their ministers.

Had the revolutionary war continued without interruption from its commencement in 1792 till its conclusion in 1815, it might have been difficult to have determined which of these opinions was the better founded. The ideas of men would probably have been divided upon them till the end of time; and to whichever side the philosophic observer of human events, who traced the history of democratic societies in time past, had inclined, the great body of mankind, who judge merely from the event, would have leaned to the one or the other, according as their interests or their affections led them to espouse the conservative or the innovating order of things.

It is fortunate, therefore, for the cause of historic truth, and the lessons to be drawn from past calamity in future times, that two years of Continental peace followed the first six years of this bloody contest, and that the Republican government, relieved of all grounds of apprehension from foreign

CHAPTER XXVI.

FOR THE PEACE OF CAMPO FORMIO TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE WAR.

OCTOBER 1797→MARCH 1799

ARGUMENT

of France—National Bankruptcy there—External Policy of the Directory—Attack upon

conduct of the managers—Commencement of hostilities in the Cañon of Mescal—Sur-

rebirth of solitude and erudition—pious before terms—alcohol resolution of the
 souls, their dreadful excesses and defeat—Captains of Error in the forest and beyond

Enormous Contributions every where levied by the French—New Conquision of Shalzer-

land—Generous efforts of the mountaineers—Arguments by which they were routed by the

Defence of the Schwyzers at Morgarten—bloody conflicts in the valleys—Diplomatic con-

product of the French to the inhabitants—An Alliance offensive and defensive is

marked by the French—The Grisons have the aid of Austria, which recognizes their

country—Extreme Impolicy, as well as Iniquity, of this attack on Switzerland—Great In-

—**Alfred**—Alfred is a character in the play. He is a young man who is in love with a girl named Alice. He is a very kind and gentle person, and he is very devoted to Alice. He is a very good friend to everyone, and he is a very good son. He is a very good student, and he is a very good worker. He is a very good person, and he is a very good man.

Opportunities for employment in the Government are numerous. The Government is a large employer of labor and is in a position to offer a wide range of opportunities for advancement. The Government is also a major employer of labor and is in a position to offer a wide range of opportunities for advancement.

...consequence declared by France against Home—Revision

—The removal of the ship to the port of refuge is a removal of the ship to the port of refuge.

Some by the Republicans. Cancellation of the Church Property in the whole Papal turn.

others—these disorders exist even in the Indian Army—Great Britain at home and abroad—Nervell of the Roman Empire—711—806

Japan States are Revolutionized—New Constitution and Alliance with France—Japan

finances dictated by the French in the Cisapino Republic--[excessive] excessive mismanagement excited

[illegible]

condition of a person in his own capital—He is at length forced to dedicate and transfer

[illegible]

Upon arrival at Naples, Hoffmiller reportedly expressed unhappiness over the French

the original Republics—first I let the command at Naples—disorder situation of

[Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page]

Back—The Republican Party's influence on board the U.S. Coast Guard.

of French ships—their kind of operations—was being carried out—

of French ships—in front of Cyprus—such progress as was made was gradually accepted.

—Indignation which it excites among the Asiatic population—

...The French force the Gites and a ...-loody conflicts in the ...-laidish ...

ment of the Parthenon and the Parthenon Museum—state of affairs in 1911

of that Country—Original FVA arising from conversion of LVA—1 equal credit per 10

have aggravated this evil in that country—its inhabitants are as yet unfit for free political organization established throughout the whole country—Combination of Organization at length breaks out—Various actions with the insurgents—They are totally defeated at Vinegar Hill—Imminent danger from which England then escaped—Mugatory efforts of the Directory to revive the insurrection—Maritime Affairs of the Year—Disputes of France with the United States—Shameful Rapacity of the French Government—Contributions levied on the Hanse Towns by the Directory—Retrospect of the late Encroachments of France—Their system rendered the continuance of peace impossible—Leads to a general feeling in favour of a Confederacy, in which Russia joins—Tumult at Vienna, and insult to the French Ambassador—Who leaves the Austrian Capital—Progress of the Negotiation at Rastadt—The Secret Understanding between France and Austria is made manifest—Financial Measures of the Directory to meet the approaching Hostilities—Adoption of the law of the Conscription by the Legislature—Reflections on this Event.

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It is fortunate, therefore, for the cause of historic truth, and the lessons to be drawn from past calamity in future times, that two years of peace followed the first six years of this bloody contest, and publican government, relieved of all grounds of apprehension.

powers, and placed with uncontrolled authority at the head of the vast population of France, had so fair an opportunity presented of carrying into effect its alleged pacific inclinations. The coalition was broken down and destroyed; Spain had not only given up the contest, but had engaged in a disastrous maritime war to support the interests of the revolutionary state; Flanders was incorporated with its territory, which had no boundaries but the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees; Holland was converted into an affiliated republic; Piedmont was crushed; Lombardy revolutionized, and its frontier secured by Mantua and the fortified line of the Adige, the Italian powers were overawed, and had purchased peace by the most disgraceful submissions, and the emperor himself had retired from the strife, and gained the temporary safety of his capital by the cession of a large portion of his dominions. Great Britain alone, firm and unsubdued, continued the war, but without either any definite military object, now that the Continent was pacified, or the means of shaking the military supremacy which the arms of France had there acquired, and rather from the determination of the Directory to break off the recent negotiations, than any inclination on the part of the English government to prolong, at all in complete the means . . . of the French cabinet,

First opportunity afforded to France of pursuing a pacific system after the peace of Campo Formio

life in the rural departments during the war, the armies were every where weakened by desertion, and the most ambitious general of the Republic, with his finest army, was engaged in a doubtful contest in Africa, without any means, to all appearance, of ever returning with his troops to the scene of European ambition (1). Now, therefore, was the time when the pacific tendency of the revolutionary system was to be put to the test, and it was to be demonstrated, by actual experiment, whether its existence was consistent with the independence of the adjoining states.

The estimates and preparations of Great Britain for the year 1798 were suited to the defensive nature of the war in which she was now to be engaged, the cessation of all foreign subsidies, and the approach of an apparently interminable struggle to her own shores. The regular soldiers were fixed at one hundred and nine thousand men, besides sixty-three thousand militia; a force amply sufficient to ensure the safety of her extensive dominions, considering the great protection she received from her innumerable fleets which guarded the seas. One hundred and four ships of the line, and three hundred frigates and smaller vessels, were put in commission, manned by one hundred thousand seamen. Supplies to the amount of £ 25,500,000 were voted, which, with a supplementary budget brought forward on 25th April, 1798, in consequence of the expenses occasioned by the threatened invasion from France, amounted to £ 28,500,000; exclusive, of course, of the charges of the debt and sinking fund (2).

But in providing for these great expenses, Mr. Pitt unfolded an important change in his financial policy, and made the first step towards a system of taxation, which, although more burdensome at the moment, is incomparably less oppressive in the end than which he had previously procured. He stated, that the time had now arrived when the policy hitherto pursued, of providing for all extraordinary expenses by loan, could not be carried further without evident danger to public credit; that such a system, however

applicable to a period when an extraordinary and forced effort was to be made to bring the war at once to a conclusion by means of foreign alliances, was unsuitable to the lengthened single-handed contest in which the nation was at last, to all appearance, engaged; that the great object now should be, to make the sum raised within the year as nearly as possible equal its expenditure, so as to entail no burden upon posterity; and therefore he proposed, instead of making the loan, as in former years, £19,000,000, to make it only £12,000,000, and raise the additional £7,000,000 by means of trebling the assessed taxes on house-windows, carriages, and horses. By this means an addition of only £8,000,000 would be made to the national debt, because £4,000,000 would be paid off in the course of the year by the sinking fund; and, to pay off this £8,000,000, he proposed to keep on the treble assessed taxes a year longer; so that, at the expiration of that short period, no part of the debt then contracted would remain a burden on the nation. An admirable plan, and a near approach to the only safe system of finance, that of making the taxes raised within the year equal its expenditure, but which was speedily abandoned amidst the necessities and impvidence of succeeding years (1).

The same period gave birth to another great change in the military policy of Great Britain, fraught in its ultimate results with most important effects, both upon the turn of the public mind, and the final issue of the war. This was the *Volunteer System*, and the general arming of the people.

During the uncertainty which prevailed as to the destination of the great armaments preparing both in the harbours of the Channel, and the Mediterranean, the British government naturally felt the greatest anxiety as to the means of providing for the national defence, without incurring a ruinous expense by the augmentation of the regular army. The discipline of that force was admirable, and its courage unquestioned; but its numbers were limited, and it appeared highly desirable to provide some subsidiary body which might furnish supplies of men to fill the chasms which might be expected to occur in the troops of the line, in the event of a campaign taking place on the British shores. For this purpose the militia, which, in fact, was part of the regular force, was obviously insufficient; its officers were drawn from a class from whom the most efficient military service was not to be expected; and under the pressure of the danger which was anticipated, government, with the cordial approbation of the King, ventured upon the bold, but, as it turned out, wise and fortunate step, of allowing regiments of volunteers to be raised in every part of the kingdom. On the 11th April it was determined by the cabinet to take this decisive step; and soon after a bill was brought into Parliament by the secretary at war, Mr. Dundas, to permit the regular militia to volunteer to go to Ireland, and to provide for the raising of volunteer corps in every part of the kingdom. The speech which he made on this occasion was worthy of an English minister. Not attempting to conceal the danger which menaced the country, he sought only to rouse the determined spirit which might resist it. "The truth," said he, "is undeniable, that the crisis which is approaching must determine whether we are any longer to be ranked as an independent

(1) James, ii No. 6, App. Ann. Reg. 1798, 182, 184, 211, Part. I. Feb. xxxii. 1042, 1066. Even in that very year it was, to a certain degree, broken in upon; the assessed taxes produced only £4,500,000 instead of £9,000,000, as was expected; besides £1,300,000 raised by means of exchange and the expenses having increased to £3,000,000 beyond the estimates, the loan was augmented to £15,000,000, exclusive of £2,000,000 for Ireland, £1,500,000 raised by means of exchange and bills.

of England. Even in the great manufacturing towns, and the former disaffection from their neighbourhood; and to nothing more than this well-timed and judicious step, was the subsequent unanimity of the British empire in the prosecution of the war to be ascribed. Had it been earlier adopted, it might have shaken the foundations of society, and endangered all the horrors of civil war; subsequently, it would probably have come too late to develop the military energy requisite for success in the contest. Nor were the effects of this great change confined only to the British Isles; it extended to foreign nations and distant times; it gave the first example of that touching development of patriotic ardour which afterwards burned so strongly in Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and in the British volunteers of 1798 was found the model of those dauntless bands by which, fifteen years afterwards, the resurrection of the Fatherland was accomplished.

While England was thus reaping the fruits, in the comparatively prosperous state of its finances and the united patriotism of its inhabitants, of the good faith and stability of its government, the French tasted, in a ruinous and disastrous national bankruptcy, the natural consequences of undue democratic influence and revolutionary convulsions. When the new government, established by the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor, began to attend to the administration of the finances, they speedily found that, without some great change, and the sacrifice of a large class of existing interests, it was impossible to carry on the affairs of the state. The resources of assigns and mandates were exhausted, and nothing remained but to reduce the most helpless class, the public creditors, and by their ruin extricate the government from its embarrassments (1). As the income was calculated at the very highest possible rate, and the expenditure obviously within its probable amount, it was evident that some decisive measure was necessary to make the one square with the other. For this purpose, they at once struck off *two-thirds* of the debt, and thereby reduced its annual charge from 258 millions to 86 (2). To cover, indeed, the gross injustice of this proceeding, the public creditors received a paper, secured over the national domains, to the extent of the remaining two-thirds, calculated at twenty years' purchase: but it was at the time foreseen what immediately happened, that, from the total impossibility of these miserable fund-holders turning to any account the national domains which were thus tendered in payment of their claims, the paper fell to a tenth part of the value at which it was forced on their acceptance, and soon became altogether unsaleable; so that the measure was to all intents and purposes a public bankruptcy. Notwithstanding the entrenched state of the legislature by the mutilations which followed the 18th Fructidor, this measure excited a warm opposition; but at length the revolutionary party prevailed, and it

(1) The most favourable view of the public revenue, and which in the end proved to be greatly overcharged, only exhibited an income of 616,000,000 francs.
 But the expenses of the war were 283,000,000
 Other services, 217,000,000
 Interest of debt, 258,000,000
 } 788,000,000
 Annual deficit, 172,000,000, or 1. 7,000,000.
 Being just about the same deficit which in 1789 was made the pretext to justify the Revolution. (2) See ante, ch. xxiv.

passed both Council by a large majority. Yet such had been the abject depression of the fundholders for many years, in consequence of the unparalleled depreciation of the paper circulation in which they were paid, that this destruction of two-thirds of their capital, when accompanied by the payment of the interest of the remainder in specie, was felt rather as a relief than a misfortune. Such were the consequences, to the monied interest, of the revolution which they had so strongly supported, and which they fondly imagined was to be an invincible rampart between them and national bankruptcy (1).

The external policy of the Directory soon evinced that passion for the conquest of the foreign states, which is the unhappy characteristic of democratic states, especially in periods of unusual fervour, and forms the true indication of the absolute war which was maintained against them by the European monarchs. "The coalition," they contended, "was less formed against France than against the principles of the Revolution. Peace, it is true, is signed, but the hatred which the sovereigns have sown against it, is not, on that account, the less active, and the elancency which the Emperor and England oppose in the way of a general pacification, by showing that they are only waiting for an opportunity for a rupture, demonstrates the necessity of establishing a just equilibrium between the monarchial and the democratical states. Switzerland, that ancient asylum of liberty, now trampled under foot by an insolent aristocracy, cannot long maintain its present government without depriving France of a part of its resources, and of the support which it would have a right to expect in the event of the contest being renewed (2)." Thus the French nation, having thrown down the gauntlet to all Europe, felt, in the extremities to which they had already proceeded, a motive for still further aggressions and more insatiable conquests, obeying thus the moral law of nature, which, in nations as well as individuals, renders the career of guilt the certain instrument of its own punishment, by the subsequent and intolerant excesses into which it precipitates its votaries.

Holland was the first victim of the Republican ambition. Not content with having revolutionized that ancient commonwealth, expelled the Stadtholder, and compelled its rulers to enter into a costly and ruinous war to support the interests of France, in which they had performed their engagements with exemplary fidelity, they resolved to subject its inhabitants to a convulsion of the same kind as that which had been terminated in France by the 8th Fructidor.

Since their conquest by the French, the Dutch had had ample opportunity to contrast the ancient and temperate government of the House of Orange, under which they had risen to an unexampled height of prosperity and glory, with the democratic rule which had been substituted in its stead. Their trade was ruined, their navy defeated, their flag swept from the ocean, and their numerous merchant vessels rotting in their harbours. A reaction, in consequence, had become very general in favour of the ancient order of things, and so strong and firm was this feeling, that the National Assembly, which had met on the first return of the Republicans, had never ventured to interfere with the separate rights and privileges of the provinces, as attested by the old constitution. The French Directory beheld with secret disquietude this alarming situation.

to the ancient order of things, and could not endure that the old patrician families should, by their influence in the provincial diets, temper in any degree the vigour of their central democratic government. To arrest this tendency, they recalled their minister from the Hague: supplied his place by Belacroy, a man of noted democratic principles, and gave Joubert the command of the armed force. Their instructions were, to accomplish the overthrow of the ancient federalive constitution, overturn the aristocracy, and vest the government in a Directory of democratic principles entirely devoted to the interests of France (1).

The Dutch Assembly was engaged at this juncture in the formation of a constitution, all previous attempts of that description having proved miserable failures. The adherents of the old institutions, who still formed a majority of the inhabitants, and embraced all the wealth and almost all the respectability of the United Provinces, had hitherto contrived to baffle the designs of the vehement and indefatigable minority, who, as in all similar contests, represented themselves as the only real representatives of the people, and stigmatized their opponents as a mere faction, obstinately opposed to every species of improvement. A majority of the Assembly had passed some decrees, which the democratic party strenuously resisted, and forty-three of its members, all of the most violent character, had protested against their adoption. It was to this minority that the French minister addressed himself to procure the overthrow of the constitution (2).

At a public dinner, Belacroy, after a number of popular toasts, exclaimed, with a glass in his hand, "Is there no Batavian who will plunge a poniard into the constitution, on the altar of his country?" Amidst the fumes of wine, and the riot of intoxication, the plan for its assassination was soon adopted; and its execution was fixed for the 22d January. On that night, the forty-three deputies who had signed the protest assembled at the Hotel of Harlequin, and ordered the arrest of twenty-two of the leading deputies of the Orange party and the six commissioners of foreign relations. At the same time the barriers were closed; the national guard called forth; and the French troops, headed by Joubert and Daguels, insisted with the execution of the order. Resistance was fruitless; before daybreak those arrested were all in prison; and the remainder of the Assembly, early in the morning, met in the hall of their deliberations, where, surrounded by troops, and under the dictation of the bayonet, they passed decrees, sanctioning all that had been done in the night, and introducing a new form of government on the model of that already established in France (3).

By this constitution the privileges of the provinces were entirely abolished; the ancient federal union superseded by a republic, one and indivisible; the provincial authorities changed into functionaries emanating from the central government; a Council of Ancients and a Chamber of Deputies established, in imitation of those at Paris: and the executive authority conduced to a Directory of five members all completely in the interest of France. The sitting was terminated by an oath of hatred to the Stadtholder, the federal system, and the aristocracy: and ten deputies, who refused to take it, were deprived of their seats on the spot. So completely was the whole done under the terror of the army, that some months afterwards, when the means of intimidation

(1) Th. x. 26, 27. Jom. x. 281. Ann. Reg. 1798, (3) Th. x. 27. Jom. x. 281, 282. Ann. Reg. 1798, 80.
(2) Th. x. 26. Jom. x. 128.
(3) Th. x. 26, 27. Jom. x. 281, 282. Ann. Reg. 1798, 80.

were removed, a number of deputies who had joined in these acts of usurpation gave in their resignation, and protested against the part they had been compelled to take in the transaction (1).

The inhabitants of Holland soon discovered that, in the pursuit of democratic power, they had lost all their ancient liberties. The first step of the new Directory was to issue a proclamation, strictly forbidding, under severe penalties, all petitions from corporate bodies or assemblies of men, and declaring that none would be received but from insulated individuals. Thereby extinguishing the national voice in the only quarter where it could make itself heard in a serious manner. All the public functionaries were changed, and their situations filled by persons of the Jacobin party, numbers banished or proscribed, and, under the pretext of securing the public tranquillity, democratic riots and arrests multiplied in the most arbitrary manner. The individuals suspected of a leaning to the adverse party were every where deprived of their right of voting in the pri-

1, in the whole country, and the Directors soon became as obnoxious as they had formerly been agreeable to the populace. Alarmed at this state of matters, and apprehensive lest it should undermine their influence in Holland, the French Directory enjoined General Daendels to take military possession of the government. He accordingly put himself at the head of two companies of grenadiers, and proceeded to the palace of the Directory, where one member was seized, while two resigned, and the other two escaped. A provisional government was immediately formed, consisting of Daendels and two associates, all entirely in the interest of France, without the slightest regard to the wishes of, or any pretence even of authority from, the people. Thus was unitary despotism the result of revolutionary changes in Holland, as it had been in France, within a few years after they were first commenced amidst the general transports of the lower orders (2).

Switzerland was the next object of the ambition of the Directory. The seclusion of that beautiful country, its retirement from all political contests for above two centuries, the perfect neutrality which it had maintained between all the contending parties since the commence-

ment of the Revolution, the indifference which it had evinced to the massacre of its citizens on the 10th August, could not save it from the devouring ambition of the Parisian enthusiasts. As little, it must be owned with regret, could the wisdom and stability of its institutions, the perfect protection which they afforded to persons and property, the simple character of its inhabitants, or the admirable prosperity which they had enjoyed for above five centuries under their influence, save a large proportion of them from the pernicious contagion of French democracy. The constituents of the cantons were various in some as the Forest Cantons, highly democratical, in others, as in Berne, essentially aristocratic, but in all, the great objects of government, security to persons and property, freedom in life and religion, were attained, and the aspect of the population exhibited a degree of well being unparalleled in any other part of the world. The traveller was never weary of admiring, on the sunny margin of the lake of Zurich, on the vine clad hills

of the Lemnan sea, in the smiling fields of Appenzel, in the romantic valleys of Bern, and the lovely recesses of Underwalden—the beautiful cottages, the property of their inhabitants, where industry had accumulated its fruits, and art had spread its elegancies, and virtue had diffused its contentment; and where, amidst the savage magnificence of nature, a nearer approach appeared to have been made to the simplicity of the golden age than in any other quarter of the civilized globe (1).

Of all the European governments, that of Switzerland was the one the weight of which was least felt by the people. Economy, justice, and moderation, were the bases of its administration, and the federal union by which the different cantons of which it was composed were held together, seemed to have no other object than to secure their common independence. Taxes were almost unknown, property was perfectly secure, and the expenses of government incredibly small (2). The military strength of the state consisted in the militia of the different cantons, which, though formidable, if united and led by chiefs well skilled in the difficult art of mountain warfare, was little qualified to maintain a protracted struggle with the vast forces which the neighbouring powers had now brought into the field.

The chief defect in the political constitution of the Helvetic Confederation was, that with the usual jealousy of the possessors of political power, they had refused to admit the conquered provinces to a participation of the privileges which they themselves enjoyed, and thereby sown the seeds of future dissension and disaffection between the different parts of their dominion. In this way the Pays de Vaud was politically subject to the canton of Bern, the Italian bailiwicks to that of Uri, and some towns of Argovia and Thurgovia to other cantons; while the peasants of Zurich, in addition to the absence of political privileges, were galled by a monopoly in the sale of their produce, which was justly complained of as oppressive. Yet the moderation and justice of the government of the senate of Bern was admitted even by its bitterest enemies; the economy of their administration had enabled them, with extremely light burdens, not only to meet all the expenses of the state, but accumulate a large treasure for future emergencies; and the practical blessings of their rule were unequivocally demonstrated by the well-being of the peasantry and the density of the population,—features rarely found in union, but which cannot coexist but under a paternal and beneficent system of administration (3).

The uniform system of the French revolutionary government, when they wished to make themselves masters of any country, was to excite a part of the population, by the prospect of the extension of political power, against the other, to awaken democratic ambition by the offer of fraternal support, and having thus distracted the state by intestine divisions, they soon found it an easy matter to triumph over both. The situation of the Swiss cantons, some of which held conquered provinces in subjection, and which varied extremely among each other, in the extent to which the elective franchise was diffused through the people, offered a favourable prospect of undermining the patriotism of the inhabitants, and accomplishing the subjection of the whole by the adoption of this insidious system. The treasure of Bern, of which report had magnified the amount, offered an irresistible bait to the cupidity of the French Directory; and whatever arguments

agents were adduced in favour of respecting the neutrality of that asylum of freedom, they were always met by the consideration of the immense relief

which three centuries would afford to the fl-

publications to the growth of democratic principles. The patrians or Bernese

were the especial object of their attacks, and numerous were the efforts made

to induce the inhabitants of its territory to shake off the aristocratic yoke

But the success of their endeavours was for many years prevented by the

catastrophe of 10th August, and the savage ferocity with which the Swiss

guard were drawn by the Frenchman populace on that occasion, for we will

crime than unshaken fidelity to their duty and their gallant patriotism was

sent to Bern as ambassador of France to counteract this tendency, and his

efforts and address were not without success in allaying the general exaspe-

ration, and reviving those feelings of discontent which, in an especial man-

ner, brooded among the inhabitants of the subject cantons. The government,

however, persisted in a cautious system of neutrality; the wisest course

which they could possibly have adopted, if supported by such a force as to

cause it to be respected, but the most unfortunate when accompanied, as it

was, by no military preparations to meet the coming danger (2).

The Swiss democrats formed a considerable party, formidable chiefly from

their influence being concentrated in the great towns, where the powers of

thought were more active, and the means of communication greater than in

the rural districts. Zurich was the centre of their intrigues, and it was this

great object of the revolutionists to counterbalance, by the influence of that

city, the authority of Bern, at the head of which was Steiger, the chief magis-

trate of the confederacy. Ochs, grand tribune of Basle, a turbulent and am-

bitious demagogue, Pfeiler, son of one of the chief magistrates of Lucerne,

and Colonel Weiss at Bern, formed a secret committee, the object of which

was, by all possible means, to bring about the downfall of the existing con-

sitution, and the ascendency of French influence in the whole confederacy.

Their united efforts occasioned an explosion at Geneva in 1792, and threatened

the helvetic.

averted

naced

imped to assert its independence (3).

The subjugation of Switzerland, however, continued a favourite

object of French ambition, it had been resolved on by the Directory

in 1797, their envoy

count at the time before the treaty of Campo Formo

attempt to intro-

troops on the frontier to take possession of that part of the territory of Basle

(1) Lac XIV 188

(2) Murd + 217 28

(3) Murd + 282, 290

which was subject to the jurisdiction of the cantons; but here too they were unsuccessful, for the Swiss government confined themselves to simple negotiations for so glaring a violation of existing treaties. But Napoleon, by his conduct in regard to the Valais, struck a chord which soon vibrated with fatal effect throughout Switzerland, and, by rousing the spirit of democracy, prepared the subjugation of the country. This country, consisting of five battalions, and containing one hundred and sixty thousand souls, extending from the source of the Adda to its junction with the lake of Como, had been conquered by the Grisons from the Dukes of Milan; Francis I guaranteed to them their enjoyment of it, and they had governed it with justice and moderation with a council of its own for three centuries. Napoleon, however, perceived in the situation of this sequestered valley the means of inserting the point of the wedge into the Helvetic confederacy. Its proximity to the Italianese territory, where the revolutionary spirit was then furiously raging, and the common language which they spoke, rendered it probable that they would rapidly imbibe the spirit of revolt against their German superiors; and, in order to sound their intentions, and foment the desire of independence, he, early in the summer 1797, sent his aide-de-camp Leclerc to their cottages. The result was, that the inhabitants of the Valais openly claimed their independence, rose in insurrection, hoisted the tricolor flag, and expelled the Swiss authorities. Napoleon, chosen during the plenitude of his power at Montebello as mediator between the contending parties, pronounced, on 10th October, 1797, a decree which, instead of settling the disputed points between them, annexed the whole insurgent territory to the Cisalpine Republic, thereby betraying the ancient allies of France, during a time of profound peace, of a territory to them of great value, which they had enjoyed for three hundred years. This decree was professedly based on the principle of still more general application. "That no one people should be subjected to another people (1).

This iniquitous proceeding, which openly encouraged every subject district in the Swiss confederacy to declare its independence, was not lost upon the Valais, the Pays de Vaud, and all the other dependencies of that Republic. To increase the ferment, a large body of troops, under General Menard, was moved forward to the frontiers of that discontiguous province, and Napoleon, in his journey from Milan to Rastadt, took care to pass through those districts, and stop in those towns, where the democratic spirit was known to be most violent. At Lausanne he was surrounded by the most ardent of the revolutionary party, and openly proclaimed as the restorer of their independence. A plan of operations was soon concerted with Ochs and La Harpe, the leaders of revolutionary projects in that country. It was agreed that a republic, one and indivisible, should be erected, as that was considered as more favourable to the interests of France than the present federal union; that the Directory should commence by taking possession of Bienne, L'Esquai, and Munssterthal, which were dependencies of

(1) Nap. iv. 196, 200, 202. Jom. x. 202, 262, 263. Ann. Reg. 1798, 22. Hard. v. 302, 307. June 22, 1797. Napoleon at the same time dispatched an agent to negotiate with the republic of the Valais for a communication over the Simplon, through their territory, with the Cisalpine Republic. The Swiss government, however, had influence enough, by means of Barthelmy, who, at that period, was a member of the Directory, to obtain a negative on that attempt. The French general, upon June 21, 1797, and July 13, 1797. Hard. v. 295, 293.]

ancient freedom, and inheriting all the dauntless intrepidity of their forefathers, were not to be seduced by the glittering but deceitful offers which had deluded their richer and more civilized brethren. They clearly perceived that, when once they were merged in the Helvetic Union, their influence would be destroyed by the multitude who would share their privileges; that they would soon fall under the dominion of the cities, with whose wealth and ambition they were wholly disqualified to contend; and that, in the wreck of all their ancient institutions, the independence of their country could not long be maintained. They saw that the insidious promises of the French envys had terminated only in ruinous exactions and tyrannical rule, and that irreligion, sacrilege, and infidelity universally marked the invaders' steps. Every day they had proofs of the repentance, when too late, of the cantons who had invited the enemy into their bosom; and multitudes, escaping from the theatre of French exactions, fled into their secluded valleys, stimulating their inhabitants to resistance, by the recital of their oppressions, and offering to aid them by their arms. Animated by these feelings, the small cantons unanimously rejected the new constitution. "We have lived," said they, "for several centuries, under a republic based on liberty and equality; possessing no other goods in the world but our religion and our independence, no other riches but our herds, our first duty is to defend them (1)."

Arguments
by which
they were
rouned by
the clergy.

The clergy in these valleys had unbounded influence over their flocks. They were justly horrorstruck at the total irreligion which was manifested by the French armies in every part of the world, and the acrimonious war which they, in an especial manner, waged against the Catholic faith. The priests traversed the ranks, with the crucifix in their hands, to exhort the peasants to die as martyrs if they could not preserve the independence and religion of their country. "It is for you," they exclaimed, "to be faithful to the cause of God; you have received from Him gifts a thousand times more precious than gold or riches,—the freedom and faith of your ancestors. A peril far more terrible than heresy now assails you; impiety itself is at your gates; the enemy marches covered with the spoils of your churches; you will no longer be the sons of William Tell if you abandon the faith of your fathers; you are now called on not only to combat as heroes, but to die as martyrs." The women showed the same ardour as at Bern; numbers joined the ranks with their husbands, others carried provisions and ammunition for the combatants; all were engaged in the holy cause. The triclor flag became the object of the same hatred as the Austrian standard five centuries before; the tree of liberty recalled the pole of Gessler; all the recollections of William Tell mingled with the newborn enthusiasm of the moment. "We do not fear," said the shepherds of Uri, "the armies of France; we are four hundred, and if that is not sufficient, four hundred more in our valley are ready to march to the defence of their country (2)." Animated by such feelings, the peasants confidently hoped for victory; the spots on which the triumphs of Naxos, Laupen, and Morgarten were to be renewed, were already pointed out with exulting anticipations of success; and the shepherds of a few cantons, who could not bring ten thousand men into the field, fearlessly entered the lists with a power beneath which the Austrian monarchy had sunk to the ground.

(1) *Idem*, x. 326, 348, 349. *Lac*, xiv. 216, 217.

(2) *De Stael*, *Nouv. Franç.*, ii. 216. *Lac*, xiv. 218, 219. *Idem*, x. 349, 350.

(1) *Idem*, x. 326, 348, 349. *Lac*, xiv. 216, 217.

1803 Reding was the soul of the confederacy. Described from the ancient founders of Helvetic independence, the relative of men who had perished on the Place du Carrousel on the 10th August, an old antagonist of the French in the Spanish war, he was filled with the strongest animosity at that grasping tyranny, which, under the name of freedom, threatened to extinguish all the liberties of the civilized world. His military talents and long experience made him fully aware of the perilous nature of the contest in which his countrymen were engaged, but he flattered himself that, amidst the precipices and woods of the Alps, a Vendéen war might be maintained till the German nations were roused to their relief, forgetting that a few valleys, whose whole population was not eighty thousand, could hardly hope for success in a contest in which three millions of Bretons and Vendéens had failed (1).

The peasants were justly apprehensive of the war being carried into their own territories, as the ravages of the soldiers or the torch of the incendiary might destroy in a moment the work of centuries of labour. Reding, too, was in hopes that, by assailing the French troops when dispersed over a long line, he might gain a decisive success in the outset of the campaign, and accordingly it was determined to make an immediate attack on Lucerne and Zurich. A body of four thousand men marched upon the former town, which surrendered by capitulation, and, while the Swiss got possession of a few pieces of cannon, which they made good use of in the mountain warfare to which they were soon reduced. No

the other from Richemanswil but here they found that the French, now thoroughly alarmed, were advancing in great force, and that, abandoning all thoughts of foreign conquest, it was necessary to concentrate all their forces for the defence of their own valleys. In effect, Schawenberg, with one brigade, surprised three thousand peasants at Zug, and made them all prisoners, while General Novion, after a bloody conflict, won the passage of the Reuss at Mellingen. He then divided his men into two divisions, one of which, after an obstinate battle, drove the peasants back into Rapperswil, while the other forced them, after a desperate struggle, from Ruchetschwil into the defile of Kusnacht (2).

After these disasters, the canton of Zug, which was now overthrown by French troops, accepted the new constitution. But Schwyz was still unsubdued, its little army of three thousand men resolved to defend their country, or perish in the attempt. They took post, under Reding, at Morgarten, already immortalized in the wars of Helvetic independence. At daybreak the French appeared, more than double their force, descending the hills to the attack. They instantly advanced to meet them, and running across the plain, encountered their adversaries, before they had come to the bottom of the slope. The shock was irresistible, the French were borne backwards to the summit of the ridge, and after a furious conflict, which lasted the whole day, the peasants remained masters of the contested ground. Fresh reinforcements came up on both sides during the night, and the struggle was renewed next day with doubtful success.

The coolness and skill of the Swiss marksmen counterbalanced the immense superiority of force, and the greater experience and rapidity of movement, on the part of their adversaries; but, in spite of all their efforts, they were unable to gain a decisive success over the invaders. The rocks, the woods, May 3. the thickets, were bristling with armed men; every collage became a post of defence, every meadow a scene of carnage, every stream was dyed with blood. Darkness put an end to the contest while the mountaineers were still unsubdued; but they received intelligence during the night which rendered a longer continuance of the struggle hopeless. The inhabitants of Uri and Unterwalden had been driven into their valleys; a French corps was rapidly marching in their rear upon Schwytz, where none but women remained to defend the passes; the auxiliaries of Sargans and Glarus had submitted to the invaders. Slowly and reluctantly the men of Schwytz were brought to yield to inexorable necessity; a resolution not to submit till two-thirds of the canton had fallen was at first carried by acclamation; but at length they yielded to the persuasions of an enlightened ecclesiastic and the brave Reding, who represented the hopelessness of any further contest, and agreed to a convention, by which they were to accept the constitution and be allowed to enjoy the use of their arms, their religion, and their property, and the French troops to be withdrawn from their frontier. The other small cantons soon followed their example, and peace was for a time restored to that part of Switzerland (1).

The same chequered fortune attended the arms of the Swiss in the Valais. The brave inhabitants of the rocky, pine-clad mountains, which guard the sources of the Rhone, descended from Leuk to Stion, where they expelled the French garrison, and pursued them as far as St.-Maurice. Here, however, they were assailed by a column of the Republicans, May 7. on their march to Italy, and driven back towards the Upper Valais. An obstinate conflict ensued at the bridge of La Morgé, in front of Stion; twice the Republicans were repulsed; even the Cretins, seeming to have recovered their intellect amidst the animation of the fray, behaved with devoted courage. At length, however, the post was forced, and the town carried by escalade; the peasants despairing of success retired to their mountains, and the new constitution was proclaimed with opposition, amidst deserted and smoking ruins (2).

A temporary breathing time from hostilities followed these bloody defeats; but it was a period of bitter suffering and humiliation to Switzerland. Forty thousand men lived at tree quarters upon the inhabitants; the requisitions for the pay, clothing, and equipment of these hard taskmasters proved a sad contrast to the illusions of hope which had seduced the patriotism of its urban population. The rapacity and exactions of the commissaries and inferior authorities, exceeded even the cruel spoliation of the Directory; and the warmest supporters of the democratic party sighed when they beheld the treasures, the accumulation of ages, and the warlike stores, the provident savings of unsundered generations, sent off, under a powerful guard, to France, never to return. In vain the revolutionary authorities of Switzerland, now alive to the tyranny they had brought on their country, protested against the spoliation, and affixed their seals to the treasures which were to be carried off; they were instantly broken by the French commissaries; and a proclamation of the Directory informed the in-

habitants that they were a conquered nation, and must submit to the lot of

the vanquished (1)

All the public property, stores, and treasures of the cantons were soon declared prize by the French authorities, the liberty of the press extinguished, a vexatious system of police introduced, and those magistrates who showed the slightest regard for the liberties

of their country dismissed without trial or investigation. The ardent democrats, who had joined the French party in the commencement of the troubles, were now the foremost to exclaim against their rapacity, and lament their own weakness in having ever lent an ear to their promises. But it was all in vain, more subversive directors were placed by the French authorities at the head of affairs, in lieu of those who had resigned in disgust, and an alliance offensive and defensive concluded at Paris between the two

republics, which bound Switzerland to furnish a contingent of troops, and to submit to the formation of two military roads (through the Alps, one to Italy, and one to Swabia),—conditions which, as former justly observes, were worse for Switzerland than an annexation to France, as they imposed upon it all the burdens and dangers of war, without either its advantages or its

glories (2)

The discontents arising from these circumstances were accumulated on all sides, when the imposition of an oath to the new constitution brought matters to a crisis in the small cantons. All took it with the utmost reluctance, but the shepherds of Undersalden unanimously declared they would rather perish, and tiller the most determined of the men of Schwyz and Uri blocked, to sell their lives dearly in defence of their country. But resistance was hopeless. Eight thousand French embarked at Lucerne, and landed at Stanz, on the eastern side, while the like number crossed the beech-clad ridge of the Brunig, and descended by the lovely lakes of Tungen and Sarnen, at the western extremity of the valley. Oppressed by such overwhelming forces, the peasants no longer hoped for success, an honourable death was alone the object of their wishes.

In their despair they observed little the design, and were conducted with hardly any discipline, yet such is the force of mere native valour, that for several days it enabled three thousand shepherds to keep at bay above sixteen thousand of the bravest troops of France. Every hedge, every thicket, every collage, was obstinately contested, the dying crawled into the hottest of the fire, the women and children threw themselves upon the enemy's bayonets, the grey-haired raised their feeble hands against the invaders. But what could heroism and devotion achieve against such desperate odds? Slowly, but steadily, the French columns forced their way through the valley, the flames of the houses, the massacre of the inhabitants, marking their steps. The beautiful village of Stanz, entirely built of wood, was soon consumed, seventy peasants, with their curate at their head, perished in the flames of the church. Two hundred auxiliaries from Schwyz arriving too late to prevent the massacre, rushed into the thickest of the fight, and, after slaying

double their own number of the enemy, perished to the last man. Night at length drew its veil over these scenes of horror; but the fires from the burning villages still threw a lurid light over the cliffs of the Engleberg; and long after the rosy tint of evening had ceased to tinge the glaciers of the Tils, the glare of the conflagration illuminated the summit of the mountain (1).

These tragical events were little calculated to induce other states to follow the example of the Swiss in calling in the aid of the Austrians, who occupied their country. The Grisons, who had felt the shocks of the revolutionary earthquake, took counsel from the disaster of their brethren in the forest canyons, and invoking the aid of Austria, guaranteed by ancient treaties, succeeded in preserving their independence and ancient institutions. Seven thousand Imperialists entered Coire in the end of October; and spreading through the valley of the Rhine, already occupied those posts which were destined to be the scene of such sanguinary conflicts in the succeeding campaign. The French, on their part, augmented rather than diminished the force with which they occupied Switzerland; and it was already apparent that, in the next conflict between these gigantic powers, the Alps would be the principal theatre of their strife (2).

In this unprovoked attack upon Switzerland, the Directory committed as great a fault in political wisdom as in moral duty. The neutrality of that country was a better defence to France, on its south-eastern frontier, than either the Rhine or the iron barrier on its north-western. The allies could never venture to violate the neutrality of the Helvetic Confederacy, lest they should throw its warlike population into the arms of France; no armies were required for that frontier, and the whole disposable forces of the state could be turned to the Rhine and the Maritime Alps. In offensive operations, the advantage was equally apparent. The French, possessing the line of the Rhine, with its numerous fortifications, had the best possible base for their operations in Germany; the fortresses of Piedmont gave them the same advantage in Italy; while the great mass of the Alps, occupied by a neutral power, rendered their conquests, pushed forward in either of these directions, secure from an attack in flank, and preserved the invading army from all risk of being cut off from its resources. But when the Alps themselves became the theatre of conflict, these advantages were all lost to the Republic; the bulwark of the Rhine was liable to be rendered valueless at any time, by a reverse in Switzerland, and France exposed to an invasion in the only quarter where her frontier is totally defenceless; while the fortifications of Mantua and the line of the Adige were of comparatively little importance, when they were liable to be turned by any inconsiderable success in the Grisons or the Italian bailiwicks. The Tyrol, besides, with its numerous, warlike, and enthusiastic population, afforded a base for mountain warfare, and a secure asylum in case of disaster, which the French could never expect to find amidst the foreign language and hostile feelings of German Switzerland; while, by extending the line of operations from the Adriatic to the Channel, the Republic was forced to defend an extent of frontier, for which even its resources, ample as they were, might be expected to prove insufficient (3).

Nothing done by the revolutionary government of France ever had so powerful an effect in cooling the ardour of its partisans in Europe, and opening

(1) Lac. xiv. 229, 230. Ann. Reg. 1798, 34, 35. (2) Jom. x. 20, 22. (3) Jom. Arch. Ch. i. 127, 110. Jom. x. 20, 22.

Great India, the eyes of the intelligent and respectable classes in every other nation, called by its name in Europe.

defending its own liberties, and that the whole monarchies of Europe were leagued together for its destruction. But when, in a moment of general peace, its rulers commenced an unprovoked attack on the Swiss confederacy, when the loud declaimers in favour of popular rights forced an obnoxious constitution on the mountaineers of the Alps, and desolated with fire and sword the beautiful recesses of the democratic cantons, the sympathies of Europe were awakened in favour of a gallant and suffering people, and the native atrocity of the invasion called forth the wishes of freedom on the other side. The Whig leaders of England, who had palliated the atrocities of the Revolution longer than was consistent either with their own character or their interest as a political party, confessed that "the mask had fallen from the face of revolutionary France, it indeed it ever had worn it (2)." "Where," it was asked over all Europe, "will the Revolution stop? What country could be imagined less alluring to their cupidity than that, where, notwithstanding the industry of the inhabitants, the church soil will barely yield its children bread? What government can pretend to favour in the eyes of the Directory, when it visits with fire and sword those fields where the whole inhabitants of a cautious assembly under the vault of heaven to deliberate, like the Spartans of old, on their common concerns? What fidelity, and proof of confidence does it expect more complete than that which declares a whole frontier a military defence, or rather which has hitherto considered it as better defended by the unalterable neutrality of its faithful allies, than by the triple line of fortresses which elsewhere guards the entrance to its soil (3)?"

The Ecclesiastical States were the next object of attack. It had long been an avowed object of ambition with the Republican government to revolutionize the Roman people, and plant the tricolor flag in the city of Brutus (4),

To insinuate the above of I betwixt in spots
From freedom torn to tempt and to betray"

- (2) Parl Deb xxxiv 1323
- (3) *Ibid* i 428 429 *Ibid* x 331
- (4) The resolution of Napoleon and the Directory

these payme is are raised, the entry is excluded, let us not drive it to bankruptcy. My agent raises Halber wrote to me the other day "I do not forget, either as master that the immense and increasing demands of the army oblige us to play a little the corner, and that we must not enter into discussions,

and fortune at length presented them with a favorable opportunity to accomplish the design.

The situation of the Pope had become, since the French conquests in Italy, in the highest degree precarious. Cut off, by the Cisalpine republic, from any support from Austria; left by the treaty of Campo Formio entirely at the mercy of the French republic; and exposed to all the contagion arising from the complete establishment, and close vicinity, of republican governments in the north of Italy, he was almost destitute of the means of resisting so many seen and unseen enemies. The pontifical treasury was exhausted by the immense payments stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino; while the activity and zeal of the revolutionary clubs in all the principal towns of the ecclesiastical states was daily increasing with the prospect of success. To enable the government to meet the enormous demands of the French army, the principal Roman families, like the Pope, had sold their gold, their silver, their jewels, their horses, their carriages, in a word, all their valuable effects; but the exactions of the republican agents were still unabated. In despair, they had recourse to the fatal expedient of issuing a paper circulation; but that, in a country destitute of credit (1), soon fell to an insignificant value, and augmented rather than relieved the public distress.

Joseph Bonaparte, brother to Napoleon, had been appointed ambassador at the court of Rome; but as his character was deemed too honorable for political intrigue, Generals Duhio and Sherlock were sent along with him; the former of whom had been so successful in effecting the overthrow of the Genoese aristocracy. The French embassy, under their direction, soon became the centre of the revolutionary action, and those numbers ardent characters with which the Italian elites abound, flocked there as to a common focus, from whence the next great explosion of democratic power was to be expected (2). In this extremity, Pius VI, who was above eighty years of age, and sinking into the grave, called to his counsels the Austrian General Provera, already distinguished in the Italian campaigns; but the Directory soon compelled the humiliated Pontiff to dismiss that intrepid counsellor (3). As

as it would sometimes turn out that two are in the wrong, I always supported a mortal war against the Pope, as long as the Papal government resisted; but now that it is prostrated at our feet, I am become your sincere and that of the Directory." [Corresp. Count, iii., 274, 275.] On the 25th May, 1797, I sent

your interest and that of the Directory." [Corresp. Count, iii., 274, 275.] On the 25th May, 1797, I sent

enclosed in collecting and transporting from hence to Milan all the diamonds and jewels I can collect; I send

there also whatever is made the subject of dispute in the payments of the contributions. You will keep

in view that the people here are exhausted, and that it is in vain to expect the tribute to pay. I take

advantage of these circumstances, to prostrate at your feet Rome and the Papal government." [Ibid. iii., 246, 249.] On 5th August, 1797, he again wrote

to Napoleon:—"Discontent is at its height in the Empire; the government will fall in pieces not long, as I have repeatedly predicted to you. But it is not at Rome that the explosion will take place; no many persons are here dependent upon the expenditure of the great. The payment of 30,000,000, stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino, at the close of

so many previous losses, has totally exhausted this old carcass. We are making it expire by a slow life; it will soon crumble to the dust. The revolutionists

and making use of the most energetic expressions, tone: it is only by evincing the greatest firmness, four hours he departs from Rome. Assume a high command of the Roman troops, but that within twenty will insist not only that he be deprived of the command of the Roman troops, but that within twenty Austrian commander from the Roman troops. You attach the utmost importance to the removal of an

is not immediately sent away from Rome, the Republic will regard it as a declaration of war. I Joseph, ambassador there, that if General Provera to the Court of Rome," said Napoleon to his brother

Sept. 29, 1797. (3) "You must forbear intimate

the same time, ten thousand troops of the Cisalpine republic advanced to St.-Léon, in the Papal duchy of Urbino, and made themselves masters of that fortress; while at Ancona, which was still garrisoned by French troops, notwithstanding its stipulated restoration by the treaty of Tolentino to the Holy See, the democratic party openly proclaimed "the Anconite republic." Similar revolutionary movements took place at Corneto, Civita Vecchia, Pesaro, and Senigaglia; while at Rome itself, Joseph Bonaparte, by compelling the Papal government to liberate all persons confined for political offences, suddenly vomited forth upon the capital several hundreds of the most heated Republicans in Italy. After this great addition, measures were no longer kept with the government. Seditious meetings were constantly held in every part of the city; immense collections of tricolor cockades were made to distinguish the insurgents, and deputations of the citizens openly waited upon the French ambassador to invite him to support the insurrection, to which he replied in ambiguous terms, "The fate of nations, as of individuals, being buried in the womb of futurity, it is not given to me to penetrate its mysteries (1)."

In this temper of men's minds, a spark was sufficient to occasion an explosion. On the 27th December, 1798, an immense crowd assembled, with seditions cries, and moved to the palace of the French ambassador, where they exclaimed—"Vive la République Romaine," and loudly invoked the aid of the French to enable them to plant the tricolor flag on the Capitol. The insurgents displayed the tricolor cockade, and evinced the most menacing disposition; the danger was extreme; from similar beginnings the overthrow of the governments of Venice and Genoa had rapidly followed. The papal ministers sent a regiment of dragoons to prevent any sort of the revolutionists from the palace of the French ambassador; and they repeatedly warned the insurgents, that their orders were to allow no one to leave its precincts. Duphot, however, indignant at being restrained by the pontifical troops, drew his sword, rushed down the staircase, and put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty armed Roman democrats, who were now contending with the dragoons in the court-yard of the palace; he was immediately killed by a discharge ordered by the sergeant commanding the patrol of the Papal troops; and the ambassador himself, who had followed to appease the tumult, narrowly escaped the same fate. A violent scuffle ensued, several persons were killed and wounded on both sides; and after remaining several hours in the greatest alarm, Joseph Bonaparte with his suite retired to Florence (2).

This catastrophe, however obviously occasioned by the revolutionary schemes which were in agitation at the residence of the French ambassador, having taken place within the precincts of his palace, was unhappily a violation of the law of nations, and gave the Directory too fair a ground to demand satisfaction. But they instantly resolved to make it the pretext for the immediate occupation of Rome and overthrow of the Papal government. The march of troops out of Italy was countermanded, and Berthier, the commander-in-chief, received orders to advance rapidly into the Ecclesiastical States. Meanwhile, the democratic spirit burst forth more violently than ever at Ancona and the neighbouring towns; and the Papal authority was soon lost in all the provinces on the

(1) *Hard.* v. 196, 206. (2) *Joseph Bonaparte's Report.* *Hard.* v. 207, 209, 215. *Bol.* ii. 115, 447. *Lac.* xiv. 140, 147.

the sad realities of slavery. The Pope, who had been guarded by five hundred soldiers ever since the entry of the Republicans, was directed to retire into Tuscany; his Swiss guard relieved by a French one, and he himself ordered to dispossess himself of all his temporal authority. He replied, with the firmness of a martyr, "I am prepared for every species of disgrace. As supreme Pontiff, I am resolved to die in the exercise of all my powers. You may employ force—you have the power to do so; but know that though you may be masters of my body, you are not so of my soul. Free in the region where it is placed, it fears neither the events nor the sufferings of this life. I stand on the threshold of another world; there I shall be sheltered alike from the violence and impety of this." Force was soon employed to dispossess him of his authority; he was dragged from the altar in his palace, his repositories all ransacked and plundered, the rings even torn from his fingers, the whole effects in the Vatican and Quirinal inventoried, and seized, and the aged pontiff conducted, with only a few domestics, amidst the brutal jests and sacrilegious songs of the French dragoons, into Tuscany, where the generous hospitality of the Grand Duke strove to soften the hardships of his exile. But though a captive in the hands of his enemies, the venerable old man still retained the supreme authority in the church. From his retreat in the convent of the Charterhouse, he yet guided the counsels of the faithful; multitudes fell on their knees wherever he passed, and sought that benediction from a captive which they would, perhaps, have disregarded from a triumphant pontiff (1).

"The subsequent treatment of this venerable man was as disgraceful to the Republican government as it was honourable to his piety and constancy as the head of the church. Fearful that from his virtues and sufferings he might have too much influence on the continent of Italy, he was removed by their orders to Leghorn, in March 1799, with the design of transferring him to Cagliari in Sardinia; and the English cruisers in the Mediterranean redoubled their vigilance, in the generous hope of rescuing the father of an opposite church from the persecution of his enemies. Apprehensive of losing their prisoner, the French altered his destination, and forcing him to traverse, often during the night, the Apennines and the Alps in a rigorous season, he at length reached Valence, where, after an illness of ten days, he expired in the eighty-second year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his pontificate. The cruelty of the Directory increased as he approached their dominions; all his old attendants were compelled to leave him, and the Father of the Faithful was allowed to expire, attended only by his confessor. Yet even in this disconsolate state, he derived the highest satisfaction from the devotion and reverence of the people in the provinces of France through which he passed. Multitudes from Gap, Vizelle, and Grenoble, flocked to the road to receive his benediction; and he frequently repeated, with tears in his eyes (2), the words of Scripture: "Verily, I say unto you, I have not seen

"The conti-
much sev-
ty years
him. He is
removed in-
to France
and there
dies.

such faith, no, not in Israel."

But long before the Pope had sunk under the persecution of his oppressors, Rome had experienced the bitter fruits of Republican fraternization. Immediately after the entry of the French troops, commenced the regular and systematic pillage of the city. Not

Systematic
and abomi-
nable pillage
of Rome by
the Repub-
licans.

(1) *Hor. ii. 463. Lac. xiv. 152, 153. Hard. v. (2) Hard. v. 248, 253. Lac. xiv. 157, 159. Bot. 213, 244. Paccia, i. 172, 171.*

only the churches and the convents, but the palaces of the cardinals and of the nobility, were laid waste. The agents of the Directory, insatiable in the pursuit of plunder, and merciless in the means of exacting it, ransacked every quarter within its walls, seized the most valuable works of art, and stripped the Eternal City of those treasures which had survived the Gothic fire and the rapacious hands of the Spanish soldiers. The bloodshed was much less, but the spoil collected incomparably greater, than at the disastrous sack which followed the death of the Constable Bourbon. Almost all the great works of art which have, since that time, been collected throughout Europe, were then scattered abroad. The spoilation exceeded all that the Goths or Vandals had effected. Not only the palaces of the Vatican, and the Clione Cavallo, and the chief nobility of Rome but those of Castel Candelotto, on the margin of the Alban lake, of Terracina, the Villa Albani, and others in the environs of Rome, were plundered of every article of value which they possessed. The whole sacerdotal habits of the Pope and cardinals were burnt, in order to collect from the flames the gold with which they were adorned. The Vatican was stripped to its naked walls, the immortal frescoes of Raphael and Michael Angelo remained in solitary beauty amidst the general desolation. A contribution of four millions in money, two millions in provisions, and three thousand horses, was imposed on a city already exhausted by the enormous exactions it had previously undergone. Under the directions of the infamous commissary Talier, the domestic library, museum, furniture, jewels and even the private clothes of the Pope were sold. Not did the palaces of the Roman nobility escape devastation. The noble galleries of the Cardinal Braschi and the Cardinal York, the last relic of the Stuart line underwent the same fate. Others, as those of the Chigi, Borghese and Doria palaces, were rescued from destruction only by enormous ransoms. Every thing of value that the treaty of Tolentino had left in Rome, became the prey of republican cupidity and the very name of freedom soon became odious from the sordid and infamous crimes which were committed in its name (1).

Not were the exactions of the French confined to the plunder of palaces and churches. Eight cardinals were arrested and sent to Civita Castellana while enormous contributions were levied on the Papal territory, and brought home the bitterness of conquest to every poor man's door. At the same time the ample territorial possessions of the church and the monasteries were confiscated, and declared national property. A measure which by driving up at once the whole resources of the affluent classes precipitated into the extreme of misery the numerous poor who were maintained by their expenditure or fed by their bounty. All the

nation of the army itself albeit little scrupulous in general about the means by which plunder was acquired. While the agents of the Directory were thus enriching themselves and sullyin the name of France by unheeded of spoliation, the inferior officers and sol-

diets were suffering the greatest privations. For several months they had been without pay, their clothes were worn out, their feet bare, their knapsacks empty. Indignant at the painful contrast which their condition offered to that of the civil agents, who were daily becoming richer from the spoils of the city, and comparing their penury with the luxurious condition of the corps stationed in the Cisalpine republic, the officers and soldiers in and around Rome broke out into open and unmeasured terms of vituperation. On the 24th February a general meeting of all the officers, from the rank of captain downwards, was held in the Pantheon, at which an address was agreed to by General Berthier, in which they declared their detestation of the extortions which had been practised in Rome, protested that they would no longer be the instruments of the ignominious wrangles who had made such a use of their valour, and insisted for immediate payment of their large arrears. The dissentients soon rose so alarming an aspect, that Massena, who had assumed the command, ordered all the troops, excepting three thousand, to leave the capital. But they refused to obey; and another meeting, at which still more menacing language was used, having shortly after been held (1), which his menacing language was used, he was compelled to abandon the command, and retire to Ancona, leaving the direction of the army to General Dalmagne. At the same time troops in Mantua raised the standard of revolt, and, resolving to abandon Italy, had already fixed all their days' march to Lyons and the banks of the Rhine (2).

Revolt of the Roman populace. Is rapid suppression. The Roman oppressors, deputed the opportunity favourable to shake off their yoke, and recover their independence. But they soon found

(1) St.-Cyr, Hist. Mil. i. 33, 36. Ann. Reg. 1798, 60, 61. Jom. x. 338. Bol. ii. 470, 471. Harl. v. 254.

(2) The remonstrance framed by the French army at this great meeting in the Pantheon hours:—"The first cause of our discontent is regret that a horde of robbers, who have instituted themselves into the confidence of the nation, should deprive us of our honour. These men either the chief houses of Rome, give themselves out for persons authorized to receive contributions, carry off all the gold, jewels, and horses; in a word, every article of value they can find, without giving any receipts. This conduct, if it is the remains unimpaired, is calculated to bring eternal disgrace on the French nation in the eyes of the whole universe. We could furnish a thousand proofs of these assertions. The second cause is that the robbery in which both officers and men are involved; destitute of pay for five months; in want of every thing. The excessive luxury of the officers of the staff, affords a painful contrast to the naked condition of the general body of the army. The third cause of the general discontent is the arrest of General Massena. The soldiers have not forgot the extortions and robberies he is committed to the army, the expressions are still more strong:—"The soldiers are in the utmost misery for want of pay. Many millions are in the public chest; these would discharge their arrears. We discover in the sight of heaven, in whose temple we are assembled, the crimes committed in the city of Rome and the Ecclesiastical States; we swear that we will no longer be the instruments of the

Barbary (1) Ministers' Report, 19th Feb. 1798; Corresp. Confid. iv. 517, 523.

wretches who have persecuted them. We insist that the effects seized from various individuals, belonging to states with whom we are still at peace, be restored; and, independent of our pay, we persist in demanding justice upon the official and clerical monitors, plunged night and day in luxury and debauchery, who have committed the robberies and spoliations in Rome."—See St.-Cyr, Hist. Mil. i. 282.

A singular occurrence took place at the revolt in Mantua, highly characteristic of the composition of the French army in Italy at this period. The chief of the twelfth demi-brigade, when endeavouring, he was instructed, killed one of the grenadiers. His sword in hand, to defend the standard with which he was intrusted, he was insulted; and he followed soldiers in immediately exclaiming, "We will not receive our commander; you are only doing your duty." The chief of the fourteenth wished, for the same reason, to resist the murderers; they understood their bayonets from their guns to prevent his being injured in the strife which ensued for its seizure. Not a single officer was insulted or mal-treated; the battalions answered by unanimous refusal all the extortions of their officers in return to their duty, but the acclamations saluted the officers when they passed, as if to a state of the most perfect anarchy. No acts of pillage followed the raising the standard of revolt, although the shops were broken out were all open and ungarded. The soldiers were equally, as their brethren at Rome, loud in their condemnation of the officers and civil authorities who had "embarrassed all the funds which should have gone to the payment of their arrears." In the midst of so much revolutionary profuseness and corruption, it is pleasing to have to record traits so honourable to the French army.—See

sively sent in his stead; but all their efforts proved ineffectual to stem the torrent. The discontents went on continually increasing, and at length recourent. Dec. 6, 1798. was openly had to military force. On the morning of the 6th December, the legislative body was surrounded with foreign bayonets; the senators opposed to the French interest expelled; several members of the Directory changed, and the government prostrated, as in France and Holland, by a military despotism. The democratic constitution, established by Napoleon, was immediately annulled, and a new one established under the dictation of the French ambassador, in the formation of which no attention was paid to the liberties or wishes of the people (1).

These violent changes, introduced by the mere force of military power, occasioned the utmost discontent in the Cisalpine republic; and contributed more than any thing that had yet occurred, to cool the ardour of the Italian Revolutionists. "This, then," it was said, "is the faith, the fraternity, and the friendship which you have brought to us from France. This is the liberty, the prosperity, which you boast of having established in Italy! What vast materials for eloquence do you afford to those who have never trusted in your promises! They will say, that you never promised liberty to the Italians but in order that you might be the better enabled to plunder and oppress them; that under every project of reform were concealed new, and still more grievous, chains; that gold, not freedom, is your idol; that that fountain of every thing noble or generous is not made for you, nor you for it; finally, that the liberty of France consists entirely in words and speeches; in the howling of a frantic tribune, and the declamations of impudent sophists. These changes which, with your despotic power and so much ungenerous, you have effected in the Cisalpine governments, will assuredly prove the forerunner of the fall of your own republic!"

After the unworthy descendant of Emmanuel Victor had opened the gates of Italy to France by the fatal session of the Piedmontese forresses (4), his all his continental dominions.

rewards him for his faithful adherence to their cause by the forfeiture of
They soon found an excuse for subjecting him finally to their power, and
king who had devoted his last soldier and his last gun to their service (5).
by intestine divisions, would be a more solid support to their power than a
spoliation. The Directory persisted in believing that a rickety republic, torn
session of his forresses had given to their arms, were unable to save him from
which he had discharged his engagements, the firm support which the pos-
this monarch had concluded with their victorious general, the fidelity with
acts of humiliation from his merciless allies. The early peace which
the French Republic, the King of Sardinia was undergoing the last
the King of Sardinia was thus winning under the winning grasp of
the King of Sardinia was thus winning under the winning grasp of
the King of Sardinia was thus winning under the winning grasp of

(1) *Id.* iii. 45, 58. *Id.* xiv. 172. *Id.* x. 175, 177. *Id.* x. 364, 365. (2) *Id.* ii. 53. *Id.* x. 177, 178. Lucien Bonaparte did not hesitate, at Milan, to give vent to the same sentiments. "Nothing," said he, "can excuse the bad faith which has characterized these transactions. The innovations in the Cisalpine republic, tending as they do to abridge popular freedom by the excessive power they confer upon the Directory, especially the exclusive right of proposing laws, are worthy of eternal condemnation. Nations, disgusted at last with the vain and empty name of liberty which France is continually resounding in their ears, and with the

life had been a continual scene of mortification and humiliations. His territories were traversed in every direction by French columns, of

continually

the emigrants from his dominions, and oppress his subjects by enormous contributions for the use of his insatiable allies, while the language of the revolutionary clubs, openly patronised by the French ambassador and agents, daily became more menacing to the regal government. At length they threw off the mask. The insurgents of the valleys of the Tanaro and the Bormida assembled to the number of six thousand in the neighbourhood of Carrasio, supported by two thousand troops of the Ligurian republic, who left Genoa at midnight, with drums beating and the tricolour flag flying. *Conquered, the*

French ambassador, endeavoured to persuade the king, in the usual language of revolutionists, that there was no danger in conceding all the demands of the insurgents, but great in opposing any resistance to their wishes, and strongly urged the necessity, as a measure of security, of his placing the citadel of Turin in the hands of a French garrison, while the Ligurian republic resolvedly refused any passage for the Piedmontese troops through that part of their territories which required to be passed before the insulated district of Carrasio could be reached. This was soon followed by a menacing proclamation, in which they declared their resolution to support the insurgents to the utmost of their power, while the French ambassador continued to insist for a complete pardon of these rebels, on condition of their laying down their arms and above all, the immediate surrender of the citadel of Turin. When the troops of Piedmont approached the Ligurian territory to attack the rebels in Carrasio, the French ambassador forbade them to pass the frontier, lest they should violate the neutrality of the allied republic. Notwithstanding this, they came up with the united forces of the insurgents and Genoese, and defeated them in two engagements, with such loss, that it was evident their total overthrow was at hand. The Directory now threw off the mask, they pretended that a conspiracy had been discovered for renewing the Sicilian Vespers with all the designs, insisted on the immediate cession of the citadel of Turin. Pressed on all sides, threatened with insurrection in his own dominions, and menaced now by the whole weight of republican vengeance, the king at length submitted to their demands,

Vauban, which had stood, a the Austrian forces, under Eug the expulsion of the French from Italy, was yielded without a struggle to their arms (1)

The surrender of this unprejudicable fortress put the king of Sardinia entirely at the mercy of the French troops. He was no longer permitted the semblance even of regal authority, French guards attended him on all occasions, and, under the semblance of respect, kept him a state prisoner in his own palace, while the ambassadors of the other powers, demanding Piedmont now a French province, wrote to their respective sovereigns, requesting to be recalled from Turin, where the French ambassador was now the real sovereign. The republican generals improved the time to reduce the

unhappy monarch to despair. They loaded all his ministers, civil and military, with accusations, and insisted on their dismissal from his court and capital; forced him to abandon all proceedings against the insurgents of every description; new-modelled the government according to their republican ideas, and compelled him to deliver up all the places he had taken from the Genoese republic (1).

For a few months this shadow of authority was left to the king; but at length his complete debilitation was effected. He was charged with having, in his secret correspondence with Vienna, allowed a wish to escape him, that he might soon be delivered from his impious allies; and only made his peace with the Directory by the immediate payment of 8,000,000 francs, or £530,000. When the Roman republic was invaded by the Neapolitans, he was ordered to furnish the stipulated contingent of eight thousand men; and this was agreed to. The surrender of all the royal arsenals was next demanded; and during the discussion of that demand, the French, under Jourdan, treacherously commenced hostilities (2). Noarra, Suza, Coni, and Alexandria, were surprised; a few battalions who attempted to resist were driven into Turin, where the king, having drained the cup of misery to the dregs, was compelled to resign all his continental dominions, which were immediately taken possession of by the French authorities. A fugitive from his capital, the ill-fated monarch left his palace by torch-light during the night, and owed his safe retreat to the island of Sardinia to the generous efforts of Talleyrand, then ambassador at Turin, who protected him from the dangers which threatened his life. A provisional government was immediately established in Turin, composed of twenty-five of the most violent of the democratic party; while Grouchy seized hold of the treasury, arsenals, and fortresses of the kingdom, and published a proclamation, denouncing the king, and forced him to abandon all proceedings against the insurgents of every description; new-modelled the government according to their republican ideas, and compelled him to deliver up all the places he had taken from the

(1) Ann. Reg. 1798, 122. Nov. iii. 112, 115. Lac.
 (2) Recounting, in the last extremity, a portion of the courage which, if earlier exerted, might have averted their fate, the Piedmontese cabinet at this crisis prepared a manifesto, which the Directory instantly and carefully suppressed. It bore:—
 "The Piedmontese government, in the anxious wish of sparing its subjects, the misfortunes which threatened it, has acceded to all the demands of the French Republic, both in contributions, clothing, and supplies for the army of Italy, though it greatly exceeded the engagements which it had contracted, and which were so burdensome as entirely to exhaust the royal treasury." His majesty has even agreed to place in their hands the garrison of Turin; and the very day on which it was demanded, he gave orders for the furnishing of the contingent stipulated by the treaty. At the same moment he dispatched a messenger to Paris to negotiate the cooperation of other powers, which were inadmissible, in particular the surrender of all the arsenals. But in the midst of these measures, the commander of the French garrison in the island of Noarra, Alexandria, Chiavasso, and Suza. His Majesty, profusely afflicted at these events, feels it his duty to declare thus publicly, that he has faithfully performed all his engagements to France, and given no provocation whatever to the disastrous events which threaten his kingdom." Grouchy, the French general, forced the king to suppress this proclamation, threatening to bombard him in his own palace in case of refusal. [Ibid. vii. 117.]
 The unworthy intrigues, falsehoods, and menaces by which the restoration of the throne was forced

upon the king, are thus detailed by the same general in his secret report to the Directory.—"The moment had now arrived, when all the springs which I had prepared were to be put in motion. At this crisis, an enemy came to me from the king; he was a man to be galled, and was so; other persons were also corrupted; but the great difficulty was, that these propositions all emanated from the king, and that no willing reached me, so that in no event could I be disavowed. Circumspection was the more necessary, as war was not yet declared against the King of Sardinia, and it was necessary to act so that his resignation might appear to be voluntary. I concealed myself to the threatening the enemy, and sent him out of the island. Meanwhile, my secret agents were incessantly at work; the enemy returned to me; I announced the arrival of columns which had not yet come up; and informed him that the hour of vengeance had arrived, that Turin was surrounded on all sides, that escape was impossible, and that unqualified submission alone remained. The Council of State had sat all the morning; my hidden emissaries there had carried their point. The conditions I exacted were agreed to. I insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that all the Piedmontese troops which had been assembled in Turin for a month past, should be dismissed; and after eight hours of further altercation, order was given to sign the whole agreement which I had requested."—See Harp. vii. 118, 120. See also the *Assiguation*, correctly given in Harp. vii. 122, *et seq.* The French general made of which some copies had been printed.

and in truth, their character was such that by no possible exertions could they be brought to face the enemy. One of his columns, commanded by the Chevalier Saxe, destined to turn Civita Castellana on the left, was attacked, at the bridge of Borgo S. over the Tiber, by Kniazvitz, at the head of three thousand of the Polish legion, and finally defeated, with the loss of all its artillery. The other, intended to turn it on the right, encountered the advanced guard of Macdonald near Nepi, and was speedily routed, with the loss of two thousand prisoners, all its baggage, and fifteen pieces of artillery. In the centre, Marshal Buncard in vain endeavoured to force the bridge of Rome, thrown over the chasm on the southern side of Civita Castellana, and at length Black, finding both his wings defeated, withdrew his forces, and began to incline a new design to dislodge his antagonists from their formidable position (1).

Instructed by this disaster, both in regard to the miserable quality of his own troops and the ruinous selection he had made of the point of attack, Black resolved upon a different disposition of his forces. Leaving, therefore, Marshal Buncard with four thousand men in front of Civita Castellana, he transported the main body of his army to the other bank of the Tiber, with the design of overwhelming Lemoine in the central and important position of Terni. This movement, which, if rapidly executed with steady troops, might have been attended with decisive success, became, from the slowness with which it was performed, and the wretched quality of the soldiers to whom it was intrusted, the source of irreparable disasters. General Miceli, who commanded his advanced guard, five thousand strong, having descended from the mountains and surprised Ottricoli, was soon assailed there by General Malibeu, and driven back to Cervi, where he was thrown into such confusion by the arrival of Kniazvitz on his flank with fifteen hundred men, that he laid down his arms with four thousand men (2), though both the attacking columns did not exceed three thousand five hundred.

Retreat of Black

After this check, accompanied with such disgraceful conduct on the part of the troops, Black despaired of success, and instantly commenced his retreat towards the Neapolitan frontier. The king of Naples hastily left Rome in the night, and fled in the utmost alarm to his own capital, while Black retired with all his forces, abandoning the Ecclesiastical States to their fate. Champagne vigorously pursued the retreating column, the French troops entered Rome, and General Damas, cut off with three thousand men from the main body, and driven to Orbicello, concluded a convention with Kellermann, by which it was agreed that they should

hands of the Republicans, eighteen thousand veterans had driven before them forty thousand men, splendidly dressed and abundantly equipped, but destitute of all the discipline and courage requisite to obtain success in war (3).

(1) Th x 194, 195 Jom xi 48, 50
(2) Jom xi 52, 53, Th x 195, 196 Ann. Reg 141, 142
(3) Th x 196, 197, Jom, xi 55, 57 Bot in 1798, 131

at Terni, but the Republicans had not to contend either with the genius or the troops of Napoleon. Black, persisting in the system of dividing his forces, exposed them to defeat from the veterans of France at every point of attack, and in truth, their character was such that by no possible exertions could they be brought to face the enemy. One of his columns, commanded by the Chevalier Saxe, destined to turn Civita Castellana on the left, was attacked, at the bridge of Borghetto over the Tiber, by Kniazewitz, at the head of three thousand of the Polish legion, and totally defeated, with the loss of all its artillery. The other, intended to turn it on the right, encountered the advanced guard of MacDonald near Nepi, and was speedily routed, with the loss of two thousand prisoners, all its baggage, and fifteen pieces of artillery. To the centre, Marshal Bourcier in vain endeavoured to force the bridge of Ronco, thrown over the chasm on the southern side of Civita Castellana, and at length black, finding both his wings defeated, withdrew his forces, and began to meditate a new design to dislodge his antagonists from their formidable position (1).

Instructed by this disaster, both in regard to the miserable quality of his own troops and the ruinous selection he had made of the point of attack, black resolved upon a different disposition of his forces. Leaving, therefore, Marshal Bourcier with four thousand men in front of Civita Castellana, he transported the main body of his army to the other bank of the Tiber, with the design of overwhelming Lemoine to the central and important position of Terni. This movement, which, if rapidly executed with steady troops, might have been attended with decisive success, became, from the slowness with which it was performed, and the wretched quality of the soldiers to whom it was trusted, the source of irreparable disasters. General black, who commanded his advanced guard, five thousand strong, having descended from the mountains and surprised Orvieto, was soon assailed there by General Blatinen, and driven back to Calvi, where he was thrown into such consternation by the arrival of Kniazewitz, so his black with fifteen hundred men, that he laid down his arms with four thousand men (2), though both the attacking columns did not exceed three thousand five hundred.

After this check, accompanied with such disgraceful conduct on the part of the troops, black despaired of success, and instantly commenced his retreat towards the Neapolitan frontier. The king of Naples hastily left Rome in the night, and fled in the utmost alarm to his own capital, while black retired with all his forces, abandoning the Ecclesiastical States to their fate. Championnet vigorously pursued the retreating column, the French troops entered Rome, and General Damas, cut off with three thousand men from the main body, and driven to Orbicello, concluded a convention with blackerman, by which it was agreed that they should evacuate the Tuscan states without being considered as prisoners of war. Seventeen days after the opening of the campaign, the Neapolitan troops were expelled at all points from the ecclesiastical territory, Rome was again in the hands of the Republicans, eighteen thousand veterans had driven before them forty thousand men, speedily dressed and abundantly equipped, but destitute of all the discipline and courage requisite to obtain success in war (3).

tion of Championnet was become so hazardous, from the failure of provisions and the increasing boldness of the insurgents, that the proposal was accepted with joy, and an armistice for two months was agreed to, on condition that 2,500,000 francs should be paid in fifteen days, and the forresses of Capua, Acerra, and Benevento, delivered up to the French forces. Thus, by the extraordinary pusillanimity of the Italian troops, was the French general delivered from a situation all but hopeless, and an army, which ran the most imminent danger of passing through the Gauidine forks, enabled to dictate a glorious peace to its enemies. Shortly after the conclusion of the convention (1), Mack, disgusted with the conduct of his soldiers, and finding that they were rapidly melting away by desertion, resigned the command and retired to Naples.

The intelligence of this armistice excited the utmost indignation among the populace of that capital, whose inhabitants, like all others of Greek descent, were extremely liable to vivid impressions, and totally destitute of the information requisite to form a correct judgment on the chance of success. The discontent was raised to the highest pitch by the arrival of the French commissaries appointed to receive payment of the first instalment of the contribution stipulated by the convention. The popular indignation was now worked up to a perfect fury; the lazzaroni flew to arms; the regular troops refused to act against the insurgents; the cry arose that they had been betrayed by the viceroy, the general, and the army; and the people, assembling in multitudes, exclaimed, "Long live our holy faith; long live the Neapolitan people." In the midst of the general confusion, the viceroy and the provisional government fled to Sicily; for three days the city was a prey to all the horrors of anarchy; and the tumult was only appeased by the appointment of Prince Moliterno and the Duke of Bocca Romana as chiefs of the insurrection, who engaged to give it a direction that might save the capital from the ruin with which it was threatened (2).

Meanwhile, the divisions in the Abruzzi having fortunately effected their junction with the main army on the Volturnus, Championnet advanced in three columns, with all his forces, towards Naples, while Mack, whose life was equally threatened by the furious lazzaroni and his own soldiers, sought safety in the French camp. Championnet had the generosity to leave him his sword, and treat him with the hospitality due to his misfortunes: an admirable piece of courtesy, which the Directory showed they were incapable of appreciating, by ordering him to be detained a prisoner of war. As the French army approached Naples, the fury of the parties at each other increased in violence, and the insurrection of the lazzaroni assumed a more formidable character. Distrusting all their leaders of rank or property, whose weakness had in truth proved that they were unworthy of confidence, they deposed Prince Moliterno and the Duke of Bocca Romana, and elected two simple lazzaroni, Paggio and Michel le Fou, to be their leaders. Almost all the shopkeepers and burghers, however, being attached to democratic principles, desired a revolutionary government, and to these were now added nearly the whole class of proprietors, who were justly afraid of general pillage, if the unruly defenders, to whom their fate was unhappily intrusted, should prove successful. The quarters of

(1) *Bot. iii. 158, 160. Tom. xi. 72, 73. Th. x.*
(2) *Th. x. 201. Bot. iii. 160, 161. Tom. xi. 74.*

Notwithstanding their previous dispersion of force, the invading army at all points met with surprising success. On approaching the Neapolitan territory, they found Black posted with twenty-five thousand men in a strong position behind the Volturnus, stretching from Castella Mare to Scatti di Cajazzo; having Capua, with its formidable ramparts, in the centre, and both its wings covered by a numerous artillery. But nothing could induce the Neapolitan troops to withstand the enemy. After a sharp skirmish, their advanced guard abandoned the wooded cliffs of Itri, fled through their almost impenetrable thickets to Gaeta, the strongest place in the Neapolitan dominions, which surrendered with its garrison, three thousand six hundred strong, on the first summons of General Rey, with an inferior force. The troops on the left, behind the Volturnus, seized with an unaccountable panic, at the same time abandoned their position and artillery, and fled for refuge under the cannon of Capua. Thither they were pursued in haste by Macdonald's division, but the cannon of the ramparts opened upon them so terrible a fire of grape-shot, that they were repulsed with great slaughter, and had the Neapolitan cavalry obeyed Black's order to charge at that critical moment, that division of the French army would have been totally destroyed (1).

strayed (1)

But though the junction of the divisions of Rey and Macdonald, and the capture of Gaeta, gave Championnet a solid footing on the great road from Rome to Naples, in front of the Volturnus, his situation was daily becoming more critical. For more than a week no intelligence had been received from the other divisions of the army, the detachments sent out to gain intelligence, found all the mountain passes in the interior of the Abruzzi choked up with snow, and the villages in a state of insurrection, Itri, Fondi, and all the posts in the rear of the army, soon fell into the hands of the peasants, who evinced a courage which afforded a striking contrast to the pusillanimity of the regular forces, and the victorious division was insulated in the midst of its conquests. At the same time, the insurrection spread with the utmost rapidity in the whole Terra di Lavoro, a large assemblage of armed peasants collected at Sessa, the bridge over the Volturnus was broken down, and all the insulated detachments of the army attacked with a fury different from the languid operations of the regular forces. Had Black profited by his advantages, and made a vigorous attack with his whole centre upon Macdonald's division, there is reason to think that, notwithstanding the pusillanimity of his troops, he might have forced them to a disastrous retreat (2).

But the Austrian general had now lost all confidence in the forces under his command, and the vacillation of the provisional government of the Kingdom of Naples, rendered it impossible for him to make the most of the vicinity of the French army to overturn the monarchy. Rendered despondent by these untoward circumstances, he proposed an armistice. The situation of the French army, of nine battalions, routed at the passage of the Volturnus, none but the officers had entered Naples, and he was aware that a powerful party, having ramifications in his own camp, was desirous to take advantage of the vicinity of the French army to overturn the monarchy. Rendered despondent by these untoward circumstances, he proposed an armistice. The situa-

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The French with two thousand Iazzaroni, was entrusted with the defence of that important post, long resisted all the efforts of the Republicans. Still, however, they made good their ground in the streets. The Republicans found they could expel the besieged from their fastnesses only by burning down or blowing up the edifices, and their advance through the city was rendered almost impracticable by the mountains of slain which choked up the causeway. But while this heroic resistance was going on at the gates, a body of the citizens, attached to the French party, made themselves masters of the fort of St. Elmo, and the castello del Lovo, and immediately sending intimation to Championnet, a body of troops were moved forward, and these important posts taken possession of by his soldiers. The Iazzaroni shed tears of despair when they beheld the tricolor flag waving on the last strong-holds of their city; but still the resistance continued with unabated resolution. Championnet upon this gave orders for a general attack. Early on the morning of the 25d, the artillery from the castle of St. Elmo showered down cannon-shot upon the city, and dense columns of infantry approached all the avenues to its principal quarters. Notwithstanding the utmost resistance, they made themselves masters of the fort del Carmine; but Kellermann was held in check by Paglio, near the Serraglio. The roofs of the houses were covered with armed men, showers of balls, flaming combustibles, and boiling water fell from the windows, and all the other columns were repulsed with great slaughter, when an accidental circumstance put an end to the strife, and gave the French the entire command of Naples. Michel-le-Pou, the Iazzaroni leader, having been made prisoner, was conducted to the headquarters of the French general, and having been kindly treated, offered to mediate between the contending parties. Peace was speedily established. The French soldiers exclaimed, "Vive St.-Januaire,"—the Neapolitans, "Vivent les Français;" a guard of honour was given to St.-Januaire (1); and the populace, passing, with the characteristic levity of their nation, from one extreme to another, embraced the French soldiers with whom they had so recently been engaged in mortal strife (2).

No sooner was the reduction of Naples effected than the Iazzaroni were disarmed, the castles which command the city garrisoned by French troops, royalty abolished, and a new democratic state, called the *Parthenopean Republic*, proclaimed in its stead. In the outset, a provisional government of twenty-one members was appointed. Their first measure was to levy upon the exhausted inhabitants of the capital a contribution of 12,000,000 of francs, or L.500,000, and upon the remainder of the kingdom one of 15,000,000 francs, or L.620,000, burdens which were felt as altogether overwhelming in that poor country, and were rendered doubly oppressive by the unequal manner in which they were levied, and the additional burden of feeding, clothing, lodging, and paying the troops, to which they were at

(1) *Idem*, iii. 166, 169. *Journ.* xi. 81, 85. *Idem*, xiv. 213, 244. *Hard*, vii. 159, 175. (2) The most contumacious provocations against the reigning family immediately covered the walls of Naples. In one of them it was said, "Who is the Capet who pretends to reign over you, in virtue of the rising liberty of the Gauls?" (*Sigüenza*). "Gaul." *Hard*, vii. 172, 173.

Championnet, in consequence, were desiged by deputations from the more opulent citizens, who offered to assist his forces in effecting the reduction of the capital, but the French general, aware of the danger of engaging a desperate population in the streets of a great city, refused to advance till fort St.-Elmo, which commands the town, was put into the hands of the partisans of the Republic. This assurance having at length been given, he put all his forces in motion, and advanced in three columns against the city. At the same time he issued a proclamation to the Neapolitan people, in which he said, "Be not alarmed, we are not your enemies. The French desire to show themselves friends of the Republic, but they bear no arms against the people. Those who wish to resist, we will change your government for one of a republican form. I am about to establish a provisional government (1)." In effect, a revolutionary committee was immediately organized at the French headquarters, having at its head Charles Laubert, a furious republican, and formerly one of the warmest partisans of Robespierre.

But the lazaroni of Naples, brave and enthusiastic, were not intimidated by his approach, and though deserted by their king, their government, their army, and their natural leaders, prepared with undaunted resolution to defend their country. Acting with inconceivable energy, they at once drew the artillery from the arsenals to guard the avenues to the city, commenced intrenchments on the heights which commanded its different approaches, armed the ardent multitude with whatever weapons chance threw in their way, barricaded the principal streets, and stationed guards at all the important points in its vast circumference. The few regular troops who had not deserted their colours were formed into a reserve, consisting of four battalions and a brigade of cannoniers. The zeal of the populace was inflamed by a nocturnal procession of the head and blood of St. Januarius around the city, and the enthusiastic multitude issued in crowds from the gates to meet the conquerors of Italy (2).

The combat which ensued was one of the most extraordinary of the revolutionary war, fruitful as it was in events of unprecedented character. For three days the battle lasted, between Aversa and Capua,—on the one side, numbers, resolution, and enthusiasm, on the other, discipline, skill, and military experience. Often the Republican ranks were broken by the impetuous charges of their infuriated opponents, but these transient moments of success led to no lasting result, from the want of any reserve to follow up the advantage, and the disorder into which any rapid advance threw the tumultuary ranks. Still crowd after crowd succeeded. As the assailants were swept down by volleys of grape-shot, new multitudes rushed forward. The plain was covered with the dead and the dying, and the Republicans, weary with the work of slaughter, slept at night beside their guns, within pistol-shot of their indomitable opponents. At length the artillery and skill of the French prevailed, the Neapolitans were driven back into the city, still resolved to defend it to the last extremity (3). A terrible combat ensued at the gate of Capua. The Swiss battalion, which

(1) *Journal* xi. 76, 79, 76 x 202. *Doc.* vii. 162. (2) *Doc.* vii. 164, 165. *Journal* xi. 79, 80. *Doc.* xiv. 163. *Journal* vii. 139, 144, 149. (3) *Doc.* vii. 151, 153.

The French with two thousand lazzaroni, was entrusted with the defence of

that important post, long resisted all the efforts of the republicans.

Two attacks were repulsed with great slaughter, and at length the

chief of the staff, Thibault, only succeeded in making himself

master of the entrance by feigning a retreat, and thus drawing the inexpe-

rienced troops from their batteries into the plain, where they were charged

with the bayonet by the French, who entered the gate pell-mell with the

fugitives. Still, however, they made good their ground in the streets. The

republicans found they could expel the besieged from their fastnesses only

by burning down or blowing up the edifices, and their advance through the

city was rendered almost impracticable by the mountains of slain which

choked up the causeway. But while this heroic resistance was going on at the

gates, a body of the citizens, attached to the French party, made themselves

masters of the fort of St.-Elmo, and the castello del Lovo, and immediately

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243, 244. Harv. vii. 159, 175.

(2) The most continuous proclamations against

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the rising liberty of the Gauls." (Siguec) "Gaul-

the late of his relative who ruled by his idiosyncrasm

sounded him darts to govern you? Let him dread

Who is the crowned

the same time subjected. Shortly after, there arrived Favault, the commissary of the Convention, who instantly sequestered the whole royal property, all the estates of the monasteries, the whole banks containing the property of individuals, the *allodial* lands, of which the king was only administrator, and even the curiosities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, though still buried in the bowels of the earth. Champagnon, ashamed of this odious proceeding, suspended the decree of the Convention; upon which he was immediately recalled, indicted for his disobedience, and Macdonald intrusted with the supreme command, while a commission of twenty-five members was appointed to draw up a constitution for the new Republic. The constitution anticipated, fraught with the circumstances of the country, — election confined to colleges of electors named by government, deprived the people of the free franchises which they had inherited from the ancient customs, a national guard established, in which not three hundred men were ever enrolled, and, finally a decree passed, which declared that in every dispute between the barons and individuals, the private or the public interest should prevail.

and private plunder; the arsenals, palaces, and private houses were pillaged without mercy; all the bronze cannon which could be found, melted down and sold, and the Neapolitan democrats had even the mortification of seeing the beautiful statues of the same metal which adorned the streets of their capital, disposed of to the highest bidder, to fill the pockets of their republican allies. The utmost discontent immediately ensued in all classes, the patriots broke out into vehement exclamations against the perfidy andavarice of their deliverers; and the democratic government soon became more odious even to the popular party than the regal authority by which it had been preceded (1).

State of
Ireland

undervent
English patriotism was finely contrasted with the fumes of Continental demagogues and intrepidity of
Directory, Great Britain
assions, was thus every
unfortunate legislation on the side of government, and of fierce and blind-
In surveying the annals of this unhappy country, it appears impossible at first sight to explain the causes of its suffering by any of the known principles of human nature. Severe and conciliatory policy seem to have been equal
has failed in producing submissions
gence in awakening gratitude.

tion of the island, seems to be unabated after the lapse of five centuries, the indulgence with which it has been often treated, has led uniformly only to increased exasperation, and more formidable insurrections, and the greater part of the suffering which it has so long undergone, appears to have arisen from the measures of severity rendered necessary by the excitation of popular passion consequent on every attempt to return to a more lenient system of government.

The first British sovereign who directed his attention to the improvement of Ireland was James I. He justly boasted that there would be found the true theatre of his glory, and that he had done more in a single reign for the improvement of that important part of the empire, than all his predecessors, from the days of Henry II. Instead of increased tranquillity and augmented gratitude, there broke out, shortly after, the dreadful rebellion of 1641, which was only extinguished by Cromwell in oceans of blood. A severe and oppressive code was imposed soon after the Revolution in 1688, and under it the island remained discontented, indeed, but comparatively tranquil, for a hundred years. The more galling parts of this code were removed by the beneficent policy of George III. From 1780 to 1798, was an uninterrupted course of improvement, concession, and removal of disability, and this indulgent policy was immediately followed by the rebellion of 1798. The last fetters of restriction were struck off by the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, and the exasperation, discontent, and violence in Ireland, which immediately followed, have been unprecedented in the long course of its humiliated existence. All the promises of tranquillity so often held forth by its advocates were falsified, and half a century of unbroken indulgence was succeeded by the fierce demand for the Repeal of the Union, and a degree of anarchy, devastation, and bloodshed, unparalleled in any Christian land.

These effects are so much at variance with what was predicted and expected to arise from such conciliatory measures, that many able observers have not hesitated to declare them inexplicable, and to set down Ireland as an exception to all the ordinary principles of human nature. A little consideration, however, of the motives which influence mankind on such occasions, and the state of society in which they were called into operation, will be sufficient to demonstrate that this is not the case, and that the continued turbulence of Ireland is the natural result of these principles acting in peculiar and almost unprecedented circumstances.

The first evil which has attached to Ireland was the original and subsequent confiscation of so large a portion of the landed property, and its acquisition by persons of a different country, habits, and religion, from the great body of the inhabitants. In the greater part of the insurrections which that country has witnessed, since the English standard first approached its shores, nearly all its landed property has been confiscated, and lavished either on the English nobility, or companies, or individuals of English extraction. Above eight millions of acres were bestowed away in this manner upon the adventurers and soldiers of fortune who followed the standard of Cromwell (1). It is the great extent of this cruel and unjust measure which has been the original cause of the disasters of Ireland, by nourishing profound feelings of hatred in the descendants of the dispossessed proprietors, and introducing a body of men into the country, necessarily dependent for their existence upon the exclusion of the heirs of the original owners from the inheritance of their forfeitures.

But other countries have been subjected to landed confiscation as well as Ireland; nearly all the land of England was transferred, first from the Britons to the Saxons, and thence from the Saxons to the Normans; the lands of Gaul were almost entirely, in the course of five centuries, wrested by the Franks from the native inhabitants (2); and yet upon that foundation have been

(1) Lingard, xi., 136, and xii., 74.

(2) Guizot, Essais sur l'histoire de France, 179.

reared the glories of English civilisation and the concentrated vigour of the French monarchy. Other causes, therefore, must be looked for, coexisting with or succeeding these, which have prevented the healing powers of nature from closing their, as it were, fatal wounds, and perpetuated to distant ages the irritation and the amiss consequences on the first bitterness of conquest. These causes are to be found in the unfortunate circumstances, that Ireland was not the seat, like England or Gaul, of the permanent residence of the victorious nation; that absent proprietors, and their necessary attendants, middlemen, arose from the very first subjugation of the kingdom, by a race of conquerors who were not to make it their resting-place, and that a different religion was subsequently embraced by the victors from the faith of the vanquished, and the bitterness of religious animosity superadded to the causes of discontent arising from civil distinction. The same progress was beginning in Scotland after the country was overrun by Edward I, when it was arrested by the vigorous efforts of her unconquerable people; five centuries of experienced obligation have not yet fully developed the inappreciable consequences of the victory of Bannockburn, or stamped adequate celebrity on the name of Robert Bruce.

Great as were these causes of discontent, and deeply as they had poisoned the fountains of national prosperity, they might yet have been obliterated in process of time, and the victors and vanquished settled down, as in France and England, into one united people, had it not been for another circumstance, to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid, viz, the incessant agitation and vehemence of party strife arising from the extension, perhaps unavoidable from the connexion with England, of the forms of a free and representative government to a people who were in a state of civilisation until for either. The ferid and passionate character of the Irish peasantry, which they share more or less with all nations in an infant state of civilisation, and, still more, of unmix'd Celtic descent, is totally inconsistent with the calm consideration and deliberate judgment requisite for the due exercise of political rights. The duties of grand and common jury men, of electors for representatives to Parliament, and of citizens uniting in public meetings, cannot as yet be fully exercised by a large portion of the Irish people.

From the periodical recurrence of such seasons of excitation has arisen the perpetuating of popular passions, and the maintenance of party strife, from the extinction of which alone can habits of industry or good order be expected to arise. Continued despotism might have healed the wounds of Ireland in a few generations, by extinguishing the passions of the people with the power of indulging them, but the allegations of severity and indulgence which they have experienced under the British government, like a similar course pursued to a spoiled child, have fostered rather than diminished the public discontent, by giving the power of complaint without removing its causes, and prolonging the sense of suffering by perpetuating the passions from which it has arisen. This explains the otherwise unaccountable circumstances, that all the most violent ebullitions of Irish insurrection have taken place shortly after the greatest boons had been conferred upon them by the British Legislature, and that the severest oppression of which they complain is not that of the English Government, whose conduct towards them for the last forty years has been singularly gentle and beneficent, but of their own native magistracy, from whose vindictive or reckless proceedings their chief

miserics are said to have arisen. A people in such circumstances are almost as incapable of bearing the excitements of political change, or the exercise of political power, as the West India Negroes or the Bedouins of Arabia; and hence, the fanatical temper of the English nation, in the reign of Charles I, speedily generated the horrors of the Tyrone rebellion; the times of French democracy, in the close of the eighteenth century, gave rise to the insurrection of the United Irishmen; and the excitement consequent on the party agitation set on foot to effect Catholic Emancipation, the removal of tithes, and the repeal of the Union, has produced in our own times a degree of animosity and discord on its peopled shores, which bids fair to throw it back for half a century in the career of real freedom (1).

Following out the system which they uniformly adopted towards the states which they wished to overthrow, whether by open hostility or secret propaganda, the French government had for years held out hopes to the Irish malecontents, and by every means in their power sought to widen the breach, already, unhappily, too great, between the native and the English population. This was no difficult task. The Irish were already sufficiently disposed to ally themselves with any enemy who promised to liberate them from the odious yoke of the Saxons, and the dreams of liberty and equality which the French spread wherever they went, and which turned so many of the strongest heads in Europe, proved altogether intoxicating to their ardent and enthusiastic minds. From the beginning of the Revolution, accordingly, its progress was watched with intense anxiety in Ireland. All the horrors of the Reign of Terror failed in opening the eyes of its inhabitants to its real tendency; and the greater and more enterprising part of the Catholic population, who constituted three-fourths of its entire inhabitants, soon became leagued together for the establishment of a republic in alliance with France, the severance of all connexion with England, the restoration of the Catholic religion, and the resumption of the forfeited lands (2).

The system by which this immense insurrection was organized was one of the most simple, and, at the same time, one of the most efficacious, that ever was devised. Persons were sworn into an association in every part of Ireland, called the Society of United Irishmen, the real objects of which were kept a profound secret, while the ostensible ones were those best calculated to allure the populace. No meeting was allowed to consist of more than twelve members; five of these were represented by five members in a committee, vested with the management of all their affairs. From each of these committees a deputy attended in a superior body; one or two deputies from these composed a county committee; two from every county committee, a provincial one; and they elected five persons to superintend the whole business of the Union. This provincial government was elected by ballot; and the names of its members were only communicated to the secretaries of the provincial committees, who

Revolution-
any organ-
ization estab-
lished throughout
Ireland.

(1) The serious crimes in Ireland during the last three months of 1829
The Emancipation Bill passed in March, 1830 . . . 300
Do. of 1831 (Reform Agitation), . . . 499
Do. of 1832 (Reform Agitation), . . . 814
The crimes reported in Ireland in the year 1831
were 16,669, of which 210 were murders; 1478 rob-
beries; burning houses, 466; attacks on houses, 2296; burglaries, 531; robbery of arms, 678. The
183, 157, John, vi. 123, 129. *Amc.* iii. 96.
Hansard, Parl. Deb. Feb. 9, 1834.
(2) Wolfe Tone, &c., 1834.
A fourth part, or nearly so, of these numbers.—See
on Act the serious crimes were at once reduced to
1833; and population census, 1833; 8th May,
See Parl. Returns, 14th March, 1833; 7th May,
1831, was 1,391,000; that of Ireland, 7,784,000.
19,647. The population of England and Wales in
crimes reported in England in the same year were

were officially intrusted with the scrutiny of the votes. Thus, though their power was unbounded, their agency was invisible, and many hundred thousand men obeyed the dictates of an unknown authority. Liberation from Catholic faith, formed the chief boon presented to the lower classes; and, in order to effect these objects, it was speciously pretended that a total change of government was necessary. The real objects of the chiefs of the insurrection, which they would have had no difficulty in persuading the giddy multitude who followed their steps to adopt, were the overthrow of the English Government, and the formation of a republic allied to France. Parliamentary Reform was the object ostensibly held out to the country, as being the one most calculated to conceal their ultimate designs, and enlist the greatest number of the respectable classes on their side. So strongly were men's minds infected with party spirit at that period, and so completely did it obliterate the better feelings of our nature, even in the most generous minds, that these intentions were communicated to several of the Opposition party on both sides of the Channel; and even Mr Fox, if we may believe the poetic biographer of Lord E. Fitzgerald (1), was no stranger to the project entertained for the dismemberment and revolutionizing of the empire (2).

To resist this formidable combination, another society, composed of those attached to the British Government and the Protestant ascendancy, was formed, under the name of Orangemen, who soon rivalled the activity and energy of the Catholic party. The same vehement zeal and ardent passions which have always characterised the Irish people, signalized their efforts. The feuds between these two great parties soon became universal; deeds of depredation, rapine, and murder filled the land, and it was sometimes hard to say whether most acts of violence were perpetrated by the open enemies of law and order, or its untuly defenders (3).

The leaders of the insurrection, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and Wolfe Tone, went over to France in June 1796, where a treaty was concluded with the French Directory, by which it was agreed that a considerable fleet and army should, in the autumn of that year, be ready for the invasion of Ireland, to enable it to throw off the connexion with England, and form a republic in alliance with France, it has been already mentioned how these expectations were thwarted, first by

(1) Ann Reg 1798, 151 157 Wolfe Tone, at
197 201 Moore's Fitzgerald 1 163 166, 217
Hard v 204, 202
(2) "In order to settle," says Moore all U de
r the late agreement with France and in fact
as a party
in the new direction of democracy as
responded throughout Ireland there is no say in
how far short of it a daring aims of Lord Edward
even if a real constitutional leader of the VII as
some time
Ireland
to come
guine
Mr Fox
of the
and several others
Ann Reg 1798, 153
Gerald, 1 165 166 217
some and poetic as d Irish zeal—see Moore's 1 165

the dispersion of the French fleet in Bantry bay in December 1796, and then by the glorious victory of Camperdown in 1797. The vigorous efforts of government at that period, and the patriotic ardour of a large portion of the more respectable part of the people, contributed in no small degree to over-awe the discontented, and postponed for a considerable period the final ex-

plosion of the insurrection (1).

Government, meanwhile, were by no means aware of the magnitude of the danger which threatened them. They had received only some vague information of the existence of a seditious confederacy; when there were two hundred and fifty thousand men organized in companies and regiments in different parts of the kingdom, and the leaders appointed by whom the insurrection was to be carried into execution in every county of the island. But the defeat of the Dutch fleet having left the insurgents little hope of any powerful succour from France, they became desperate, and began to break out into acts of violence in several parts of the country. From want of arms and military organization, however, they were unable to act in large bodies, and, commencing a Venetian system of warfare in the southern counties, soon compelled all the respectable inhabitants to fly to the towns to avoid massacre and conflagration. These disorders were repressed with great severity by the British troops and the German auxiliaries in English pay. The yeomanry, forty thousand strong, turned out with undaunted courage at the approach of danger, and many cruelties were perpetrated under the British colours, which, though only a retaliation upon the insurgents, of their own excesses, excited a deep feeling of revenge, and drove to desperation their furious and undisciplined multitudes (2).

The beginning of 1798 brought matters to an extremity between the contending parties. On the 19th February, Lord Alora made an eloquent speech in their favour in Parliament; but the period of accommodation was past. On the same day the Irish committees came to a formal resolution, to pay no attention to any offers from either House of Parliament, and to agree to no terms but a total separation from Great-Britain. Still, though their designs were discovered, the chiefs of the conspiracy were unknown: but at length, their names having been revealed March 12. by one of their own leaders, fourteen of the chiefs were arrested at Dublin; and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who escaped at that time, was mortally wounded, some months after, when defending himself from arrest, after having rejected, from a generous devotion to his comrades, all the humane offers made by government to enable him to retire in safety from the kingdom (3). The places of these leaders were filled up by subordinate authorities; but their arrest was a fatal blow to the rebellion, by depriving it of all the chiefs of character, rank, or ability.

Notwithstanding this untoward event, the insurrection broke out at once in many different parts of Ireland in the end of May. The design was to seize the castle and artillery, and surprise the camp at Dublin, while, at the same time, the attention of govern-ment was to be distracted by a simultaneous rising in many different parts of the country: The attempt upon Dublin was frustrated by the vigilance of the lord-lieutenant, who, on the very day on which it was to have taken

Various ac-
tions with
the insur-
gents.
May 23,
1798.

(1) Ann. Reg. 1798, 158, 159. Wolfe Tone, ii. Moore's Fitzgerald, i. 2, 77. Hard. vi. 212, 213. 371, 378. (3) Ann. Reg. 1798, 162. Moore's Fitzgerald, ii. Wolfe Tone, ii. 255, 270. Hard. vi. 203, 206. (2) Ann. Reg. 1798, 158, 161. Tom. x. 429, 430.

quartets, arrested the leaders of the conspiracy in that capital, but in other quarters the revolt broke out with great violence. Bodies of the insurgents were worsted at Rath farm house by Lord Roden, and at Tallanghill by the royal forces, but their principal army, fifteen thousand strong, defeated the English at Lanesborough, captured that burgh, and soon after made themselves masters of the important town of Wexford, containing a considerable train of artillery, and opening a point of communication with France. Following up their successes, they advanced against New Ross, on the confines of Wicklow, but there they were defeated with great loss by the royal troops, and the rebels reengaged themselves for the disaster, by the massacre, in cold blood, of above a hundred prisoners taken at Wexford. At New Ross, after having taken and retaken the town several times, they were finally dislodged with great loss, by the yeomanry and militia. At length, the British commanders having collected above ten thousand men in the county of Wexford, commenced a general attack on the insurgents, who were fifteen thousand strong in their camp at Vinnegar Hill. The resistance was more obstinate than could have been expected from their tumultuary masses, but at length discipline and skill prevailed over untamed valour. They were broken in several charges by the English cavalry, and dispersed, leaving all their cannon, thirteen in number, and their whole ammunition in the hands of the victors. This was a mortal stroke to the rebellion. The insurgents, flying in all directions, were routed in several smaller encounters, and at length the revolt was so completely got under, that government were enabled to send Lord Cornwallis with a general amnesty for all who submitted before a certain day, with the exception of a few leaders who were afterwards brought to justice. Such was the success of these measures, that out of sixty thousand men who were in arms at the commencement of the insurrection, there remained at the end of July only a few isolated bands in the mountains of Wicklow and Wexford (1).

It was fortunate for England, during this dangerous crisis, that the French government made no adequate attempt to support the insurrection, that they had exposed their navy to defeat in the previous actions at St. Vincent's and Camperdown, and that now, instead of wounding their mortal enemy in this vulnerable point, they had sent the flower of their army, their best general, and most powerful squadron, upon a distant expedition to the coast of Africa. Confidently trusting, as every Briton must do, that the struggle between France and this country would have terminated in the overthrow of the former, even if it had taken place on our own shores, it is impossible to deny that the landing of Napoleon with forty thousand men, in the midst of the immense and discontented population of Ireland, would have led to most alarming consequences, and possibly the imminent peril to the empire might earlier have produced that burst of patriotic feeling and development of military prowess which was afterwards so conspicuous in the Peninsula war.

Awakened when too late to the importance of the opening which was thus afforded to their arms, the Directory made several attempts to rekindle the expiring flame of the insurrection. Eleven hundred men, under General Humbert, setting sail from Rochester, landed at Ballya, and, with the aid of Napier Tandy, the Irish revolutionist,

his fortifications, yielded to a British force under the command of General Stewart. In August, the inhabitants of the little island of Gozo, a dependence of Malta, revolted against the French garrison, made them prisoners to the number of three hundred, and compelled the Republicans to shut themselves up in the walls of La Vallette, where they were immediately subjected to the most rigorous blockade by the British forces by land and sea (1).

So unbounded was the arrogance, so reckless the policy of the French government at this time, that it all but involved them in a war with the United States of North America, the country in the world in which democratic institutions prevail to the greatest extent, and where gratitude to France was most unbounded for the services rendered to them during their contest with Great Britain.

The origin of these disputes was a decree of the French government in January 1789, which directed "that all ships having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any English merchandise, should be held lawful prize, whoever was the proprietor of that merchandise, which should be held contraband from the single circumstance of its coming from England, or any of its foreign settlements, that the harbours of France should be shut against all vessels which had so much as touched at an English harbour, and that neutral sailors found on board English vessels, *should be put to death*." This barbarous decree immediately brought the French into collision with the United States, who, at that period, were the great neutral carriers of the world. Letters of marque were issued, and an immense number of American vessels, having touched at English harbours, brought into the French ports. The American government sent envoys to Paris, in order to remonstrate against these proceedings. They urged that the decree of the French proceeded on the oppressive principle, that because a neutral is obliged to submit to exactions from one belligerent party, from inability to prevent them, therefore it must submit to the same from the other, though neither sanctioned, as in the other case, by previous usage, nor authorized by treaty. The envoys could not obtain an audience of the Directory, but they were permitted to remain in Paris, and a negotiation opened with Talleyrand and his inferior agents, which soon unfolded the real object which the French government had in view. It was intimated to the envoys that the intention of the Directory, in refusing to receive them in public, and permitting them to remain in a private capacity, was to lay the United States under a contribution, not only of a large sum as a loan to the government, but of another for the private use of the Directors. The sum required for the first object was £1,000,000, and for the last £50,000. This disgraceful proposal was repeatedly pressed upon the envoys, not only by the subaltern agents of Talleyrand, but by that minister himself, who openly avowed that nothing could be done at Paris without money, and that there was not an American there who would not contribute to this statement. Finding that the Americans resolutely resisted this proposal, they were at length informed, that if they would only "pay, by way of fees, just as they would to any lawyer who should plead their cause, the sum required for the private use of the Directory, they might remain at Paris until they had received further orders from America as to the loan required for government (2). The envoys were indignantly rejected, the American envoys left Paris, letters

(1) Ann. Rec. 1799 127 Jan. 2 413
(2) This transaction was so calumnied, that it is not at all to be wondered at, that the French government should have been so easily deceived.

year of pacific encroachment, than six previous years of hostilities. The continuance of amicable relations was favourable to the secret propagation of the revolutionary mania, with all the extravagant hopes and expectations to which it gave rise, and without the shock of war, or an effort even to maintain the public fortunes, the independence of nations was silently melting away before the insidious, but incessant efforts of democratic ambition. It was but a poor consolation to those who witnessed this deplorable progress, that those who lent an ear to these suggestions were the first to suffer from their effects, and that they subjected themselves and their country to a far worse despotism than that from which they hoped to emancipate it; the evil was done, the national independence was subverted; revolutionary interests were created, and the principle of democracy, using the vanquished states as an advanced post, was daily proceeding to fresh conquests, and openly aimed at universal dominion.

These considerations, strongly excited by the subjugation of Switzerland and the Papal States, led to a general feeling throughout all the European monarchies, of the necessity of a general coalition to resist the further encroachments of France, and stop the alarming progress of revolutionary principles. The Emperor of Russia at length saw the necessity of joining his great empire to the confederacy, and a discovery was made, which was a league by the great powers, who there terminated their hostilities, for their own aggrandisement at the expense of their neighbours, and in its secret articles were contained stipulations which amounted to an abandonment of the empire, by its head, to the rapacity of the republican government. Venice was the glittering prize which induced this dereliction of principle on the part of the Emperor, and accordingly it was agreed, that on the same day on which that great city was surrendered to the imperial troops, Mayence, the bulwark of the German empire on the Lower Rhine, should be given to the Republicans (2). By an additional article it was provided, that the Austrian troops should, within twenty days after the ratification of the secret articles, evacuate also Ingolstadt, Philippsburg, and all the fortresses as far back as the frontiers of the hereditary states, and that within the same period the French forces should retire from Palma Nuova, Legnago, Ozoppo, and the Italian fortresses as far as the Adige (3).

This important military convention, which totally disabled the empire from making any effectual resistance to the French forces, was kept a secret from the public, and the Italian fortresses as far as the Adige (3). By an additional article it was provided, that the Austrian troops should, within twenty days after the ratification of the secret articles, evacuate also Ingolstadt, Philippsburg, and all the fortresses as far back as the frontiers of the hereditary states, and that within the same period the French forces should retire from Palma Nuova, Legnago, Ozoppo, and the Italian fortresses as far as the Adige (3). This important military convention, which totally disabled the empire from making any effectual resistance to the French forces, was kept a secret from the public, and the Italian fortresses as far as the Adige (3).

The secret understanding between France and Austria is made manifest. In part at least, be concealed. But in the mean time it led to a very great degree of intimacy between Napoleon and Cobenzell, the Austrian ambassador at Rastadt, inasmuch that the Emperor, who perceived the extreme irritation which at that moment the French general felt against the Republican government at Paris, offered him a principality in Germany, with 250,000 souls, in order that "he might be forever placed beyond the reach of democratic ingratitude." But the French general, whose ambition was fixed on very different objects, declined the offer. To such a length, however, did the two diplomats proceed, that Napoleon made Cobenzell acquainted with his secret intention at some future period of subverting the Directory. "An army," said he, "is assembled on the coasts of the channel ostensibly for the invasion of England; but my real object is to march at its head to Paris, and overturn that ridiculous government of lawyers, which cannot much longer oppress France. Believe me, two years will not elapse before that preposterous scaffolding of a Republic will fall to the ground. The Directory may maintain its ground during peace, but it cannot withstand the shock of war; and therefore it is, that it is indispensable that we should both occupy good positions." Cobenzell lost no time in making his cabinet acquainted with these extraordinary revelations, which were highly acceptable at Vienna, and furnish the true key to the great influence exercised by Napoleon over that government during the remainder of his residence in Europe prior to the Egyptian expedition (1).

Great was the consternation in Germany when at length it could no longer be concealed that the line of the Rhine had been abandoned, and that all the states on the left bank of that river were to be sacrificed to the engrossing republic. It was the more difficult for the Austrian plenipotentiaries at Rastadt to reconcile the disposed proprietors to this catastrophe, as the Emperor had officially announced to the Diet, shortly after the conclusion of the armistice of Leoben, "that an armistice had been concluded by the Emperor for the empire, on the base of the integrity of the Germanic body." Remonstrances and petitions in consequence rapidly succeeded each other, as suspicions of the fate impending over them got afloat, but without effect; and soon the decisive evidence of facts convinced the most incredulous, that a portion at least of the empire had been abandoned. Intelligence successively arrived, that Mayence had been surrendered to the Republicans on the 30th December, in presence of, and without opposition from, the Austrian forces: that Venice, stripped of all its riches, had been abandoned to the Imperialists on the 15th January; and that the fort of the Rhine, opposite Mannheim, which refused to surrender to the summons of the Republican general, had been carried by assault on the 25th of the same month; while the Austrian forces, instead of opposing any resistance, were evidently retreating towards the frontiers of the hereditary states. An universal stupor seized on the German people when they beheld themselves thus abandoned by their natural guardians, and the only ones capable of rendering them any effectual protection; and their deputies expressed themselves in angry terms to the imperial plenipotentiaries on the subject (2). But, M. Lehrbach

replied, "when no longer able to conceal this dismemberment of the empire, — All the world is aware of the sacrifices which Austria has made during the war; and that the misfortunes which have occurred are nothing more than what she has uniformly predicted would occur, if a cordial union of all the Germanic states was not effected to maintain their independence. Surely, she has made the utmost efforts to maintain the integrity of the empire; she has exhausted all her resources in the attempt, if she has been unsuccessful, let those answer for it who contributed nothing towards the common cause." This defence was perfectly just, Austria had performed, and nobly performed her part as head of the empire; its dismemberment arose from the inaction of Prussia, which, with an armed force of above two hundred thousand men, and a revenue of nearly £6,000,000 sterling, had done nothing whatever for the cause of Germany. It is not the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France, it is the spoliation of Venice which at this period forms an indelible stain on the Austrian annals (1).

After the cession of the line of the Rhine to France was finally divulged, the attention of the plenipotentiaries was chiefly directed to the means of providing indemnities to the dispossessed princes, and the republican envoys had already broached their favourite project of *secularizations*, in other words, indemnifying the lay princes at the expense of the church, when an event occurred at Vienna, which threatened to produce an immediate explosion between the two governments. On occasion of the anniversary of the general arming of the Vienna volunteers on April 15, the youth of the capital expressed a strong desire to give vent to the ardour of their patriotic feeling by a *fête* in honour of the glorious standard then made by their countrymen. It was hazardous to agree to such a proposal, as the French ambassador, General Bernadotte, had testified his repugnance to it, and declared his resolution, if it was persisted in, to give a dinner in honour of democratic principles at his hotel. But the Austrian government could not withstand the wishes of the defenders of the monarchy; the proposed *fête* took place, and the French ambassador, in consequence, gave a great entertainment to his friends, and hoisted an immense tricolor flag before his gate, with the words "*Liberté, Égalité*," inscribed upon it. The opposing principles being thus brought into contact with each other, a collision took place. The people of Vienna conceived the conduct of the French ambassador to be a direct insult offered to their beloved Emperor, and blocked in menacing crowds to the neighbourhood of his hotel. The Austrian authorities, seeing the popular exasperation hourly increasing, in vain besought Bernadotte to remove the obnoxious standard. He declined his own honour and that of his

government, the gates and windows were speedily forced, the apartments pillaged, and the carriages in the yard broken to pieces. Fifty thousand persons assembled in the streets, and the French ambassador, barricaded in one of the rooms of his hotel, was only delivered at one o'clock in the morning by two regiments of cuirassiers, which the Imperial government sent to his relief. Justly indignant at this disgraceful outrage, Bernadotte admitted several angry notes to the Austrian cabinet; and although they published

a proclamation on the following day, expressing the deepest regret at the disorders which had occurred, nothing would appease the exasperated ambassador, and on the 15th he left Vienna, under a numerous escort of cavalry, and took the road for Rastadt (1).

When matters were in this combustible state, a spark only was required to light the conflagration. Conferences were opened at Selts, in Germany, were, on the one hand, the Directory insisted on satisfaction for the insult offered to the ambassador of the Republic; and, on the other hand, the Emperor demanded an explanation of the conduct of France in smothering, without the shadow of a pretext, the Helvetic Confederacy, and extending its domination through the whole of Italy. As the Austrians could obtain no satisfaction on these points, the Emperor drew more closely his bonds of intimacy with the court of St.-Petersburg, and the march of the Russian armies through Galicia and Moravia was hastened, while the military preparations of the Austrian monarchy proceeded with redoubled activity (2).

The negotiations at Rastadt for the settlement of the affairs of the Germanic empire proceeded slowly towards an adjustment; but their importance disappeared upon the commencement of the more weighty discussions involved in the Selts conferences. The French insisted upon a variety of articles, utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty of Campo Formio or the independence of Germany. They first demanded all the islands of the Rhine, which were of very great importance in a military point of view; next that they should be put in possession of Kehl and its territory opposite to Strasbourg, and Cassel and its territory opposite to Mayence; then that a piece of ground, adequate to the formation of a *forte-de-pont*, should be ceded to them at the German end of the bridge of Luningen; and, lastly, that the important fortress of Ehrenbreitzen should be demolished. The German demnation, on the other hand, insisted that the principle of separation should be that of the *thalweg*; that is to say, of the division of the valley by the middle of its principal stream. As a consequence of this principle, they refused to cede Kehl, Cassel, or the *forte-de-pont* at Luningen, or to demolish the fortifications of Ehrenbreitzen, all of which lay on the German bank of the river. Subsequently, the French commissioners admitted the principle of the *thalweg*, consented to the demolition of Cassel and Kehl, and the Germans agreed to that of Ehrenbreitzen; but the Republicans insisted on the cession of the island of Petersaw, which would have given them the means of crossing opposite that important point. Matters were in this unsettled state when they were interrupted by the march of the Russian troops through Moravia. The French government upon that issued a note, in which they declared that they would consider the crossing of the Germanic frontier by that army as equivalent to a declaration of war; and as their advance continued without interruption, the negotiations at Rastadt virtually came to an

end (3).

Seeing themselves seriously menaced with an armed resistance to their project for subjugating all the adjoining states by means of exciting revolutions in their bosom, the Directory at length began to adopt measures to make head against the danger. The finances of

(1) Hard. v. 135, 493, 508. (2) Th. x, 145, 146, 149. Join. xi. 8, 9. Lac. x. 371, 388. (3) Join. xi. 27, 28. Th. x. 154, 157. Hard. vi.

rection of the armies, all were made the subject of vehement and impassioned invective. The old battalions, it was said, had been left in the interior to overawe the elections; the best generals were in irons, Championnet, the conqueror of Naples, had been dismissed for striving to repress the rapacity of the inferior agents of the Directory; Moreau, the commander in so glorious a retreat, was reduced to the rank of a general of division, and Scherer, unknown to fame, had been invested with the command of the army of Italy. Even measures which had formerly been the object of general praise, were now condemned in no measured terms; the expedition to Egypt, it was discovered, had given an eccentric direction to the best general and bravest army of the Republic, and provoked the hostility at once of the Sublime Porte and the Emperor of Russia, while the attack on Switzerland was an unjustifiable invasion of neutral rights, which necessarily aroused the indignation of all the European powers, and brought on a war which the government had made no preparations to withstand. These complaints were, in a great degree, well founded, but they would never have been heard if the fortune of war had proved favourable, and the Republican armies, instead of being thrown back on their own frontier, had been following the career of victory into the Imperial states. But the Directory now experienced the truth of the saying of Tacitus:—"Hæc est bellorum pessima conditio." Prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni solo impunitur (1) "

In the midst of this general effervescence, the restraints imposed on the liberty of the press after the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, could no longer be maintained. The armed force which had imposed and kept them on was awaning, the soldiers were almost all coming on the frontier. They were, accordingly, no longer enforced against the daily journals, and the universal indignation speedily spread to the periodical press. In every quarter, in the newspapers, the tribune, the pamphlets, the clubs, nothing was to be heard but declamations against the government. The parties who had alternately felt the weight of their vengeance, the Royalists and the Jacobins, vied with each other in inveighing against their imbecility and want of foresight, while the soldiers, hitherto their firmest support, gave open vent to their indignation at the "Advocates" who had brought back the Republican standards to the Alps and the Rhine (2).

Three Directors Larevillière Lepaux, Treillard, and Merlin de Douai, were marked out for destruction. The conspiracy was far advanced when the misfortunes in Italy and on the Rhine gave tenfold force to the public discontent, and deprived the government of all means of resistance. The departments in the south, now threatened with invasion from the Allied army, were in a state of extreme fermentation, and sent deputations to the Councils, who painted in the most lively colours the destitute state of the troops, the conservation of the provinces, the vexations of the people, the injustice done to

the generals, and the indignation of the soldiers. The nomination of Stéyes to the Directory was the most convincing proof of the temper of the Councils, as he had always and openly expressed his dislike at the constitution and the Directorial government. To elect him, was to proclaim, as it were, that they desired a revolution (1).

Stéyes soon became the head of the conspirators, who thus numbered among their ranks two Directors, and a great majority of both Councils. It was no longer their object to remodel the constitution, but to gain immediate possession of the reins of power, in order to extricate the country from the perilous situation in which it was placed. For this purpose they refused all accommodation or consultation with the three devoted Directors; while the most vehement attacks were made on them in both Councils. The disastrous state of the finances afforded too fair an opportunity for invective. Out of 100,000,000 francs already consumed in the public service for the year 1799, not more than 210,000,000 francs had been received by the treasury, and the arrears were coming in very slowly. Various new taxes were voted by the Councils, but it was apparent to every one that their collection, under the present system, was impossible. A still more engrossing topic was afforded by the discussions on the proposed alteration of the law on the liberty of the press and the popular societies, in order to take away from the Directory the arbitrary power with which they had been invested by the law of the 19th Fructidor. The democrats exclaimed that it was indispensable to electrify the public mind, that the country was in the same danger as in 1793, and that the same means must be taken to meet it; that every species of patriotism would speedily expire if the clubs were not re-opened, and unlimited freedom allowed to the press. Without joining in this democratic fervour, the Royalists and Constitutionalists concurred with them in holding that the Directory had made a bad use of the dictatorial power given to them by the revolution of 18th Fructidor, and that the restoration of the popular clubs had become indispensable. So general a concord among men of such dissimilar opinions on all other subjects, announced the speedy fall of the government (2).

The first measures of the conspirators were opened by a message of 30th Prairial. from the different commissions of the Councils, presented by Boulay de la Meurthe, in which they insisted upon being informed of the causes of the exterior and interior dangers which threatened the state, and the means of averting them which existed. The Directory, upon receiving this message, endeavoured to gain time, by promising to give an answer in detail, which required several days to prepare. But this was by no means what the revolutionists intended. After waiting a fortnight without receiving any answer, the Councils, on the recommendation of their committees of war, expenses, and finance, agreed to declare their sittings permanent, till an answer to the message was obtained, and the three committees were constituted into a single commission of eleven members, in other words, a provisional government. The Directory on their part also declared their sittings permanent, and every thing seemed to presage a fierce conflict. The commission dexterously availed themselves of the circumstance that Treillard, who for thirteen months had been in the Directory, had been appointed four days before the legal period, and instantly proposed that his nomination should

(1) Mign. ii. 442, 443. Tac. xiv. 353, 355. Th. x. 268, 274, and 310.
(2) Th. x. 313, 317. Mign. ii. 417. Tac. xiv. 355.

do annulled. Larevellière, who was gifted with great political firmness, to vain strove to induce Treillard to resist, he saw his danger, and resolved to yield to the storm. He accordingly sent in his resignation, and Gohier, a vehement republican, but a man of little political capacity, though an able

writer, was named by the Councils in his stead (1).

The victory was gained, because this change gave the Councils a majority in the Directory, but Larevellière was still firm in his refusal to resign. After exhausting every engine of flattery, threats, entreaties, and promises, Barras at length broke up the conference by declaring, "Well, then, it is all over, the sabres must be drawn"—"Wretch!" exclaimed Larevellière, "is it you that speak of sabres? There is nothing here but knives, and they are all directed against those virtuous citizens whom you wish to murder, because you cannot induce them to degrade themselves." But a single individual could not withstand the legislature; he yielded at length to the entreaty of a deputation from the Councils, and sent in his resignation during the night. His example was immediately followed by Merlin; and General Mounins and Roger Ducos were appointed as successors to the expelled Directors (2).

Thus, the government of the Directory was overturned in less than four years after its first establishment, and in twenty months after it had, by a violent stretch of illegal force, usurped dictatorial powers. The people of Paris took no part in this subversion of their rulers, which was effected by the force of the national assemblies illegally directed. Revolutionary fervour had exhausted itself, and an event which, six years before, would have convulsed France from one extremity to the other, passed over with hardly more agitation than a change of ministers in a constitutional monarchy (3).

The violent measures, however, which had dispossessed the government, were far from bringing to the helm of affairs any accession either of vigour or ability. The new Directory, composed, like the Councils, of men of opposite principles, was even less qualified than that which had preceded it to make head against the tempest, both without and within, which assailed the state. Scizey, the only man among them of a superior intellect, dreamed of nothing but a new political organization of society, and had none of the qualities fitted to struggle with the misfortunes of a sinking state. Roger Ducos, an old Girondist, was merely his creature, and had none of the qualities fitted to struggle with the misfortunes of a sinking state. Roger Ducos, an old Girondist, was merely his creature, and had none of the qualities fitted to struggle with the misfortunes of a sinking state.

armies, possessed none of the influence with the military so necessary to revive their former spirit. Barras was the only man capable of giving any effectual assistance to the administration; but he was so much under the influence of his passions and his vices, and had taken so many and such contradictory parts in the course of the Revolution, that no reliance could be placed on his assistance. After having been a violent Jacobin after the revolution of 31st May, a leading Thermidorien after the fall of Robespierre, a friend of the 18th Frimidor, and a vehement enemy of his

an infuriated republican, who, amidst the general wreck of its institutions, was dreaming only of the social compact and the means of averting a counter revolution. From the moment of their installation, their sentiments on most subjects were found to be so much at variance, that it was evident no cordial co-operation could be expected amongst them (1).

The first and most pressing necessity was to stem the torrent of disaster which had overwhelmed the armies of the Republic. Immediately after the change in the government, news arrived of the forcing of the lines of Zurich; and, before the consternation which it occasioned had subsided, it was followed by intelligence of the battle of the Trebbia, and the evacuation of the ridge of the Apennines. These disasters rendered it absolutely necessary to take some steps to restore the public confidence, and for this purpose a great change was made in the military commanders of the Republic. Championnet, who had been thrown into prison for evading the orders of the Directory regarding the pillage of the Neapolitan dominions, was liberated from his fetters, and received the command of an army which it was proposed to establish along the line of the higher Alps; Bernadotte, from whose activity great results were justly expected, was appointed minister at war; and, for a further, whose exploits in the Tyrol had gained for him a brilliant reputation, nominated to the command of the shattered army of Italy (2).

The overthrow of the government was the signal for the issuing of the Jacobins from their retreats, and the recommencement of revolutionary agitation, with all the perfidious schemes of democratic ambition. Every where the clubs were re-opened; the Jacobins took possession of the Riding-school hall, where the debates of the Constituent Assembly had been held, and began again to pour forth those impassioned declamations from which such streams of blood had already taken their rise. Taught by former disasters, however, they abstained from demanding any sanguinary proceedings, and confined themselves to a strenuous support of an agrarian law, and those measures for the division of property to which Babeuf had fallen a victim. The leading members of the Councils attended their meetings, and swelled the ardent multitudes who already crowded their assemblies (3), flattering themselves, even in the decrepitude of the revolutionary fervour, with the hopeless idea that they would succeed in directing the torrent.

But the times were no longer the same, and it was impossible in 1799 to revive the general enthusiasm which ten years before had intoxicated every head in France. The people had not forgotten the Reign of Terror, and the dreadful calamities which had followed the ascendant of the Jacobins; they received their promises without joy, without allusion, and listened with undisguised anxiety to the menaces which they dealt out to all who opposed their designs. Their apathy threw the Jacobins into despair; who were well aware that, without the aid of the populace, they would be unable to overturn what yet remained of the fabric of society. "We cannot twice," said the citizens, "go through the same fiery ordeal; the Jacobins have no longer the power of the assigns at their command; the illusion of the people has been dispelled by their sufferings; the army regards their rule with horror." The respectable citizens, worn out with convulsions, and apprehensive beyond every thing of a return to the yoke of the multitude, sighed for the restoration of a stable government, and were pre-

(1) Th. x. 331, 332. Lac. xiv. 358, 360, 361. Mém. i. 101. (2) Th. x. 333. Jom. Vie de Nap. i. 361. (3) Lac. xiv. 358. Mém. ii. 415.

increasing weakness of government, their activity again led them to insurrection. This fresh outbreak of the insurrection, was chiefly owing to the cruel and unnecessary persecutions which the Director Lareveillière-Lépeaux kept up against the priests; and it soon rose to the most formidable height. In March 1799, the spirit of Chouanisme, besides its native departments in Brittany, had spread to la Vendée, and the Republic beheld with dismay the fresh breaking out of that terrible volcano. Chollat, Montaigne, Herbiers, names immortalized in those wonderful wars, were again signalized by the successes of the Royalists; and the flame, spreading further than the early victories of the Vendéens, menaced la Touraine (1). Bonaux, afterwards conqueror of Algiers, a chief of great ability, revenged in Mans the bloody catastrophe of the Royalist army; and Gode de Châtillon, after a brilliant victory, entered in triumph into Nantes, which had six years before defeated the utmost efforts of the grand army under Cathelineau.

Nor did the financial measures of government inspire less dread than the external disasters and internal disorders which overwhelmed the country. The forced loan was levied with the last severity; and as all the fortunes of the Royalists had been extinguished in the former convulsions, it now fell on those classes who had been enriched by the Revolution, and thus spread an universal panic through its most opulent supporters. They now felt the severity of the confiscation which they had inflicted on others. The ascending scale, according to which it was levied, rendered it especially obnoxious. No fixed rule was adopted for the increase according to the fortune of the individual, but every thing was left to the tax-gatherers, who proceeded on secret and frequently false information. In these circumstances, the opulent found their whole income disappearing under a single exaction. The tax voted was 120,000,000 francs, or £.4,800,000; but in the exhausted state of the country, it was impossible to raise this sum, and specie, under the dread of arbitrary exactions, entirely disappeared from circulation. Its collection took three years, and then only realized three-fourths of its amount (2). The three per cents consolidated, that melancholy relic of former bankruptcy, had fallen to six *per cent* on the remnant of a third which the great confiscation of 1797 had left; little more than a sixth part of the former value of the stock at the commencement of the Revolution. The executive were more successful in their endeavours to recruit the military forces of the Republic. Under the able and vigorous management of Bernadotte, the conscription proceeded with great activity; and soon a hundred thousand young men were enrolled and disciplined at the depôts in the interior of the country. These conscripts were no sooner instructed in the rudiments of the military art, than they were marched off to the frontier, where they rendered essential service to the cause of national independence. It was the reinforcements thus obtained which enabled Massena to extricate the Republic from extreme peril at the battle of Zurich; and it was in their ranks that Napoleon, in the following year, found the greater part of those dauntless followers who scaled the barrier of the Great St.-Bernard, and descended like a thunderbolt on the plain of Marengo (3).

While the Republic, after ten years of convulsions, was fast relapsing into that state of disorder and weakness which is at once the consequence

(1) Tac. xiv. 366, 369, 369, Beauch. iii. 120, 319.
(2) Tac. xiv. 390, 400. Goh. i. 73, 75, 78.
(3) Goh. i. 90.

and punishment of revolutionary violence, the hall of the Jacobins resounded with furious declamations against all the members of the Directory, and the whole system which in every country has been considered as the basis of social union. The separation of property was, in an especial manner, the object of invective, and the agrarian law, which Babœuf had bequeathed to the last Democrats of the Revolution, universally excelled as the perfection of society. Felix Lepelletier, Arena, Drouet, and all the furious revolutionists of the age, were there assembled, and the whole atrocities of 1798 speedily held up for applause and imitation. They celebrated the manes of the victims shot on the plain of Grenelle, demanded in loud terms the instant punishment of all "the leeches who lived on the blood of the people," the general disarming of the Royalists, a *levy en masse*, the establishment of manufactures of arms on the public places, and the restoration of their cannon and pikes to the inhabitants of the faubourgs. These ardent feelings were roused into a perfect fury, when the news arrived of the battle of Novi, and the retreat of the army of Italy over the Alps. Talleyrand became in an especial manner, the object of attack. He was accused of having protected the expedition to Egypt, the cause of all the public disasters, although he was overwhelmed with invectives, and St. Just, the president of the Council of the Ancients, stigmatised as a perfidious priest, who was about to be in power all the patriotic resolutions of his earlier years. (1)

In these perilous circumstances, the Directory named Fœtout minister of police. This celebrated man, who under Napoleon came to play so important a part in the government of the empire, early gave indication of the great abilities and versatile character which enabled him so long to maintain his influence, not only with many different administrations, but under so many different governments. An old member of the Jacobin club, and thoroughly acquainted with all their designs, steeped in the atrocities of Lyon, a regicide and atheist, bound neither by affection nor principle to their cause, and seeking only in the shipwreck of parties to make his own fortune, he was eminently qualified to act as a spy upon his former friends, and to secure the ascendancy of the revolutionists was on the wane, and, having raised himself to eminence by their efforts. He perceived at this critical period that the ascendancy of the revolutionists was on the wane, and, having raised himself to eminence by their passions, he now resolved to attach himself to that conservative party who were striving to reconstruct the elements of society, and establish regular authority by their subversion. The people beheld with dismay the associate of Collet d'Herbois and a regicide member of the Convention, raised to the important station of head of the police, but they soon found that the massacres of Lyon were not to be renewed, and that the Jacobin enthusiasts, intrusted with the direction of affairs, was to exhibit, in combating the forces of anarchy, a vigorous and resolute uniformity in the former stages of the Revolution. His accession to the administration at this juncture was of great importance, for he soon succeeded in continuing the wavering ideas of Barras, and inducing him to exert all his strength in combating those principles of democracy which were again beginning to dissolve the social body. (2)

of the ancients, within whose precincts it was placed, prohibited any further assemblies in that situation. The Democrats, expelled from their old den, reassembled in a new place of meeting in the Rue du Bac, where their demonstrations were renewed with as much vehemence as ever. But public opinion had changed; the people were no longer disposed to rise in insurrection to support their ambitious projects. Fouché resolved to follow up his blow by closing their meetings altogether. The Directory were legally invested with the power of taking this decisive step, as the organization of the society was contrary to law; but there was a division of opinion among its members as to the expedience of adopting it, Moutins and Robier insisting that it was only by favouring the clubs, and reviving the revolutionary spirit of 1793, that the Republic could make head against its enemies. However, the majority, consisting of Stéyes, Barras, and Roger Ducos, persuaded by the arguments of Fouché, resolved upon the decisive step. The execution of the measure was postponed till after the anniversary of the 10th August; but it was then carried into effect without opposition, and the facobin club, which had spread such havoc through the world, at last and forever closed (1).

Deprived of their point of rendezvous, the Democrats had recourse to their usual engine, the press; and the journals immediately were filled with the most furious invectives against Stéyes, who was stigmatized as the author of the measure. This able, but speculative man, the author of the celebrated pamphlet, "What is the Tiers-Etat," which had so powerful an effect in promoting the Revolution in 1789, was now held up to public execration as a perfidious priest, who had sold the Republic to Prussia. In truth, he had long ago seen the pernicious tendency of the democratic dogmas with which he commenced in life, and never hesitated to declare openly that a strong government was indispensable to France, and that liberty was utterly incompatible with the successive tyranny of different parties, which had so long desolated the Republic. These opinions were sufficient to point him out as the victim of republican fury, and, aware of his danger, he was already beginning to look around for some military leader who might execute the *coup d'état*, which he foresaw was the only remaining chance of salvation to the country (2).

In the meanwhile, the state of the press required immediate attention; its license and excesses were utterly inconsistent with any stable or regular government. The only law by which it could be restrained, was one which declared that all attempts to subvert the Republic should be punished with death; a sanguinary regulation, the offspring of democratic apprehensions, the severity of which prevented it, in the present state of public feeling, from being carried into execution. In this extremely the three directors declared that they could no longer carry on the government, and France was on the point of being delivered over to utter anarchy when the Directory thought of the expedient of applying to the press the article of the constitution which gave the executive power the right to arrest all persons suspected of carrying on plots against the Republic. Nothing could be more forced than such an interpretation of this clause (3), which was obviously intended for a totally different purpose; but necessity and the well-known principle, *Salus Populi suprema Lex*, seemed to justify, on

Attack on
the journal
by the
Directory

(1) Th. x. 366, 367, Lac. xiv. 363 Mign. ii. 117. (2) Th. x. 368. Mign. ii. 116. (3) A. A. 117.

the ground afterwards taken by Charles I., a strict indispensable for the existence of regular government, and an *arbitrium*, was at length resolved on, which authorized the apprehension of the editors of eleven journals, and the immediate suppression of their publications (1). This bold step produced an immediate ebullition among the democrats, but it was confined to declamations and threats, without any hostile measures. The tribune resounded with "dictators, the fall of liberty," and all the other overflows of revolutionary zeal, but not a sword was drawn. The three resolute directors, continuing their advantages, succeeded in throwing out, by a majority of 245 to 171, a proposal of founding the country in danger, which was supported by the whole force of the Jacobin party, and soon afterwards venturing on the bold step of dismissing Bernadotte, the minister of war, whose attachment to democratical principles was well known. All thoughts were already turned towards a military chief capable of putting

had recently been killed at Novi, Moreau, notwithstanding his consummate military talents, was known not to possess the energy and moral resolution requisite for the task, Massena was famed only as a skilful soldier, while Augereau and Bernadotte had openly thrown themselves into the arms of the opposite party. In this emergency, all eyes were already turned towards the youthful hero who had hitherto obtained victory to his standards, and whose early campaigns, splendid as they were, had been almost thrown into the shade by the romantic marches of his Egyptian expedition. The Directory had already assembled an immense fleet in the Mediterranean to bring back the army from the shores of the Nile, but it had broken up without achieving any thing. But Lucien and Joseph Bonaparte had conveyed to Napoleon full intelligence of the disastrous state of the Republic, and it was by their advice that he resolved to leave the English cruisers and return to France. The public mind was already in that uncertain and agitated state which is the general precursor of some great political event, and the journals, a faithful mirror of its fluctuating changes, were filled with conjectures as to the future revolutions he was to achieve in the world (2).

In truth, it was high time that some military leader of command-ing talent should seize the helm, to save the sinking fortunes of the Republic. Never since the commencement of the war had its prospects been so gloomy, both from external disaster and internal oppression. A contemporary republican writer, of no common talent, has drawn the following graphic picture of the internal state of France at this period — "Moreau was generally persecuted, all men of honour chased from public situations, robbers every where assembled in their infernal caverns, the wicked in power, the apologists of the system of terror thundering in the tribune, spoliation re-established under the name of forced loans, assassination prepared, thousands of victims already designed, under the name of hostages, the signal for pillage, murder, and conflagration anxiously looked for, couched in the words, the country is in danger," the same cries, the same shouts were heard

(1) The 3rd Dec. 1793
(2) The 25th 27th 28th 29th 30th 31st Dec. 1793

in the clubs as in 1793; the same executioners, the same victims; liberty, property, could no longer be said to exist; the citizens had no security for their lives—the state for its finances. All Europe was in arms against us; America even had declared against our tyranny; our armies were routed, our conquests lost, the territory of the Republic menaced with invasion (1). Such was the situation of France before the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. And such is the picture of the ultimate effect of democratic convulsions, drawn by their own authors; such the miseries which compelled the nation, instead of the feeble sceptre of Louis, to receive the dreaded sword of Napoleon.

The despatches, containing the account of the expedition into Syria, and of the marvellous victories of Mont Thabor and Aboukir, arrived at this time, and spread far and wide the impression that the conqueror of Rivoli was the destined saviour of the state, for whom all classes were so anxiously looking. His name was in every mouth. Where is he? What will he do? What chance is there that he will avoid the English cruisers? were the questions universally asked. Such was the anxiety of the public mind on the subject, that rumour had twice outstripped the hopes of his friends, and announced his arrival; and when at length the telegraph gave the official intelligence that he had arrived at Frijus, the public transports knew no bounds (2).

When the people at Frijus heard that the conqueror of Egypt was on their coast, their enthusiasm broke through all the restraints of government. The laws of quarantine were in a moment forgotten. A multitude, intoxicated with joy and hope, seized the first boats, and rushed on board the vessels; Napoleon, amidst universal acclamations, landed and immediately set out for Paris. The telegraph, with the rapidity of the winds, announced his arrival, and the important intelligence speedily spread over the capital. The intoxication was universal, the joy unanimous. All wishes had been turned towards a hero who could restore peace to desolated France, and here he was, dropt from the clouds: a fortunate soldier presented himself, who had caused the French standards to float on the Capitol and the Pyramids; in whom all the world recognised both civil and military talents of the very highest order. His proclamations, his negotiations, his treaties, bore testimony to the first; his astonishing victories afforded irrefragable evidence of the second. So rare a combination might suggest alarm to the friends of liberty, were it not that his well-known principles and disinterestedness precluded the idea that he would employ the dictatorship to any other end than the public good and the termination of the misfortunes of the country. Discourses of this sort, in every mouth, threw the public into transports, so much the more entrancing as they succeeded a long period of disaster; the joyful intelligence was announced, amidst thunders of applause, at all the theatres; patriotic songs again sent forth their heart-stirring strains from the orchestra; and more than one enthusiast expired of joy at the advent of the hero who was to terminate the difficulties of the Republic (3).

The conqueror was greeted with the most enthusiastic reception on the whole way from Frijus to Paris. At Aix, Avignon, Vienna, and Lyon, the people came forth in crowds to meet him; his journey resembled a continual triumph. The few bells which the Revolution had left

(1) Prem. Ann. du Consulat de Bonaparte, 7.
(2) 1h. x. 429, 431. Mém. ii. 440.
(3) Jour. iii. 28, 29. 1h. x. 432. Nap. i. 56.
Dum ii. 332. 1h. x. 429. Jour. iii. 27.

in the churches were rung on his approach, his course at night marked by the bonfires on all the eminences. On the 16th October he arrived unexpectedly at Paris, his wife and brothers, making his route, had gone out to meet him by another road. Two hours after his arrival he waited on the staircase, the soldiers at the gate of the palace, who had served under him at Arcola, recognised his figure, and loud cries of *Vive Bonaparte!* announced to the government that the dreaded commander had arrived. He was received by Gohier, and it was arranged that he should be presented in public on the following day (1). His reception then was, to external appearance, dazzling, and splendid encumbrances were pronounced on the victories of the Pyramids, of Mont Thabor, and Aboukir, but mutual distrust prevailed on both sides, and a vague disquietude already pervaded the Directory at the appearance of the renowned conqueror, who at so critical a moment had presented himself in the capital.

Though convinced that the moment he had so long looked for had arrived, and resolved to seize the supreme authority, Napoleon landed in France without any fixed project for carrying his design into execution. The enthusiasm, however, with which he had been received in the course of his journey to Paris, and the intelligence which he there obtained of the state of the country, made him at once determine on the attempt. The circumstances of the time were singularly favourable for such a design. None of the Directory were possessed of any personal consideration except Surveys, and he had long revolved in his mind the project of substituting, for the weak and oppressive government which was now desolating France, the firm hand of a vigorous and able military leader. Even so far back as the revolt of the sections on the 13th Vendémiaire (10th Nov. 1793), he had testified his opinion of the weakness of his colleagues to Napoleon. At the most critical moment of the day, when the Committee of Government had lost their heads, Surveys approached Napoleon, and taking him into the embrace of a widow, said, "You see how it is, general, they are harrassing when the moment for action has arrived, large bodies are unfit for the lead of armies, they never know the value of time you can be of no use here. Go, general, take counsel only of your own genius, and the dangers of the country, the sole hope of the Republic is in you." These words were not lost on Napoleon, they pointed him out as the fit associate in his designs, and to these were soon added St. Talleyrand, who was too clear-sighted not to perceive that the only chance of safety was in the authority of a dictator, and who had also private grievances of his own to induce him to desire the overthrow of the government (2).

Indeed, so general was the impression at that period of the impossibility of continuing the government of France under the Republic-can form, that, previous to Napoleon's arrival, various projects had been not only set on foot, but were far advanced, for the restoration of monarchical authority. The brothers of Napoleon, Joseph and Lucien, were deeply implicated in these intrigues. The Abbé Sicé at one time thought of placing the Duke of Brunswick on the throne, Barras was not averse to the restoration of the Bourbons, and negotiations were on foot with Louis XVIII for that purpose (3). They had even gone so far, that the terms of the director

were fixed for playing the part of General Monk; twelve millions of livres were to have been his reward, besides two millions to divide among his associates (1). But in the midst of these intrigues, Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte were in a more effectual way advancing their brother's interests, by inducing the leaders of the army to co-operate in his elevation; they had already engaged Macdonald, Leclerc, Lefebvre, Angereau, and Jourdan, to favour his enterprise; but Moreau hung back, and all their efforts had failed in engaging Bernadotte, whose republican principles were proof against their seductions (2).

No sooner had Napoleon arrived at his unassuming dwelling in the Chantierne, than the whole generals who had been sounded, hastened to pay their court to him, and with them all who had been dismissed or conceived themselves ill-used by the Directory. His saloon soon resembled rather the court of a monarch than the rendezvous of the friends of any private individual, how eminent soever. Besides Lannes, Murat, and Berthier, who had shared his fortunes in Egypt, and were warmly attached to him, there were now assembled Jourdan, Angereau, Macdonald, Bonaparte, Leclerc, Lefebvre, and Marbot, who, notwithstanding their many differences of opinion on other subjects, had been induced, by the desperate state of the Republic, to concur in offering the military dictatorship to Napoleon; and although Moreau at first appeared undecided, he was at length won by the address of his great rival, who made the first advances, and affected to consult him on his future designs. In addition to this illustrious band of military chiefs, many of the most influential members of the legislature were also disposed to favour the enterprise. Moreover, the old leader in the municipality, Regnault St.-Angeley, long known and respected for his indomitable firmness in the most trying scenes of the Revolution, and a great number of the leading deputies in both Chambers, had paid their court to him on his arrival. Nor were official functionaries, and even the members of administration, awaiting. Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the two Directors who chiefly superintended the civil concerns, and Moutins, who was at the head of the military department of the Republic, Cambaceres, the minister of justice, Fouché, the head of the police, and Réal, a commissary in the department of the Seine, an active and intriguing partisan, were assiduous in their attendance. Eight days had hardly elapsed, and already the direction of government seemed to be insensibly gliding into his hands (3).

The ideas of these different persons, however, were far from being unanimous as to the course which should be adopted. The Republican generals offered Napoleon a military dictatorship, and agreed to support him with all their power, provided he would maintain the principles of the 'hiding-school Club. Sieyes, Talleyrand, Roger Ducos, and Regnier, proposed to place him simply at the head of affairs, and to change the constitution, which experience had proved to be so miserably defective; while the Directors Barras and Gohier vainly endeavoured to rid themselves of so dangerous a rival, by offering and anxiously pressing upon him the command of the armies (4).

In the midst of this flattering adulation, the conduct of Napoleon was influenced by that profound knowledge of human nature and thorough dissimulation, which formed such striking features of his character. Affecting to withdraw from the eager gaze of the multitude, he

function of the male-
entire of
all parties
to support
Napoleon.

(1) Capéguen, Hist. de la Restauration, i. 129.
(2) Gohier, i. 211, 212. Nap. i. 61, 65, 74. Th. x.
133. Nap. i. 66.
(3) Capéguen, Hist. de la Restauration, i. 129.
(4) Th. x. 132, 133, 437. Nap. iii. 61, 65. Goh. i. 219

action showed himself in public; and then only in the costume of the National Institute, or in a grey surcoat, with a Turkish sash suspended by a silk ribbon; a dress which, under seeming simplicity, revealed the secret pride of the Conqueror of the Pyramids. He postponed from day to day the numerous visits of distinguished individuals who sought the honour of being presented to him; and, when he went to the theatre, frequented only a concealed box, as if to avoid the tinders of applause which always attended his being recognised. When obliged to accept an invitation to a sumptuous repast, given in his honour by the ministers of justice, he requested that the leading lawyers might be invited; and selecting M. Tronchet, the eloquent defender of Louis XVI, conversed long with him and Treillard on the want of a simple code of criminal and civil jurisprudence which might be adapted to the intelligence of the age. To private dinners in his own house, he invited only the learned men of the Institute, and conversed with them entirely on scientific subjects; if he spoke on politics at all, it was only to express his profound regret at the misfortunes of France. In vain the directors exaggerated to him the successes of Masséna in Switzerland, and Brune in Holland; he appeared inconsolable for the loss of Italy, and seemed to consider every success of no moment till that gem was restored to the coronet of the Republic (1).

Napoleon's first attempt was to engage in his interest Gohier, the president of the Directory, and Mounin, who were both strongly attached to the Republican side; and, with this view, he not only paid them in private the greatest attention, but actually proposed to them that he should be taken into the government instead of Sieyès, though below the age of forty, which the constitution required for that elevated function. "Take care," said he, "of that cunning priest Sieyès, it is his connexion with Prussia, the very thing which should have excluded him from it, which has raised him to the Directory; unless you take care, he will sell you to the coalscold powers. It is absolutely necessary to get quit of him. It is true, I am below the legal age required by the constitution, but in the pursuit of forms we must not forget realities. Those who framed the constitution did not recollect that the maturity of judgment produced by the Revolution was often far more essential than the maturity of age which in many is much less material. Ambition has no share in these observations, they are dictated alone by the fears which so dangerous an election could not fail to inspire in all the friends of real freedom." Gohier and Mounin, however, agreed in thinking that the Republic had more to fear from the young

the true career which lay before him was the command of the armies (2). After in the meanwhile all Europe was resounding with the return of Napoleon, and speculation with its thousand tongues was every where bustled, in anticipating the changes which he was to effect in the face of France and of the world. "What will Bonaparte do? Is he to follow the footsteps of Cromwell, or Monk, or Washington? What change is he like-

(1) *Vap* 1 60 61 *Loc* xiv 401 *Th* x 421
 (2) *Goh* 1 205 210
 At it is period Sieyès's indignation at Napoleon's nomination as president, let us rather consult the hands of a man whose intentions are so suspicious far from giving him a fresh libel of glory, let us cease to occupy ourselves more about his counsels, and endeavour, if possible, to cause him to be forgot.—Gohier, 1 216.

who boasts, with a ridiculous exaggeration, of the great successes of the Republic, he spoke of the Russians here, and Genoa saved, of the innumerable armies which were about to be raised. He even reproached me with not having brought back my soldiers from Egypt — "What?" I answered, "you tell me that you are overflowing with troops, that two hundred thousand infantry, and forty thousand cavalry, will soon be on foot. If that is so, to what purpose should I have brought back the remains of my army?" He then changed his tone, and confessed that he thought us all lost. He spoke of external enemies, of internal enemies, and at that word he looked steadily in my face. I also gave him a glance, — but patience, the pear will soon be ripe." Soon after, Napoleon expressed himself with his wonted vehemence, against the agitation which reigned among the Jacobins, and of which the Riding-school hall was the centre. "Your own brothers," replied Bernadotte, "were its principal founders, and yet you accuse me of having favoured that club. It is to the instructions of some one, I know not who, that we are to ascribe the agitation that now prevails." At these words Napoleon could no longer contain himself. "True, general," he replied with the utmost vehemence, "and I would rather live in the woods than in a society which presents no security against violence." Their conversation only augmented the breach, and soon after they separated in sullen discontent (1).

Though a few of the military, however, held out, the great proportion of them were gained. Berthier, Lannes, and Murat, were

made the same request, his brothers, Lucien and Joseph, daily augmented his party in the Councils, the 8th and 9th regiments of dragoons, who had served under him in Italy, with the 21st chasseurs, who had been organized by him, were devoted to his service. Moreau said, "He did not wish to be engaged in any intrigues, but that, when the moment for action arrived, he would be found at his post (2)." The people of Paris, who awaited in anxious expectation the unfolding of the plot, could no longer conceal their impatience. "Fifteen days have elapsed," said they, "and nothing has been done (3). Is he to leave us, as he did on his return from Italy, and let the Republic perish in the agony of the factions who dispute its remains?" Every thing announced the approach of the decisive moment.

By the able and indefatigable efforts of Lucien Bonaparte, a banquet, at which he himself was president, was given at the Council of the Ancients, in honour of Napoleon. It passed off with sombre

(1) Pour 1795 51

(2) An interesting conversation took place between the two brothers, Lucien and Joseph, on the

small arms you have frequently defeated large ones — "Even then," rejoined he, "it was always the inferior force which was defeated by the superior. When with a small body of men I was in

tranquillity. Every one spoke in a whisper, anxiety was depicted on every face, a suppressed agitation was visible even in the midst of apparent quiet. His own countenance was disturbed; his absent and preoccupied air sufficiently indicated that some great project was at hand. He rose soon from table, and left the party, which, although gloomy, had answered the object in view, which was to bring together six hundred persons of various political principles, and thus engage them to act in unison in any common enterprise. It was on that night, that the arrangements for the conspiracy were finally made between Sièyes and Napoléon. It was agreed that the government should be overturned; that, instead of the five directors, three consuls should be appointed, charged with a dictatorial power which was to last for three months; that Napoléon, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos, should fill these exalted stations; and that the Council of the Ancients should pass a decree on the 18th Brumaire (9th Nov.), at seven in the morning, transferring the legislative body to St.-Cloud, and appointing Napoléon commander of the guard of the legislature, of the garrison at Paris, and the national guard. On the 19th, the decisive event was to take place (1).

Preparations of the conspirators in the Council of the Ancients.

During the three critical days which followed, the secret, though known to a great number of persons, was faithfully kept. The preparations, both civil and military, went on without interruption.

Orders were given to the regiments, both infantry and cavalry, which could be relied on, to parade in the streets of Chantierne and Mont-Blanc, at seven o'clock in the morning of the 18th. Moreau, Lefebvre, and all the generals, were summoned to attend at the same hour, with the forty adjutants of the national guard. Meanwhile the secret Council of the Ancients laboured, with shut doors and closed windows, to prepare the decree which was to pass at seven in the morning; and as it forbade all discussion, and the Council of Five Hundred were only summoned to meet at eleven, it was hoped the decree would pass at once, not only without any opposition, but before its opponents could be aware of its existence (2).

Efforts of Napoléon with all parties

Meanwhile Napoléon, in his secret intercourse with the different leaders, was indefatigable in his endeavours to disarm all opposition. Master of the most profound dissimulation, he declared himself, to the chiefs of the different parties, penetrated with the ideas which he was aware would be most acceptable to their minds. To one he protested that he certainly did desire to play the part of Washington, but only in conjunction with Sièyes: the proudest day of his life would be that when he retired from power; to another, that the part of Cromwell appeared to him ignoble, because it was that of an impostor. To the friends of Sièyes he professed himself impressed with the most profound respect for that mighty intellect before which the genius of Mirabeau had prostrated itself; that, for his own part, he could only head the armies, and leave to others the formation of the constitution. To all the Jacobins who approached him he spoke of the extinction of liberty, the tyranny of the Directory, and used terms which sufficiently recalled his famous proclamation which had given the first impulse to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor (3). In public he announced a review of the

(1) Bour. iii. 57, 59. Goh. i. 226. Nap. i. 73. Mign. ii. 450 Th. x. 452, 455.

(2) Th. x. 456, 457: Nap. i. 73, 75.

(3) Th. x. 457. Lac. xiv. 408, 409.

At a small dinner party, given by Napoléon at this time, where the Director Gohier was present, the conversation turned on the turquois used by the

Oriental to clasp their turbans. Rising from his chair, Napoléon took out of a private drawer two brooches, richly set with those jewels, one of which he gave to Gohier, the other to Desaix. "It is a little toy," said he, "which the Republicans may give and receive without impropriety." Soon after, the conversation

troops on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, after which he was to set off to take the command of the army on the frontier.

The 18th Brumaire Nov. 9 All the proposed arrangements were made with the utmost precision. By daybreak on the 18th Brumaire (8th Nov.), the boulevards were filled with a numerous and splendid cavalry, and all the officers in and around Paris repaired, in full dress, to the rue Chantereine. The Deputies of the Ancients, who were not in the secret, assembled, with surprise at the unwonted hour, in their place of meeting, and already the conspirators were there in sufficient strength to give them the majority. The president of the legislative body, a picture menaced

"is menaced at once by the anarchists, and the enemy, we must instantly take measures for the public safety. We may reckon on the support of General Bonaparte, it is under the shadow of his protecting arm that the Councils must deliberate on the measures required by the interests of the Republic." The uninstituted members were startled, and a considerable agitation prevailed in the assembly, but the majority were instant and pressing, and at eight o'clock the decree was passed, after a warm opposition, transferring the seat of the legislative body to St-Cloud, appointing them to meet there on the following day at noon, charging Napoleon with the execution of the decree, authorizing him to take all the measures necessary for its due performance, and appointing him to the command of the garrison of Paris, the national guard, the troops of the line in the military divisions in which it stood, and the guard of the two Councils. This extraordinary decree was ordered to be instantly placarded on all the walls of Paris, dispatched to all the authorities, and obeyed by all the citizens (1).

Meeting of the conspirators in the rue Chantereine Napoleon was in his own house in the rue Chantereine when the messenger of state arrived; his levee resembled rather the court of a powerful sovereign than the dwelling of a general about to undertake a perilous enterprise. No sooner was the decree received, than he opened the doors, and, advancing to the portico, read it aloud to the brilliant assemblage, and asked if he might rely on their support? They all answered with enthusiasm in the affirmative, putting their hands on their swords. He then addressed himself to Lefebvre, the governor of Paris, who had arrived in ill humour at

"Well, Lefebvre

let it perish in

sabre which I bore at the battle of the Pyramids, I give it you as a pledge of my esteem and confidence." The appeal was irresistible to a soldier's feelings. "Yes," replied Lefebvre, strongly moved, "let us throw the advocates into the river." Joseph Bonaparte had brought Bernadotte, but, upon seeing what was in agitation, he rapidly retired to warn the Jacobins of their danger. Fouché, at the first intelligence of what was going forward, had ordered the

prospect of an approaching pacification. Do you really," said Napoleon, "advocate a general peace? You are wrong present a Republic should never

of the army Napoleon in

barriers to be closed, and all the usual precautions taken which mark a period of public alarm, and hastened to the rue Chantierine to receive his orders; but Napoléon ordered them to be opened and the usual course of things to continue, as he marched with the nation and relied on its support. A quarter of an hour afterwards he mounted on horseback, and put himself at the head of his brilliant suite and fifteen hundred horsemen, and rode to the Tuileries. Names since immortalized in the rolls of fame were there assembled: Moreau and Macdonald, Berthier and Murat, Lannes, Marmont, and Lefebvre. The dragoons, assembled as they imagined for a review, joyfully followed in the rear of so splendid a *cortège*; while the people, rejoicing at the termination of the disastrous government of the Directory, saw in it the commencement of the vigour of military, instead of the feebleness of legal ascendant, and rent the air with their acclamations (1).

Napoléon's speech at the bar of the Ancients. The military chief presented himself at the bar of the Ancients, attended by that splendid staff. "Citizen-representatives," said he, "the Republic was about to perish when you saved it. Wo to those who shall attempt to oppose your decree! Aided by my brave companions in arms, I will speedily crush them to the earth. You are the collected wisdom of the nation; it is for you to point out the measures which may save it. I come, surrounded by all the generals, to offer you the support of their arms. I name Lefebvre my lieutenant: I will faithfully discharge the duty you have intrusted to me. Let none seek, in the past, examples to regulate the present; nothing in history has any resemblance to the close of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles this moment. *We are resolved to have a Republic*; we are resolved to have it founded on true liberty and a representative system. I swear it in my own name, and in that of my companions in arms."—"We swear it," replied the generals. A deputy attempted to speak: the president stopped him, upon the ground that all deliberation was interdicted till the Council met at St.-Cloud. The assembly immediately broke up; and Napoléon proceeded to the gardens of the Tuileries, where he passed in review the regiments of the garrison, addressing to each a few energetic words, in which he declared that he was about to introduce changes which would bring with them abundance and glory. The weather was beautiful; the confluence of spectators immense; their acclamations rent the skies; every thing announced the transition from anarchy to despotic power (2).

Proceedings of the Council of Five Hundred. While all was thus proceeding favourably at the Tuileries, the Council of Five Hundred, having received a confused account of the revolution which was in progress, tumultuously assembled in their hall. They were hardly met, when the message arrived from the Ancients, containing the decree removing them to St.-Cloud. No sooner was it read

(1) Lac. xiv. 413. Nap. i. 78. Th. x. 461, 462. Goh. i. 254.

(2) Th. x. 461, 463. Nap. i. 79. Lac. xiv. 413, 414.

During these events, the anxiety of all classes in Paris on the approaching revolution had risen to the highest pitch. A pamphlet, eagerly circulated at the doors of the Councils, contains a curious picture of the ideas of the moment, and the manner in which the most obvious approaching events are glossed over to those engaged in them. The dialogue ran as follows:—"One of the Five Hundred. Between ourselves, my friend, I am seriously alarmed at the part assigned to Bonaparte in this affair. His renown, his consideration, the just confidence of the

soldiers in his talents themselves, may give him the most formidable ascendant over the destinies of the Republic. Should he prove a Caesar, a Cromwell!"

—*The Ancient.* A Caesar, a Cromwell! Bad parts; stale parts; unworthy of a man of sense, not to say a man of property. Bonaparte has declared so himself on several occasions. 'It would be a sacrilegious treasure,' said he, on one occasion, 'to make any attempt on a representative government in this age of intelligence and liberty.' On another—'There is none but a fool who would attempt to make the Republic lose the gauntlet it has thrown down to the royalty of Europe, after having gone through so many perils to uphold it.' — *Bonaparte*, iii. 76, 77.

Lucien in vain endeavoured to restore his authority. After a long scene of confusion, one of the deputies proposed that the assembly should swear fidelity to the constitution; this proposal was instantly adopted, and the roll called for that purpose. This measure answered the double purpose of binding the Council to support its authority, and giving time for the Jacobin leaders to be sent for from the capital. In fact, during the two hours that the calling of the roll lasted, intelligence of the resistance of

dred, during this delay, hoped that they would have time to communicate

Imminent
danger of
Napoleon
who enters
the Hall of
the An-
cients

The danger was now imminent to that audacious general, the five hundred were so vehement in their opposition to him, that the whole members, including Lucien, were compelled to take the oath to the constitution; and in the Ancients, although his adherents had the majority, the contest raged with the utmost violence, and the strength of the minority was every instant increasing. The influential Jacobins were rapidly arriving from Paris, they looked on the matter as already decided

victim. Half an hour hence you will thank me for my advice." Notwithstanding this seeming confidence, however, Napoleon fully felt the danger of his situation. The influence of the legislature was sensibly felt on the troops, the boldest were beginning to hesitate, the zealous had already become timid (2) the timid had changed their colours. He saw that there was not a moment to lose, and he resolved to present himself, at the head of his staff, at the bar of the Ancients. "At that moment," said Napoleon, "I would have given two hundred millions to have had Ney by my side."

In this crisis Napoleon was strongly agitated. He never possessed the faculty of powerful extempore elocution, a peculiarity not unfrequently the accompaniment of the most profound and original thought, and on this occasion, from the vital interests at stake, and the vehement opposition with

His speech
there

me to explain myself, you have called me and my companions in arms to your aid * * * but you must now take a decided part. I

ready
made
loud
acclamations, but this appeal to the military, in the bosom of the legislature,

(1) Nap 1 87 Lac xiv 420 421 Th x 473
474 Goh 1 273, 276

(2) Th x 474 475 Lac xiv 423 424 Nap 1
87 88 Lac Cas vii 235

(3) Bour th 83 84 112 114

wrought up to a perfect fury the rage of the Opposition. One of their number, Linglet, rose, and said, in a loud voice, "General, we applaud your words; swear then obedience and fidelity to the Constitution, which can alone save the Republic." Napoléon hesitated; then replied with energy: "The Constitution does not exist; you yourselves violated it on the 10th Fructidor, when the government violated the independence of the legislature; you violated it on the 50th Prairial, when the legislative body overthrew the independence of the executive; you violated it on the 22d Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and legislature violated the sovereignty of the people by annulling the elections which they had made. Having subverted the constitution, new guarantees, a fresh compact, is required. I declare, that as soon as the dangers which have invested me with these extraordinary powers have passed away, I will lay them down. I desire only to be the arm which executes your commands. If you call on me to explain what are the perils which threaten our country, I have no hesitation in answering, that Barras and Moulins have proposed to me to place myself at the head of a faction, the object of which is to effect the overthrow of all the friends of freedom." The energy of this speech, the undoubted truths and audacious falsehoods which it contained, produced a great impression: three-fourths of the assembly arose and loudly testified their applause. His party, recovering their courage, spoke in his behalf, and he concluded with these significant words: "Surrounded by my brave companions in arms, I will second you. I call you to witness, brave grenadiers, whose bayonets I perceive, whom I have so often led to victory; I can bear witness to their courage; we will unite our efforts to save our country. And if any orator," added he, with a menacing voice, "paid by the enemy, should venture to propose to put me *hors la loi*, I shall instantly appeal to my companions in arms to exterminate him on the spot. Recollect that I march accompanied by the god of fortune and the god of war (1)."

He enters
the Hall of
the Five
Hundred.
Frightful
disorder
there.

Hardly was this harangue concluded, when intelligence arrived that in the Council of Five Hundred the calling of the roll had ceased; that Lucien could hardly maintain his ground against the vehemence of the Assembly, and that they were about to force him to put to the vote a proposal to declare his brother *hors la loi*. It was a similar proposal which had proved fatal to Robespierre: the cause of Napoléon seemed wellnigh desperate, for if it had been passed, there could be little doubt it would have been obeyed by the soldiers. In truth, they had gone so far as to declare, that the oath of 18th Brumaire should receive a place as distinguished in history as that of the *Jeu de Paume*, "the first of which created liberty, while the second consolidated it," and had decreed a message to the Directory to make them acquainted with their resolution. This decree was hardly passed, when a messenger arrived with a letter from Barras, containing his resignation of the office of Director, upon the ground, "that now the dangers of liberty were *all surmounted*, and the interests of the armies secured." This unlooked-for communication renewed their perplexity; for now it was evident that the executive itself was dissolved (2).

Napoléon, who clearly saw his danger, instantly took his resolution. Boldly advancing to the hall of the Five Hundred, whose shouts and cries already resounded to a distance, he entered alone, uncovered, and ordered

(1) Th. x. 477. Bour. iii. 85. Goh. i. 281, 288.

(2) Goh. i. 291, 293, 295.

the soldiers and officers of his suite to halt at the entrance. In his passage to the bar he had to pass one half of the benches. No sooner did he make his appearance, than half of the assembly rose up, exclaiming, "Death to the tyrant! down with the dictator!" The scene which ensued baffles all description. Hundreds of deputies rushed down from the benches, and surrounded the general, exclaiming, "your laurels are all withered; your glory is turned into infamy; is it for this you have conquered? respect the sanctuary of the laws; retire." Two grenadiers left at the door, alarmed by the danger of their general, rushed forward, sword in hand, seized him by the middle, and bore him, almost stupified, out of the hall; in the tumult one of them had his clothes torn. Nothing was to be heard but the cries, "No Cromwell! down with the dictator! death to the dictator (1)!"

Intrepid conduct of Lucien His removal increased rather than diminished the tumult of the assembly. Lucien alone, and unsupported in the president's chair, was left to make head against the tempest. All his efforts to justify his brother were in vain. "You would not hear him," he exclaimed. "Down with the tyrant! hors la loi with the tyrant!" resounded on all sides. With rare

him I renounce the chair, and hasten to the bar to defend the illustrious accused," and with these words, deposing his insignia of president, mounted the tribune. At that instant an officer, dispatched by Napoleon, with ten grenadiers, presented himself at the door. It was at first supposed that the troops had declared for the Council, and loud applause greeted their entrance. Taking advantage of the mistake, he approached the tribune and laid hold of Lucien, whispering at the same time in his ear, "By your brother's orders," while the grenadiers exclaimed, "Down with the assassins!" At these words a mournful silence succeeded to the cries of acclamation, and he was conducted without opposition out of the hall (2).

Dissolution of the Five Hundred by an armed force Meanwhile Napoleon had descended to the court, mounted on horseback, ordered the drums to beat the order to form circle, and thus addressed the soldiers—"I was about to point out the means of saving the country, and they answered me with strokes of the poniard. They desire to fulfil the wishes of the Allied sovereigns—what more could England do? Soldiers, can I rely on you?" Unanimous applause answered the appeal, and soon after the officer arrived, bringing out Lucien from the

of Five Hundred declares to you, that the immense majority of that body is enthralled by a factious band, armed with stilettos, who besiege the tribune, and interdict all freedom of deliberation! General, and you soldiers,

I let that name for ever attach to them, and if they wish to show themselves to the people, let all fingers point to them as the representatives of the poniard!"—"Soldiers," added Napoleon, "can I rely on you?" The soldiers,

however, appeared still to hesitate, when Lucien as a last resource, turned to his brother, and raising his sword in his hand, swore to plunge it in his breast if ever he belied the hopes of the Republicans, or made an attempt on the liberty of France. This last appeal was decisive. "Vive Bonaparte!" was the answer. He then ordered Murat and Leclerc to march a battalion into the Council, and dissolve the Assembly. "Charge bayonets," was the word given. They entered slowly in, and the officer in command notified to the Council the order to dissolve. Jourdan and several other deputies resisted, and began to address the soldiers on the enormity of their conduct. Hesitation was already visible in their ranks, when Leclerc entering with a fresh body, in close column, instantly ordered the drums to beat and the charge to sound. He exclaimed, "Grenadiers, forward!" and the soldiers slowly advancing, with fixed bayonets, speedily cleared the hall, the dismayed deputies throwing themselves from the windows, and rushing out at every aperture to avoid the shock (1).

Nocturnal
meeting of
the conspi-
rators in the
Orangery.
Their de-
crees

Intelligence of the violent dissolution of the Five Hundred was conveyed by the fugitives to the Ancients, who were thrown by this event into the utmost consternation. They had expected that that body would have yielded without violence, and were thunderstruck by the open use of bayonets on the occasion. Lucien immediately appeared at their bar, and made the same apology he had done to the troops for the *coup d'état* which had been employed, viz. that a factious minority had put an end to all freedom of deliberation by the use of poniards, which rendered the application of force indispensable: that nothing had been done contrary to forms; that he had himself authorized the employment of the military. The Council were satisfied, or feigned to be so, with this explanation; and at nine at night the remnant of the Five Hundred who were in the interests of Napoléon, five-and-thirty only in number, under the direction of Lucien, assembled in the Orangery, and voted a resolution, declaring that Bonaparte and the troops under his orders had deserved well of their country. "Representatives of the people," said that audacious partisan in his opening speech, "this ancient palace of the Kings of France, where we are now assembled, attests that *power is nothing*, and that *glory is every thing*." At eleven at night, a few members of the two Councils, not amounting in all to sixty persons, assembled, and unanimously passed a decree abolishing the Directory, expelling sixty-one members from the Councils as demagogues, adjourning the legislature for three months, and vesting the executive power in the mean time in Napoléon, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos, under the title of Provisional Consuls. Two Commissions of twenty-five members each, were appointed from each Council, to combine with the Consuls in the formation of a new constitution (2).

Joy in Paris
at these
events

During these two eventful days, the people of Paris, though deeply interested in the issue of the struggle, and trembling with anxiety lest the horrors of the Revolution should be renewed, remained perfectly tranquil. In the evening of the 19th, reports of the failure of the enterprise were generally spread, and diffused the most mortal disquietude; for all ranks, worn out with the agitation and sufferings of past convulsions, passionately longed for repose, and it was generally felt that it could be obtained only under the shadow of military authority. But at length the result was

(1) Nap. i. 93. Mign. ii. 458, 459. Th. v. 479. (2) Nap. i. 94, 95. Lac. xiv. 431. Journ. xii. 406, 408. Bour. iii. Goh. i. 314, 331.

communicated by the fugitive members of the Five Hundred, who arrived from St.-Cloud, loudly exclaiming against the military violence of which they had been the victims; and at nine at night the intelligence was officially announced by a proclamation of Napoleon, which was read by torchlight to the agitated groups (1).

General
satisfaction
which it

With the exception of the legislature, however, all parties declared for the revolution of 18th Brumaire. The violation of the

at any price, even the extinction of the very liberty to attain which all these misfortunes had been undergone. The feeling, accordingly, not only of Paris, but of France, was universal in favour of the new government. All parties hoped to see their peculiar tenets forwarded by the change. The Constitutionals trusted that rational freedom would at length be established; the Royalists rejoiced that the first step towards a regular government had been made, and secretly indulged the hope that Bonaparte would play the part of

of revisiting their country, and drawing their last breath in that France which was still so dear to them. Ten years had wrought a century of experience. The nation was as unanimous in 1799 to terminate the era of Revolution, as in 1789 it had been to commence it (2).

Clemency of
Napoleon
after his
victory

Napoleon rivalled Cæsar in the clemency with which he used his victory. No proscriptions or massacres, few arrests or imprisonments, followed the triumph of order over Revolution. On the contrary, numerous acts of mercy, as wise as they were magnanimous, illustrated the rise of the Consular throne. The law of hostages and the forced loan were abolished; the priests and persons proscribed by the revolution of 18th Fructidor permitted to return; the emigrants who had been shipwrecked

above a thousand witnesses, only five miles from

the most violent usurpations against a legislature recorded in history. When such falsehood was employed in matters occurring at St.-Cloud it

on the coast of France, and thrown into prison, where they had been confined for four years, were set at liberty. Measures of severity were at first put in force against the violent Republicans, but they were gradually relaxed, and finally abandoned. Thirty-seven of this obnoxious party were ordered to be transported to Guiana, and twenty-one to be put under the observation of the police; but the sentence of transportation was soon changed into one of *surveillance*, and even that was shortly abandoned. Nine thousand state prisoners, who languished at the fall of the Directory in the state prisons of France, received their liberty. Their numbers, two years before, had been sixty thousand. The elevation of Napoléon was not only unstained by blood, but not even a single captive long lamented the car of the victor. A signal triumph of the principles of humanity over those of cruelty, glorious alike to the actors and the age in which it occurred; and a memorable proof how much more durable the victories gained by moderation and wisdom are, than those achieved by violence, and stained by blood (1).

Formation
of a consti-
tution.

The revolution of the 18th Brumaire had established a provisional government, and overturned the Directory; but it still remained to form a permanent constitution. In the formation of it a rupture took place between Sièyes and Napoléon. The views of the former, long based on speculative opinions, and strongly tinged with republican ideas, were little likely to accord with those of the young conqueror, accustomed to rule every thing by his single determination; and whose sagacity had already discovered the impossibility of forming a stable government out of the institutions of the Revolution. He allowed Sièyes to mould, according to his pleasure, the legislature, which was to consist of a Senate, or Upper Chamber; a Legislative Body, without the power of debate; and a Tribune, which was to discuss the legislative measures with the Council of State: but opposed the most vigorous resistance to the plan which he brought forward for the executive, which was so absurd, that it is hardly possible to imagine how it could have been seriously proposed by a man of ability. The plan of this veteran constitution-maker, who had boasted to Talleyrand ten years before, that "politics was a science which he flattered himself he had brought to perfection (2)," was to have vested the executive in a single *Grand Elector*, who was to inhabit Versailles, with a salary of 600,000 francs a-year, and a guard of six thousand men, and represent the state to foreign powers. This singular magistrate was to be vested with no immediate authority; but his functions were to consist in the power of naming two consuls, who were to exercise all the powers of government, the one being charged with the interior, the finances, police, and public justice; the other the exterior, including war, marine, and foreign affairs. He was to have a council of state, to discuss with the legislature all public measures. He was to be irresponsible, but liable to removal at the pleasure of the Senate.—It was easy to perceive that, though he imagined he was acting on general principles, Sièyes in this project was governed by his own interests; that the situation of grand elector he destined for himself, and the military consulship for the conqueror of Arcola and Rivoli (3).

- Napoléon, who saw at once that this senseless project, besides presenting insurmountable difficulties in practice, would reduce him to a secondary part; exerted all his talents to combat the plan of Sièyes. "Can you sup-

(1) Nap. in Month. i. 178. Mign. ii. 463. Lac. (2) Dum. 64. *Ante*, i. 201.

xiv. 434, 440. (3) Jom. vii. 413, 415. Mign. ii. 464, 465.

pose," said he, "that any man of talent or consideration will submit to the degrading situation assigned to the grand elector? What man, disposing of the national force, would be base enough to submit to the discretion of a Senate, which, by a simple vote, could send him from Versailles to a second flut in Paris? Were I a grand elector, I would name as my Consul of the exterior Berthier, and for the interior some other person of the same stamp. I would prescribe to them their nominations of ministers, and the instant that they ceased to be my staff-officers I would overturn them." Sièyes replied, "that in that case the grand elector would be absorbed by the Senate." This phrase got

minds of the Parisians, it was the only form of government which interfered with the supreme power, which he had already established. It was the only form of government

of France. The laws of Napoleon were unalterably fixed, and in form at the same time. The government was in fact a First Consul, the two other Consuls were only counsels, but not to restrain him by their votes. The members of the Tribunal and Legislature were chosen by the nation those who were to be the members of the Tribunal and Legislature. Government alone was in fact the First Consul. The Legislative Body was interdicted to deliberate and decide upon the questions of the Tribunal, and the Council of State nominated by the First Consul understood to represent the interests of the people, the second part of the government. The Legislative Body was thus transformed from its essential character in a free state, that of a deliberative assembly, into a supreme court, which heard the state pleadings, and by its decision formed the law (2).

The people no longer were permitted to choose deputies for themselves, either in their primary assemblies or electoral colleges. They were allowed only to choose the persons eligible to these offices, and from the lists thus furnished, government made its election. The whole citizens first chose a tenth of their number in each arrondissement, who formed the electors of the commune. This body, composed of the electors, again chose out of the

(1) *Journal* xii 417 418 *Année* 11 141 143 *Mém.* (2) *Mém.* 11 464 465 *Const. Yt.* 1 *Rep.* 1 363 364 *Bignon* 1 27 28

list of eligible persons for the *department* a tenth, who were to form the departmental electors, and they again a tenth of their body, who formed the list out of which the legislature was to be chosen. The Senate, in the close of all, selected such as it chose out of the last list, thus trebly purified, to form the Legislative body. The senators being nominated by the First Consul, and holding their situations for life, the whole legislature was subjected to the control of the executive. Its duty was strictly conservative, to watch over the maintenance of the fundamental laws, and the purification of the other branches of the legislature. All public functionaries, civil and military including the whole judges, instead of being chosen, as heretofore, by the people, were appointed by the First Consul, who thus became the sole depository of influence. The lowest species of judges, called *juges-de-paix*, were alone left in the gift of the people (1). By means of the Senate, chosen from his creatures, he regulated the legislature, and possessed the sole initiative of laws; by the appointment to every office, he wielded the whole civil force of the state; by the command of the military, he overawed the discontented, and governed its external relations.

Outlines of the new constitution The departmental lists were the most singular part of the new constitution. Every person born and residing in France, above twenty-one, was a citizen, but the rights of citizenship were lost by bankruptcy, domestic service, crime, or foreign naturalization. But the *electors* were a much more limited body. "The citizens of each *arrondissement* chose by their suffrages those whom they deemed fit to conduct public affairs, amounting to not more than *a tenth* of the electors. The persons contained in this first list were alone eligible to official situations in the *arrondissement* from which they were chosen. The citizens embraced in this list chose a tenth of their number for each *department*, which formed the body alone eligible for departmental situations. The citizens chosen by the departmental electors again selected a tenth of their number, which formed the body alone capable of being elected for national situations (2)." The persons on the first list were only eligible to the inferior situations, such as *juges-de-paix*, a species of arbiters to reconcile differences and prevent lawsuits; those on the second were the class from whom might be selected the prefects, the departmental judges, tax-gatherers, and collectors; those on the third, who amounted only to *six thousand persons*, were alone eligible to public offices, as the Legislature, any of the Ministries of State, the Senate, the Council of State, the Tribunal of Cassation, the ambassadors at foreign courts. Thus, the whole offices of state were centred in six thousand persons, chosen by a triple election from the citizens. The lists were to be revised, and all the vacancies filled up every three years. These lists of notability, as Napoléon justly observed, formed a limited and exclusive nobility, differing from the old noblesse only in this, that it was elective, not hereditary; and it was, from the very first, subject to the objection, that it excluded from the field of competition many of the most appropriate persons to hold public situations. The influence of the people in the legislature was, by these successive elections, completely destroyed, and the whole power of the state, it was early foreseen, would centre in the First Consul (3). The changes introduced diffused, however, general satisfaction.

All the members of the legislature received pensions from government :

(1) Join. xii. 420, 421. Mign. ii. 464, 468, 469. Const. Tit. iv. Sect. 41. Bign. i. 27, 28.

(2) Const. Tit. i. sec. 78, 79.
(3) Nap. i. 139, 141.

that of the senators was 25,000 francs, or L.4000 a year; that of the Tribune, 15,000 francs, or L. 650 yearly; that of the Legislative Body, 10,000 fr. or L. 100 a-year. The Senate was composed of persons above forty years of age; the Legislative Body, above thirty. A senator remained in that high station for life, and was ineligible to any other situation (1).

On the 25th December, 1799, the new constitution was proclaimed; and the whole appointments were forthwith filled up, without waiting for the lists of the eligible, who were, according to its theory, to be chosen by the people. Two consuls, eighty senators, a hundred tribunes, three hundred legislators, were forthwith nominated, and proceeded to the exercise of all the functions of government. In the choice of persons to fill such a multitude of offices, ample means existed to reward the moderate and seduce the Republican party; and the consuls made a

estate of Grosne, afterwards changed into the Hotel de la Paix, and the democratic fervour of the author of the pamphlet—"What is the Tiers-Etat?" sunk into the interested apathy

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Such was the exhaustion of the French people, occasioned by revolutionary convulsions, that this constitution, destroying, as it did, all the objects for which the people had combated for ten years, was gladly adopted by an immense majority of the electors. It was approved of by 5,011,007 citizens; while that of 1793 had only obtained 1,801,918 suffrages, and that in 1795, which established the Directory, 1,057,590 (2). These numbers are highly instructive. They demonstrate, what so many other considerations conspire to indicate, that even the most vehement changes are brought about by a factions and energetic minority, and that it is often more the supineness than the numerical inferiority of the better class of citizens which subjects them to the tyranny of the lowest. In 1789, indeed, the great majority of all classes were carried away by the fever of innovation; but these transports were of short duration; and from the time that the sombre days of the Revolution began, their numerical superiority was at an end. It was the terrors and disunion of the class of proprietors, which, by leaving no power in the state, but the populace and their demagogues, delivered the nation over to the horrors of Jacobin slavery.

Such was the termination of the changes of the French Revolution; and such the government which the people brought upon themselves by their sins and their extravagance. On the 25d June, 1789, before one drop of blood had been shed or one estate confiscated, Louis offered the States-General a constitution containing all the elements of real freedom, with all the guarantees which experience has proved to be necessary for its duration; the security of property, the liberty of the press, personal freedom, equality of taxation, provincial assemblies, the voting of taxes by the States-General, and the vesting of the legislative power in the representatives of the three estates in their separate chambers (3). The popular representatives, seduced by the phantom of democratic ambition, refused the offer, usurped for themselves the whole powers of sovereignty, and with relentless rigour pursued their victory, till they had destroyed the clergy, the nobles, and the throne. France waded through an ocean of blood; calamities unheard of assailed every class, from the throne to the cottage; for ten long years the struggle continued, and at length it terminated in the establishment, by universal consent, of a government which swept away every remnant of freedom, and consigned the state to the tranquillity of military despotism (4).

(1) Mign. ii. 468, 469. Jom. xii. 422. 423. Nap. i. 113. Goh. ii. 6, 8.

(2) Mign. ii. 469.

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ment of boots and spurs, and neither Sieyès nor Roger Ducos was fit for that (2). Talleyrand was made minister of foreign affairs, and Fouché retained in that of the police, the illustrious La Place received the portfolio of the interior. By the latter appointments Napoleon hoped to calm the fears and satisfy the ambition of the Republican party. Sieyès was very adverse to the continuance of Fouché in office, but Napoleon was resolute. "We have arrived," said he, "at a new era; we must recollect in the past only the good, and forget the bad. Age, the habits of business, and experience,

(1) Const Tit II and III Nap I 264, 262

(2) Les Cah II 353

pointing to a bureau. Do you see that piece of furniture? You will not easily guess what it is worth. It contains 800,000 francs. Our new ma-

the 18th Brumaire has fallen to your lot while I shall probably have only his share in the attempt. What! exclaimed Napoleon, have not the consular commissioners passed a resolution that you have deserved well of your country? Tell me honestly what do you want? Sieyès, with a redoubled firmness replied, "Do you not think

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Reflections
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Had this been merely a temporary result, the friends of freedom might have found some consolation in the reflection, that the elements at least of ultimate liberty were laid, and that the passing storm had renovated, not destroyed, the face of society. But the evil went a great deal deeper. In their democratic fervour, the people had pulled down the bulwarks, not only of order, but of liberty, and when France emerged from the tempest, the classes were extinct whose combined and counteracting influence are necessary for its existence.

"The principle of the French Revolution," says Napoléon, "being the absolute equality of all classes, there resulted from it a total want of aristocracy. If a republic is difficult to construct on any durable basis without an order of nobles, much more so is a monarchy. To form a constitution in a country destitute of any species of aristocracy, is like attempting to navigate in a single element. The French Revolution has attempted a problem as insoluble as the direction of balloons (1)." "A monarchy," says Lord Bacon, "where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks, for nobility attempts sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal (2)." In these profound observations is to be found the secret of the subsequent experienced impossibility of constructing a durable free government in France, or preserving any thing like a balance between the different classes of society. The Revolution had left only the government, the army, and the people, no intermediate rank existed to counteract the influence of the former, or give durability to the exertions of the latter. Left to themselves, the people were no match in the long run for an executive wielding the whole military force of the kingdom, and disposing, in offices and appointments, of above £40,000,000 a-year. In moments of excitement, the democratic spirit may become powerful, and, by infecting the military, give a momentary triumph to the populace, but, with the cessation of the effervescence, the influence of government must return with redoubled force, and the people be again subjected to the yoke of servitude. Casual bursts of democratic passion cannot maintain a long contest in a corrupted age with the steady efforts of a regular government, and if they could, they would lead only to the transference of despotic power from one set of rulers to another. It is hard to say whether liberty has most to dread, in such circumstances, from its friends or its enemies.

Durable freedom is to be secured only by the steady, persevering efforts of an aristocracy, supported, when necessary, by the enthusiasm of the people, and hindered from running into excess by the vigour of the executive. In all ages of the world, and under all forms of government, it is in the equipoise of these powers that freedom has been formed, and from the destruction of one of them that the commencement of servitude is to be dated. The French Revolution, by totally destroying the whole class of the aristocracy, and preventing, by the abolition of primogeniture, its reconstruction, has rendered this balance impossible, and, instead of the elements of European freedom, left in society only the instruments and the victims of Asiatic despotism. It is as impossible to construct a durable free government with such materials, as it would be to form glass or gunpowder with two only of the three elements.

(1) Nap. I. 145. 146.

(2) Bacon. ii. 282.

of which they are composed; and the result has completely established the truth of these principles. The despotism of Napoléon was, till his fall, the most rigorous of any in Europe: and, although France enjoyed fifteen years of liberty under the Restoration, when the swords of Alexander and Wellington had righted the balance, and the recollection of subjugation had tamed for a time the aspirations of democracy; yet, with the rise of a new generation and the oblivion of former disaster, the scales were anew subverted, the constitutional monarchy was overturned, and from amidst the smoke of the Barricades, the awful figure of military power again emerged.

Disastrous
effects of the
irreligion of
France.

Grievous as has been the injury, however, to the cause of freedom which the ruin of the French aristocracy has occasioned, it is not so great or so irreparable as has resulted from the destruction of the Church, and consequent irreligion of the most energetic part of the population. This evil has spread to an unparalleled extent, and produced mischiefs of incalculable magnitude. If it be true, as the greatest of their philosophers has declared, that it was neither their numbers, nor their talent, nor their military spirit which gave the Romans the empire of the world, but the religious feeling which animated their people (1), it may be conceived what consequences must have resulted from the extinction of public worship over a whole country, and the education of a generation ignorant of the very elements of religious belief. It is the painful duty of the moralist, to trace the consequences of so shocking an act of national impiety, in the progressive dissolution of manners, the growth of selfishness, and the unrestrained career of passion, by which so large a portion of the French people have since been distinguished; but its effects upon public freedom, are, in a political point of view, equally important. Liberty is essentially based on the generous feelings of our nature; it requires often the sacrifice of private gratification for the public good; it can never subsist for any length of time without that heroic self-denial, which can only be founded on the promises and the belief of religion. We must not confound with this generous and elevated spirit the desire for licentiousness, which chafes against every control, whether human or divine; the one is the burst of vegetation in its infancy, and gives promise of the glories of summer and the riches of harvest; the other, the fermentation which precedes corruption. By destroying the Church, and educating a whole generation without any religious principles, France has given a blow to her freedom and her prosperity, from which she can never recover. The fervour of democracy, the extension of knowledge, will give but a transient support to liberty when deprived of that perennial supply which is derived from the sense of duty which religion inspires. "As Atheism," says Lord Bacon, "is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means of exalting itself above human frailty; and as it is in particular persons, so it is in nations." Passion will find as many objects of gratification under a despotism as a republic; seduction is as easy from private as public desires; pleasure is as alluring in the palace of opulence as in the forum of democracy. The transition is in general slow from patriotic principle or public spirit to private gratification, because they spring from the opposite motives to human conduct; but it is rapid, from rebellion against the restraints of virtue, to thralldom under the chains of vice, for the former

(1) Nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativogue sensu, Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate ac reli-

gione, atque hæc una sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, nationesque superavimus. —CICERO.

proceedings are characterised by moderation, and they are scrupulously attentive to justice and humanity in all their actions: then the people may safely follow in their steps, and anticipate blessings to themselves and their children from the measures they promote. But if the reverse of all this is the case; if the leaders who seek to rouse their passions are worthless or suspicious in private life, if they are tyrannical landlords, faithless husbands, negligent fathers; if they are sceptical or indifferent in religion, reckless or improvident in conduct, ruined or tottering in fortune; if they are selfish in their enjoyments, and callous and indifferent to the poor, if their liberty is a cloak for licentiousness, and their patriotism an excuse for ambition, if their actions are hasty and inconsiderate, and their measures calculated to do injustice or create suffering to individuals, on the plea of state necessity: then perdition; that on such a basis steps, the day of reckoning will come, and an awful retribution awaits them or their children.

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The final result of the irreligious efforts of the French people is singularly illustrative of the moral government to which human affairs are subject, and of the vanity of all attempts to check that spread of religion which has been decreed by Almighty power. When the Parisian philosophers beheld the universal diffusion of the spirit of scepticism which they had produced; when a nation

was seen abjuring every species of devotion, and a generation rising in the heart of Europe ignorant of the very elements of religious belief, the triumph of infidelity appeared complete, and the faithful trembled and mourned in silence at the melancholy prospects which were opening upon the world. Yet in this very spirit were preparing, by an unseen hand, the means of the ultimate triumph of civilized over barbaric belief, and of a greater spread of the Christian faith than had taken place since it was embraced by the tribes who overthrew the Roman empire. In the deadly strife of European ambition, the arms of civilisation acquired an irresistible preponderance, with its last convulsions the strength of Russia was immeasurably augmented, and that mighty power, which had been organized by the genius of Peter and matured by the ambition of Catharine, received its final developement from the invasion of Napoleon. The Crescent, long triumphant over the Cross, has now yielded to its ascendant, the barrier of the Caucasus and the Bosphorus have been burst by its champions; the ancient war-cry of Constantinople, "Victory to the Cross!" has, after an interval of four centuries, been heard on the Aegean Sea, and that lasting triumph, which all the enthusiasm of the Crusaders could not effect, has arisen from the energy infused into what was then an unknown tribe, by the infidel arms of their descendants. In such marvellous and unforeseen consequences, the historian finds ample grounds for consolation at the temporary triumph of wickedness, from the corruption of decaying, he turns to the energy of infant civilisation, while he laments the decline of the principles of prosperity in their present seats, he anticipates their resurrection in those where they were first cradled, and traces through all the vicissitudes of nations, the incessant operation of those general laws which provide, even amidst the decline of present greatness, for the final improvement and elevation of the species.

HISTORY OF EUROPE
FROM THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
IN M.DCC.LXXXIX.

TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS
IN M.DCCC.XV.

BY ARCHIBALD ALISON, F.R.S.E.

ADVOCATE.

"*Bellum maxime omnium memorabile quæ unquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter eo civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virtum aut roboris fuit et haud ignotis bellis artes inter se, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello, odii etiam prope majoribus certarunt quam viribus; et adeo varia belli fortuna, ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt.*"—*TIT. LIV lib 21*

VOL. IV.



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1841.

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FROM THE COMMENCEMENT

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FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR, TO THE BATTLE OF THE TREBBIA.

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Indecisive Action between Suwarrow and Moreau near Alexandria—Moreau at length retreats to the crest of the Apennines and Turin—Suwarrow surprises Turin—and the

Royalist Party there—Violation of the Capitulation by the Neapolitan Court—Nelson concurs in these iniquitous proceedings—Deplorable Fate of Prince Carraccioli on board Nelson's own ship—Reflections on these Unpardonable Atrocities—And on the Inferences to be drawn from the preceding Campaign

Revival of the spirit of Europe by the battle of the Nile THE cannon of Nelson, which destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir, re-echoed from one end of Europe to the other, and every where revived the spirit of resistance to their ambition. That great event not only destroyed the charm of Republican invincibility, but relieved the Allies of the dread arising from the military talents of Napoleon and his terrible Italian army, whom it seemed to sever for ever from the soil of Europe. The subjugation of Switzerland and the conquest of Italy were no longer looked upon with mere secret apprehension, they were the subject of loud and impassioned complaint over all Europe, and the allied sovereigns, upon this auspicious event, no longer hesitated to engage in open preparations for the resumption of hostilities (1).

Preparation of Austria Austria felt that the moment was approaching when she might regain her lost provinces, restore her fallen influence, and oppose a barrier to the revolutionary torrent which was overwhelming Italy. She had accordingly been indefatigable in her exertions to recruit and remodel her armies since the treaty of Leoben; and they were now, both in point of discipline, numbers, and equipment, on the most formidable footing. She had two hundred and forty thousand men, supported by an immense artillery, ready to take the field, all admirably equipped and in the finest order, and to these were to be added sixty thousand Russians, who were advancing under the renowned Suwarrow, flushed with the storming of Ismael and Warsaw, and anxious to measure their strength with the conquerors of southern Europe. The Emperor of Russia, though he had been somewhat tardy in following out the designs of his illustrious predecessor, had at length engaged warmly in the common cause; the outrage committed on the Order of Malta, which had chosen him for their protector, filled him with indignation, and he seemed desirous not only to send his armies to the support of the Germanic states, but to guarantee the integrity of their Confederation. Turkey had forgotten its ancient enmity to Russia, in animo-

sity against France for the unprovoked attack upon Egypt, and its fleets and armies threatened to enclose the conqueror of the Pyramids in the kingdom he had won. Thus, while the ambition of the Directory in Switzerland and Italy roused against them the hostility of the centre of Europe, their impolitic and perilous expedition to the shores of Africa arrayed against France the fury of Mussulman zeal and the weight of Russian power (1).

On the 18th December, 1798, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, for the purpose of putting a stop to the further encroachments of France. By this treaty, Russia engaged to furnish an auxiliary force of forty-five thousand men, to act in conjunction with the British forces in the north of Germany; and England, besides an immediate advance of £225,000, was to pay a monthly subsidy of £75,000. The Emperor Paul immediately entered, with all the vehemence of his character, into the prosecution of the war; he gave an asylum to Louis XVIII in the capital of Comland; behaved with munificence to the French emigrants who sought refuge in his dominions; accepted the office of Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Malta, and excited by every means in his power the spirit of resistance to the advances of republican ambition. All his efforts, however, failed in inducing the Prussian cabinet to swerve from the cautious policy it had adopted ever since the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the neutrality it had observed since the treaty of Basle (2). That power stood by in apparent indifference, and saw a desperate strife between the hostile powers, in which her own independence was at stake, when her army, now 220,000 strong, might have interfered with decisive effect in the struggle; and she was rewarded for her forbearance by the battle of Jena.

Great Britain made considerable exertions to improve the brilliant prospects thus unexpectedly opened to her view. Parliament met on the 20th November, 1798, and shortly after entered on the arduous duty of finance. To meet the increased expenses which the treaty with Russia, and the vigorous prosecution of the war in other countries, were likely to occasion, Mr. Pitt proposed a new tax, hitherto unknown in Great Britain, that on property. No income under £60 a-year was to pay any duty at all; those under £405 only a fortieth part, and above £200 a tenth. The total income of the nation was estimated at £142,000,000, including £20,000,000 as the rent of lands; and the estimated produce of the tax on this graduated scale was £7,500,000. This tax proceeded on the principle of raising as large a portion as possible of the supplies of the year by taxation within its limits, and compelling all persons to contribute, according to their ability, to the exigencies of the state; an admirable principle, if it could have been fully carried into effect, and which, if practicable and uniformly acted upon, would have prevented all the financial embarrassments consequent on the war. But this was very far indeed from being the case. The expenses incurred so far exceeded the income, even in that very year, that a supplementary budget was brought forward on June 6th, 1799, which very much augmented the annual charges (3).

The principle of making the supplies of the year as nearly as possible keep pace with its expenditure, is the true system of public as well as

(1) Arch. Ch. i. 40, 41, 47. Jom. xi. 96. Th. x. 146. Ann. Reg. 1799, 238.

(2) Hard. vii. 6, 7. Ann. Reg. 1799, 76, 78. Jom. xi. 9, 10.

(3) Ann. Reg. 1799, 176, 191. Parl. Hist. xxxi. 174.

Between the two budgets, loans were contracted to the amount of £15,000,000; and the total expenditure, including £13,653,000 for the army; £8,810,000 for the navy; and a subsidy of £825,000 to Russia; amounted, exclusive of the charges of the debt, to no less than £31.^c

Observe
tions on the
expenditure

private finance; which has suffered, in every country, from nothing so much as the convenient but ruinous plan of borrowing

landed proprietor, whose estate is worth thirty years' purchase of the rental at which he is rated; the fundholder, whose stock is worth twenty or twenty-five of the same annual payment; the merchant, whose profits one year may be swallowed up by losses the next season; the professional man, whose present income is not worth five years' purchase; the young annuitant, whose chance of life is as twenty, and the aged spinster, in whom it is not two, are all rated at the same annual sum. The tax, in consequence, falls with excessive and undue severity upon one class, and with unreasonable lightness upon others, it extinguishes the infant accumulations of capital, and puts an end to the savings of laborious industry; while it is comparatively unfelt by the great capitalist and the opulent landed proprietor. Unlike the indirect taxes, which are paid without being felt, or forgotten in the enjoyments of the objects on which they are laid, it brings the bitterness of taxation, in undisguised nakedness, to every individual, and produces, in consequence, a degree of discontent and exasperation which nothing but the excitement of continual warfare, or a sense of uncontrollable necessity,

high degree of discipline and efficiency, proved, through the whole remainder of the war, the best nursery for the troops of the line, and was inferior only in the quality and composition of its officers to the regular army (1)

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The forces with which France was to resist this formidable confederacy were by no means commensurate either to the ambition of the Directory, or the vast extent of territory that they had to defend. Both externally and internally the utmost discontent and dissatisfaction existed. The Republican armies, which in the outset divided so many states by the delusive promises of liberty and equality, had excited universal hatred by the exactions which they had made, and the stern tyranny to which they had every where subjected their new allies. Their most devoted adherents no longer attempted to palliate their conduct, from the frontier of the Jura to the extremity of Calabria, one universal cry had arisen against the selfish cupidity of the Directory, and the insatiable rapacity of its civil and military officers. The Swiss democrats, who had called in the French to re-

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cobinism reigned in its legislative assemblies, the authorities imposed on them by the French bayonets were in the highest degree unpopular; while in

(1) *Paris Hist.* xxxi. 231, 242. *James Naval Hist.* App. Vol. iii. *Ann. Reg.* 1799, 1803. App. to Chron.

Holland, the whole respectable class of citizens felt the utmost dissatisfaction at the violent changes made, both in their government and representative body, by their imperious allies. From the affiliated republics, therefore, no efficient support could be expected; while the French government, nevertheless, was charged with the burden of their defence. From the Texel to Calabria, their forces were expanded over an immense surface, in great, but still insufficient numbers; while the recent occupation of Switzerland had opened up a new theatre of warfare hitherto untrod by the Republican soldiers (1).

Some of the
troops
of France During the two years which had elapsed since the termination of hostilities, the military force of France had signally declined. Sickness and desertion had greatly diminished the ranks of the army; twelve thousand discharges had been granted to the soldiers, but more than ten times that number had deserted from their colours, and lived without disguise at their homes, in such numbers as rendered it neither prudent nor practicable to attempt the enforcing their return. Five-and-thirty thousand of the best troops were exiled under Napoléon on a distant shore, and though the addition of two hundred thousand conscripts had been ordered, the levy proceeded but slowly, and some months must yet elapse before they could be in a condition to take the field. The result of the whole was, that for the actual shock of war, from the Adige to the Maine, the Directory could only count on one hundred and seventy thousand men; the remainder of their great forces were buried in the Italian peninsula, or too far removed from the theatre of hostilities, to be able to take an active part in the approaching contest. The administration of the armies was on the most corrupted footing; the officers had become rapacious and insolent in the command of the conquered countries; and the civil agents either lived at free quarters on the inhabitants, or plundered without control the public money and stores which passed through their hands. Revolutionary energy had exhausted itself; regular and steady government was unknown, and the evils of a disordered rule and an abandoned administration were beginning to recoil on those who had produced them (2).

Their disposition
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ing war. The disposition of the Republican armies was as follows: Of one hundred and ten thousand men, who were stationed in Italy, thirty thousand under Macdonald, were lost in the Neapolitan dominions, and the remainder so dispersed over the extensive provinces of Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Roman states, that only fifty thousand could be collected to bear the weight of the contest on the Adige. Forty-two thousand, under General Jourdan, were destined to carry the war from the Upper Rhine, across the Black Forest, into the valley of the Danube. Masséna, at the head of forty-five thousand, was stationed in Switzerland, and intended to dislodge the Imperialists from the Tyrol and the upper valley of the Adige. Thirty thousand, under Bernadotte, were designed to form a corps of observation on the Lower Rhine from Dusseldorf to Mannheim; while Brune at the head of fifteen thousand French, and twenty thousand Dutch troops, was intrusted with the defence of the Batavian republic. The design of the Directory was to turn the position of the Imperialists on the Adige by getting possession of the mountains which enclosed the upper part of the stream, and then drive the enemy before them, with the united armies of Switzerland and Italy, across the mountains of Carinthia, while that of the Upper Rhine,

(1) Jom. xi. 58, 89. Th. ii. 161, 173, 174, 207, 208. Bot. iii. 94, 97.

(2) Th. x. 182, 206, 209. Jom. xi. 89, 94. Dum. i. 33. Arch. Ch. Campagne de 1799, i. 48, 51.

descending the course of the Danube, was to unite with them under the walls of Vienna (1).

The forces of the Austrians were both superior in point of number, better equipped, and stationed in more advantageous situations. Their armies were collected behind the Lech, in the Tyrol, and on the Adige. The first, under the command of the Archduke Charles, consisted of fifty-four thousand infantry and twenty-four thousand cavalry; in the Grisons and Tyrol, forty-four thousand infantry and two

dred horse, under the command of Prince de Saxe, under the command of the army and cav.

Maine, or Rhine. Thus two hundred and forty-six thousand men were concentrated between the Maine and the Po, and their centre rested on the mountains of Tyrol; a vast fortress, which had often afforded a sure refuge in case of disaster to the Imperial troops, and whose inhabitants were warmly attached to the House of Austria. Above fifty thousand Russians were expected (2); but they could not arrive in time to enter into operations either on the Danube or the Adige at the commencement of the campaign.

These dispositions on both sides were made on the principle that the possession of the mountains ensures that of the plains, and that the key to the Austrian monarchy was to be found in the Tyrol Alps; a great error, and which has been since abundantly refuted by the campaigns of Napoléon, and the reasoning of the Archduke Charles (3). The true avenue to Vienna is the valley of the Danube, it is there that a serious blow struck is at once decisive, and that the gates of the monarchy are laid open by a single great defeat on the frontier. It was not in the valley of the Inn, nor in the mountains of the Grisons, but on the heights of Ulm and the plains of Bavaria, that Napoléon prostrated the strength of Austria in 1805 and 1809; and of all the numerous defeats which that power had experienced, none was felt to be irretrievable but that of Hohenlinden, on the banks of the Iser, in 1800. There is no analogy between the descent of streams from the higher to the lower grounds, and the invasion of civilized armies from mountains to the adjacent plains. A ridge of glaciers is an admirable fountain for the perennial supply of rivers, but the

Ruinous effects of the invasion on Switzerland and Italy to the French military power

Nothing was so advantageous to them as the neutrality of that republic, because it covered the only defenceless frontier of the state, and gave them the advantage of carrying on the campaigns in Germany and Italy, for which the fortresses on the Rhine and in Piedmont

to be turned by a single reverse on the Aar or the St-Gotthard. The surface over which military operations were carried, was by this conquest immensely extended, without any proportionate addition either to the means of offensive

(1) Danu : 32 33 Jon xi 90 91 Arch th 50 51

(2) Arch Ch : 40 41 Dom : 33 Jon xi 95 96 Th x 220

(3) Archduke, I 117 162 Camp de 1796
(4) Dom x 226 and xi 96 Archduke, I 53
Guerre de 1799

or defensive warfare. The Tyrol was a great central fortress, in which the Imperialists had often found shelter in moments of disaster, but no such advantage could be hoped for by the Republicans from their possession of the hostile or discontented cantons of Switzerland; while no avenue to the heart of Austria was so difficult as that which lay through the midst of the brave and indomitable inhabitants of that almost inaccessible province (1).

Nor had the invasion of the Roman and Neapolitan states, and the banishment of Napoleon to the sands of Egypt, contributed less to weaken the formidable powers with which two years before he had shattered the Austrian monarchy. Now was seen the sagacity with which he had chosen the line of the Adige for tenacious defence, and the wisdom of the declaration, that if he had listened to the suggestions of the Directory, and advanced to Rome, he would have endangered the Republic. Though the forces in the Peninsula were above one hundred and ten thousand, and were soon increased by the arrival of conscripts to one hundred and thirty thousand men, the Republicans were never able to meet the Imperialists in equal force on the Adige; and Italy was lost, and the retreat of the army from Naples all but cut off, while yet an overwhelming force, if it could only have been assembled at the decisive point, existed in the Peninsula (2).

The French commence hostilities, March 1, 1799. Notwithstanding the deficient state of their military preparations, and the urgent representations of all their generals that the actual force under their command was greatly inferior to the amount which the Directory had led them to expect, the French government, led away by ill-founded audacity, resolved to commence hostilities. The Austrian cabinet having returned no answer to the peremptory note, in which the Directory required the sending back of the Russian troops, Jourdan received orders to cross the Rhine, which was immediately done at Kehl and Innungen, and the Republicans advanced in four columns towards the Black Forest. A few days after, Bernadotte, with ten thousand men, took possession of Mannheim, and advanced against Philipsburg, which refused to capitulate, notwithstanding an angry summons from the Republican general. Upon receiving this intelligence, the Archduke passed the Lech, and advanced in three columns towards Biberach, Waldsee, and Ravensberg, at the head of thirty-seven thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry; while Starry, with thirteen thousand men, was moved upon Neuwarekt, and six thousand men were thrown into the fortifications of Ulm (3).

Operations in the Grisons. March 5 and 6. While the hostile armies were thus approaching each other, in the space between the Rhine and the Danube, the contest had commenced, on the most extended scale, in the mountains of the Grisons. During the night of the 5th March, Masséna marched upon Sargantz, and having summoned the Austrian general, Aussenberg, to evacuate the district, his troops advanced at all points to cross the Rhine. The left wing, under OUDINOT, afterwards, Duke of Reggio, "a general," said Napoleon, "tried in a hundred battles," was destined to make a false attack on the post of Feldkirch, so as to hinder Hotze, who commanded at that important point, from sending any succour to the centre at Coire, and the right at Reichenau; the right wing, under Dumont, was destined to cross at that place, and turn the position of Coire by the upper part of the stream, while Masséna himself, in the centre, was to force the passage opposite to Luciensteg, and carry the intrenchments of that fort. Subordinate to these principal attacks, Loison, with

(1) Th. x. 217. Arch. Ch. i. 56.

(2) Jom. xi. 95, 96 Th. x. 218, 219, 226.

(3) Jom. xi. 95, 96.
i. 140.

a brigade, was directed to descend from the valley of Urseren upon Disentis, and support the attack of Dumont; while Lecourbe, who lay at Bellinzona, received orders to penetrate by Tisis, over the snowy summit of the Bernhardin and down the stupendous defile of the Via-mala, into the Engadine, and open up a communication with the Italian army on the Adige (1)

March 6. These attacks were almost all successful. The Rhine, yet charged with melting snows, was crossed under a murderous fire, after an obstinate resistance, the fort of Lutzensteg was carried by the intrepidity of the French chasseurs, who scaled an almost inaccessible height which commanded it, and eight hundred men, with five pieces of cannon, were made prisoners. Meanwhile Dumont, having forced the pass of Kunkel, and made himself master of the central point and important bridge of Reichenau, situated at the junction of the two branches of the Rhine, not only succeeded in maintaining himself there, but made prisoners an Austrian detachment which had resisted Loison at Disentis. The result of this movement was, that Aussenberg, who fell back slowly, contesting every inch of ground, towards Coire, found his retreat cut off up the Rhine and, being surrounded there by superior forces, he had no alternative but to lay down his arms, with two thousand men and ten pieces of cannon, while a battalion he had stationed at Embs underwent the same fate (2)

March 7. While these successes were gained on the centre and right, Oudinot advanced against Feldkirch. Hotze instantly collected his troops, and advanced to meet him, in order to preserve his communication with Aussenberg, but, after maintaining his ground for a whole day, he was at length driven back to the intrenchment of Feldkirch, with the loss of a thousand men and several pieces of cannon.

The Austrians are driven back with great loss into the Tyrol. At the same time, Lecourbe, having broken up from Bellinzona, crossed the Bernhardin, yet encumbered with snow, and arrived at Tisis by the terrible defile of the Via mala, where he divided his forces into two columns, one of which moved over the Julian Alps, towards the sources of the Inn, while the other, under Lecourbe in person, began to ascend the wild and rocky valley of the Albula. The intention of the Republicans was to have supported this irruption by Dessoles, who received orders to debouche from the Valteline into the valley of the Upper Adige, but the march of the latter column across the mountains having been retarded by unavoidable accidents, General Bellegarde, who commanded the Austrian forces in that quarter, made preparations, by occupying all the passes in the neighbourhood, to envelope the invaders (3)

March 14. Martinsbruck in consequence was assailed by Lecourbe without success, but although Laudon, in his turn, made an attack with his own troops, combined with its garrison, in all fourteen thousand men, upon the French forces, he was unable to gain any decisive advantage, and the Republicans, awaiting their reinforcements, suspended their operations for ten

March 24. days. At length Dessoles having come up, and other reinforcements arrived, Lecourbe commenced a general attack on Laudon's forces, leading his division against Martinsbruck, while Dessoles and Loison were directed to cross the mountains into the Munsterthal and cut off their retreat. To arrive at that valley it was necessary for the division of the former to cross the highest ridges in Europe, amidst ice and snow, which might have deterred the most intrepid chasseurs. With undaunted courage his soldiers

(1) Arch. Ch. x. 141. 142. Dum. x. 36, 37. Jom. x. 100. 101. Th. x. 230. 231.

(2) Jom. x. 101, 102. Dum. x. 38. 39. Arch. Ch. x. 53. 52.

(3) Arch. Ch. x. 93. Jom. x. 114.

ascended the glaciers of the Wurmser Joeh, which separates the sources of the Adda from one of those of the Adige. After having turned the fortifications on the summit, which the Imperialists occupied in perfect security, he descended by the wild and rocky bed of the torrent of Rambach, amidst frightful precipices, where a handful of men might have arrested an army, surprised the post of Taufers, which Laudon had fortified with care, and totally routed its garrison, after a desperate resistance, with the loss of four thousand prisoners and all its artillery. The situation of the Austrian general was now altogether desperate; for while Dessoles was achieving this decisive success, Loison had seized upon Nauders, and Lecourbe forced the post and passage of Martinsbruck, so that all the avenues by which his retreat could be effected were cut off, and he had no resource but to throw himself, with three hundred men, into the glaciers of Gebatch, from whence, after undergoing incredible hardships, he at length reached the valley of Venosta, and joined General Bellegarde, who was marching to his relief. After this glorious victory, achieved with forces hardly half the number of the vanquished, and which cannot be appreciated but by those who have traversed the rugged and inhospitable ridges among which it was effected, Dessoles advanced to Glurns (1); and the French found themselves masters of the upper extremity of the two great valleys of the Tyrol, the Inn and the Adige; but here their advance was arrested by General Bellegarde, who had collected nearly forty thousand men to oppose their progress, and the intelligence of events in other quarters, which restored victory to the Imperial standards.

But Masséna is defeated in repeated attacks on Feldkirch.

The intelligence of the first success in the Grisons reached Jourdan on the 11th, and induced him to move forward. On the 12th, he passed the Danube, and advanced in four marches to Pfullendorf and Mengen, between that river and the lake of Constance. Judging, however, that he was not in sufficient strength to attempt any thing until the post of Feldkirch was carried, he urged Masséna to renew his attacks in that quarter. That important town, situated on a rocky eminence in the middle of the valley, and supported by intrenchments extending from the river Ill, which bathed its feet, to inaccessible cliffs on either side, was repeatedly attacked by Oudinot, at the head of the French grenadiers, with the utmost impetuosity; but all his efforts recoiled before the steady courage of the Imperialists. Masséna, conceiving this post to be of the utmost importance, from its commanding the principal passage from the Vorarlberg into the Tyrol, united the whole division of Ménard to the troops of Oudinot, and advanced in person to the attack. But the great strength of the works, and the invincible tenacity of the Austrians, defeated all his efforts. In vain the French sought to establish themselves on the right of the position; the Tyrolese sharpshooters ascended the adjacent eminences, and assailed the Republicans with such a close and destructive fire, as rendered it impossible for them to maintain their ground (2); and Masséna, after beholding the flower of his army perish at the foot of the intrenchments, was obliged to draw off his forces, with the loss of three thousand men, to Luciensteg and Coire, while Oudinot recrossed the Rhine, and established himself at Reineck.

Jourdan, to compensate the inferiority of his force, had taken up a strong position between the lake of Constance and the Danube. Two torrents, the

(1) Dum. i. 54, 56. Jom. x. 114, 116. Arch. Ch. i. 98, 136.

(2) Jom. xi. 110, 113. i. 112, 118.

guard of Soult soon came in sight of the videttes of Meerfeld. He was soon attacked so vigorously by that general and St.-Cyr, that he was driven from Liptingen, and thrown back in confusion into the woods which lay along the road of Stockach. Speedily were they expelled from that stronghold; the infantry, in great disorder, retreated to Stockach, and the cavalry on the road towards Mœskirch. Meanwhile the two armies were engaged along the whole March 26. line. Souham in the centre repulsed the light troops of the enemy as far as Wahlweis and Orsingen on the Stockach, and menaced the plateau of Nellenberg, while Ferino was actively engaged on the right. A violent cannonade was heard along the whole front of the army; a decisive success had been gained on one point, the Austrian right was turned, the victory seemed already decided (1).

Battle of
Stockach.

No sooner, however, did the Archduke perceive the impression which the French had made on his right wing, than he set off at the gallop for that quarter of the field, followed by twelve squadrons of cuirassiers, after whom succeeded six battalions of grenadiers; while a powerful body of cavalry were stationed in the plateau of Nellenberg to protect the retreat of the army, in case of its becoming necessary to have recourse to that extremity. These dispositions, rapidly adopted at the decisive moment, changed the fortunes of the day, and their effect was increased by a faulty step of Jourdan, who, instead of supporting the menaced point with all his disposable force, sent orders to St.-Cyr to advance to Mœskirch, in the idea of cutting off the retreat of the Imperialists. A violent struggle now ensued in the woods of Liptingen, which Soult had gained in the first moment of success. The Archduke attacked them with fresh troops, the Republicans defended them with heroic valour; and one of the most furious combats that occurred in the whole war, took place, without intermission, for several hours. Three times the French advanced out of the wood to meet their enemies, and three times, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts, they were repulsed by the obstinate perseverance of the Germans. At length the Imperialists became the assailants; the Archduke charged in person at the head of the Hungarian grenadiers. Prince Furstemburg and Prince Anhalt Bemburg were killed while leading on their respective regiments, and the flower of the army on both sides perished under the terrible fire which overspread the field of battle. St.-Cyr, who felt that he had gained what, if properly supported, might have become a decisive success, long and obstinately maintained his ground; but at length, finding that the principal effort of the Austrians was directed against his wing, and that their reserves were coming into action, he ordered Soult to evacuate the wood, and retire into the plain of Liptingen. This perilous movement was performed by that able officer in presence of a victorious enemy, and when his rear-guard was almost enveloped by their cuirassiers, with admirable steadiness; but, when they reached the open country, they were charged by Kollowrath, at the head of the six battalions of grenadiers and twelve squadrons of cuirassiers, which the Archduke had brought up from the reserve. This effort proved decisive. In vain Jourdan charged the Austrian cavalry with the French horse; they were broken and driven back in disorder by the superior weight and energy of the cuirassiers, and the general-in-chief narrowly escaped being made prisoner in the flight. This overthrow constrained the infantry to a disastrous retreat, during which two regiments were enveloped and made prisoners; and St.-Cyr, who was now entirely cut off from the centre of his army, alone escaped total destruc-

tion by throwing himself across the Danube, the sole bridge over which he was fortunate enough to find unoccupied by the enemy (1).

Defeat of the French Thus great success, and the consequent separation of St.-Cyr from the remainder of the army, was decisive of the victory. Souham and Ferino, with the centre and right, had maintained their position, not-

maintain their ground against the victorious troops of the Archduke. Although, therefore, the French had bravely withstood the superior forces of the enemy, and the loss on both sides was nearly equal, amounting to about five thousand men to each party, yet, by the separation of their left wing, they had sustained all the consequences of a serious defeat, and it

Retreat of the French across the Rhine Jourdan was so much disconcerted with the result of this action, that, after reaching the defiles of that forest, he surrendered the command of the army to Ernouf, the chief of the staff, and set out for Paris, to lay in person his complaints as to the state of the troops before the Directory (3).

never again occurred to them till the battle of Leipzig. The Archduke clearly perceived that there was the important point of the campaign, and had he been the unfettered master of his actions, he would, in all probability, have constrained the French army to a retreat as disastrous as that from Wurtzburg in 1796, but the Aulic Council, influenced by the erroneous idea that the key to ultimate success was to be found in the Alps, forbade him to advance towards the Rhine till Switzerland was cleared of the enemy. He was compelled, in consequence, to put his army into cantonments between Engen and Wäblweis, while the Republicans leisurely effected their retreat through

April 6 the Black Forest, by the valley of Kintzig and that of Heli, to the Rhine, which stream they crossed at Old Brisach and Kehl a few days after, leaving only posts of observation on the right bank. This retreat compelled

April 7 Bernadotte, who, with his little army of eight thousand men, had already commenced the siege of Philipsburg, to abandon his works with precipitation, and regain the left bank (4); so that, in a month after the campaign had been commenced with so much presumption and so little consideration by the Directory, their armies on the German frontier were every where reduced to the defence of their own territory.

The bad success of their armies at the opening of this campaign, to which

to the people much of the enthusiasm and vigour of 1793 (5). This was the massacre of the French plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Rastadt.

(1) St Cyr, i. 139 150 Th x 236 240 Join x 131, 134 Dum x 50 52 Arch Ch x 190, 198

(2) Arch Ch i 198 202 Join xi 136 137 Th x 241 St Cyr, i 150, 156 Dum i 51

(3) Th x. 241, 242 Join xi 135 139 St Cyr x 160 167

(4) Arch Ch i 211, 213 Join xi 139, 140 Th x 242

(5) Join x. 141.

Congress of Rastadt is still sitting. Though at war with Austria, France was yet at peace with the German empire, and the Congress at Rastadt was still continuing, under the safeguard of neutrality, its interminable labours. When the victory of Stockach had placed that city in the power of the Imperialists, the Cabinet of Vienna ordered the Count Lehibach, their minister plenipotentiary, to endeavour to obtain intelligence of the extent to which the princes of the empire had made secret advances to the Directory. The Count conceived the most effectual way would be to seize the papers of the French embassy at the moment of their leaving the city, and for this purpose he solicited and obtained from his court authority to require an armed force from the Archduke Charles. That gallant officer refused, in the first instance, to comply with the request, alleging that his soldiers had nothing to do with the concerns of diplomacy; but fresh orders from Vienna obliged him to submit, and a detachment of the hussars of Szeckler was in consequence placed at the disposal of the Imperial plenipotentiary (1).

Its dissolution. Towards the end of April, the communications of the ministers at Rastadt having been interrupted by the Austrian patrols, the Republicans addressed an energetic note on the subject to the Austrian authorities, and the remonstrance having been disregarded, the Congress declared itself dissolved. The departure of the diplomatic body was fixed for the 28th April, but the Austrian colonel gave them orders to set out on the 19th, as the town was to be occupied on the following day by the Imperial troops, and refused to grant the escort which they demanded, upon the plea that it was wholly unnecessary. The French plenipotentiaries in consequence, Jean Debry, Bonnier, and Roberjot, set out on the same evening for Strasburg, but they had scarcely left the gates of Rastadt when they were attacked by some drunken hussars of the regiment of Szeckler, who seized them, dragged them out of their carriages, slew Bonnier and Roberjot, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the wife of Assassination of the French plenipotentiaries. Jean Debry, who was attacked by some drunken hussars of the regiment of Szeckler, who seized them, dragged them out of their carriages, slew Bonnier and Roberjot, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the wife of April 19. Jean Debry, who was attacked by some drunken hussars of the regiment of Szeckler, who seized them, dragged them out of their carriages, slew Bonnier and Roberjot, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the wife of the latter to save her husband, and struck down Jean Debry, by sabre blows, into a ditch, where he escaped destruction only by having the presence of mind to feign that he was already dead. The assassins seized and carried off the papers of the legation, but committed no other spoliation; and leaving two of their victims lifeless, and one desperately wounded, on the ground, disappeared in the obscurity of the night. Jean Debry, whose wounds were not mortal, contrived to make his way, after their departure, into Rastadt, and presented himself, bleeding and exhausted, at the hotel of M. Goertz, the Prussian envoy (2).

General horror which it excites in France, and throughout Europe. This atrocious violation of the law of nations excited the utmost indignation and horror throughout Europe. The honour of the Germans felt itself seriously wounded by the calamitous event, and the members of the deputation who remained at the Congress unanimously signed a declaration expressive of detestation at its authors. It is, perhaps, the strongest proof of the high character and unstained honour of the Emperor Francis and the Archduke Charles, that although the crime was committed by persons in the Austrian uniform, and the hussars of Szeckler had been detached from the army of the Archduke to the environs of Rastadt, no suspicion fell upon either of these exalted persons as having been accessory to the nefarious proceeding. That it was committed for political purposes, and not by common robbers; is evident from their having

(1) Jom. xi. 142. Lac. xiv. 318. Th. x. 255.

(2) Harl. vii. 236, 238. Jom. xi. 142, 143. Lac. xiv. 318, 328. Th. x. 256, 275. Procès-Verbal des

Ministres Plénipotent, à Rastadt, Lac. xiv. 435. Arch. Ch. i. 221.

unauthorized excess by drunken or brutal soldiers of a duty committed to them by their government, requiring more than ordinary discretion and forbearance. But though Austria has escaped the imputation of having been accessory to the guilt of murder, she cannot escape from the disgrace of having been remotely the cause of its perpetration; of having authorized an attack upon the sacred persons of ambassadors, which, though not intended to have been followed by assassination, was at best a violation of the law of nations.

it is deserving of the severest reprobation, and, like all other unjustifiable actions, its consequences speedily recoiled upon the head of its authors. The military spirit of the French, languid since the commencement of hostilities, was immediately roused to the highest pitch by this outrage upon their am-

of the campaign

While an implacable war was thus breaking out to the north of the Alps, reverses of a most serious character attended the first commencement of hostilities in the Italian plains. The approach of the Russians, under Suwarrow, who, it was expected, would reach the Adige by the middle of April, rendered it an object of the last importance for the Republicans to force their opponents from the important line formed by that stream before the arrival of so powerful a reinforcement; but by the senseless dispersion of their vast armies through the whole peninsula, they were unable to collect a sufficient force in the plains of the Mincio, in the commencement of the campaign, to effect that object. The total force commanded by Schierer on the Adige was now raised, by the arrival of conscripts, to fifty-seven thousand men; Macdonald was at the head of thirty-four thousand at Rome and Naples, ten thousand were in the Cisalpine republic, the like number in Piedmont, five thousand in Liguria; but these latter forces were too far removed to be able to render any assistance at the decisive point, while, on the other hand, the Imperial forces consisted of fifty-eight thousand combatants, including six thousand cavalry, cantoned between the Tagliamento and the Adige, besides a reserve of twenty thousand infantry and five thousand horse in Carinthia and Croatia. Their field-artillery amounted to 180 pieces, the park of the army to 170 more, and a heavy train of eighty battering guns, admirably provided with horses and ammunition, was ready at Palma Nuova, for the siege of any of the fortresses that might be attacked. This summary is sufficient to demonstrate the erroneous principles on which the Directory proceeded in their plan of

(1) Nap. in North vi. 40

(2) The Queen of Naples was the real instigator of this atrocious act though the catastrophe in which it terminated was as little intended by her as the single hearted general who detached from his

army the hussars by whom it was committed—
D'ARANTES II. 304

(3) Th. x. 257 250 Jour. xi. 143, 144 Lac. xiv. 221 Hard. vii. 244, 245

the campaign, and their total oblivion of the lessons taught by Napoléon as to the importance of the line of the Adige to the fate of the Peninsula; while the Imperialists were collecting all their force for a decisive blow in that quarter, half the French troops lay inactive and scattered along the whole extent of its surface, from Piedmont to Calabria (1).

The Austrians had, with great foresight, strengthened their position on the Adige during the cessation of hostilities. Legnago, commanding a bridge over that river, had become a formidable fortress; the castles of Verona were amply supplied with the means of defence; a bridge of boats at Polo enabled them to communicate with the intrenched camp of Pastrengo, on the eastern slope of the Montebaldo; Venice, placed beyond the reach of attack, contained their great magazines and reserves of artillery stores; all the avenues by which it could be approached were carefully fortified; a flotilla of forty boats, carrying three hundred pieces of cannon (2), was prepared, either to defend the Lagunæ of that capital, or carry the supplies of the army up the Po; while bridges, established over the Piave and the Tagliamento, secured the communication of the army in the field with the reserves by which it was to be supported.

Schérer had obtained the command of the French army; an officer who had served with distinction in the Pyrenees and the Alps during the campaign of 1795, but being unknown to the Italian army, he possessed the confidence neither of the officers nor soldiers; while Moreau, the glorious commander of the retreat through the Black Forest in 1796, occupied the unworthy situation of inspector of infantry. On the side of the Austrians, Melas had obtained, upon the death of the Prince of Orange, the supreme command; an officer of considerable experience and ability, but whose age, above seventy years, rendered him little competent to cope with the enterprising generals of the Republic. Until his arrival, however, the troops were under the orders of General Kray, a Hungarian by birth, and one of the most distinguished officers of the empire. Active, intrepid, and indefatigable; gifted with a cool head and an admirable *coup-d'œil* in danger, he was one of the most illustrious generals of the Imperial army, and, after the Archduke Charles, has left the most brilliant reputation in its military archives of the last century (3).

The plan of the Directory was for Schérer to pass the Adige, near Verona, drive the Austrians over the Piave and the Brenta, while the right wing of Masséna's army, commanded by Lecourbe, was to form a junction with a corps detached from the Italian army into the Valteline, and fall, by Brixen and Botzen, on the right flank of the Imperial army. But at the very time that they meditated these extensive operations, they detached General Gauthier, with five thousand men, to occupy Tuscany; a conquest which was indeed easily effected, but was as unjustifiable as it was inexpedient, both by weakening the effective force on the Adige, and affording an additional example of that insatiable desire for conquest which the allied powers so loudly complained of in the Republican government. Meanwhile Schérer, having collected his forces, established himself on the right bank of the Adige, opposite to the Austrian army, the right at Sanguinetto, the left at Peschiera; and immediately made preparations for crossing the river. At the same time Kray threw eight thousand men into the intrenched camp of Pastrengo, under Generals Gottesheim and Elnitz, while the divisions

(1) Jom. xi. 147, 148. Dum. i. 58. Th. x. 243, 244. St.-Cyr, i. 172, 173. Arch. Cl., i. 225.

(2) Jom. xi. 149. St.-Cyr, i. 173, 175.
(3) Jom. xi. 149, 153.

March 25 Kaim and Hohenzollern, twenty thousand strong, were established around Verona, with detachments at Arcola, Frœlich and Mercantin, with an equal force, were encamped near Bevilacqua, and Klenau, with four thousand, was stationed near Acqua, and the reserves, under Ott and Zoph, received orders to draw near to the Brenta (1)

First military movements of both parties The French general having been led to imagine that the bulk of the Austrian forces were encamped at Pastrengo, between Verona and the lake of Guarda, resolved to make his principal effort in that quarter. With this view, the three divisions of the left wing, commanded by Serrurier, Delmas, and Grenier, were moved in that direction, while Moreau, with the divisions of Hatry and Victor, received orders to make a false attack near Verona, and, on the extreme right, Montrichard was to advance against Legnago. Kray, on his part, being led to believe that their principal force was directed against Verona, repaired in haste to Bevilacqua, where he concerted with Klenau an attack on the right flank of the Republicans. Thus both parties, mutually deceived as to each other's designs, manœuvred as if their object had been reciprocally to avoid each other, the bulk of the Austrian forces being directed against the French right, and the principal part of the Republicans against the Imperial left (3)

At three in the morning of the 26th March, the whole French left wing was in motion, while the flotilla on the lake of Guarda set sail during the night to second their operations. In this quarter they met with brilliant success, the redoubts and intrenchments of Pastrengo were carried, Ruvoli fell into their hands, and the garrison of the intrenched camp, crossing in haste the bridge of Polo, left fifteen hundred prisoners and twelve pieces of cannon in the

March 26 hands of the Republicans. The action did not begin in the centre till near ten o'clock, but it soon became there also extremely warm. The villages in front of Verona were obstinately contested, but after a desperate resistance, the Republicans pressed forward, and nearly reached the walls of Verona. At this sight, Kaim, who was apprehensive of being attacked in the town, made a general attack on the front and flanks of the assailants with fresh forces, but, although the village of San Massimo, taken and retaken seven times during the day, finally remained in the possession of the Austrians till night separated the combatants, they sensibly lost ground, upon the whole, in that quarter, and the post of Saint Lucie, also the theatre of obstinate contest, was carried by the Republicans. But, while fortune favoured their arms on the left, and divided her favours in the centre, the right was overwhelmed by a superior force, conducted by Kray in person. General Montrichard advanced to that quarter to Legnago, and had already commenced a cannonade on the place, when Frœlich debouched in three columns, and commenced a furious attack along the dikes which led to the French column, while the division of Mercantin advanced as a reserve. The Republicans were speedily routed, attacked at once in front and both flanks, they lost all their artillery, and were driven with great loss behind Torre on the road to Mantua (5)

First success of the French on the Adige The loss of the French in this battle amounted to four thousand men, while that of the Imperialists was nearly seven thousand, but nevertheless, as the success on the left and centre was in some degree balanced by the disaster on the right, they were unable to derive any decisive advantage from this large difference in their favour. The capture of the

Leads to no decisive result The loss of the French in this battle amounted to four thousand men, while that of the Imperialists was nearly seven thousand, but nevertheless, as the success on the left and centre was in some degree balanced by the disaster on the right, they were unable to derive any decisive advantage from this large difference in their favour. The capture of the

(1) Jom x 153 156 Dum i 58 Th x 245 (3) Jom xi 166 170 Th x 247 Dum i 59
 Not i i 216 217 Arch Ch i 226 60 St Cyr i 177 179 Arch Ch i 226
 (2) Th x 246 Jom 162 Dum i 58

camp at Pastrengo and of the bridge at Polo was of little importance, as the Austrians held Verona, and the only road from thence to the plain passed through that town. Kray, abandoning the pursuit of Montrieux, hastened to Verona with the divisions of Mercantin and Frœlich, leaving a few battalions only to guard the line of the Lower Adige; while the Republicans recrossed the upper part of that river above Verona, and retired towards Peschiera. Thus the bulk of the forces on both sides were assembled near Verona, which was felt to be the key to the Adige equally by the Imperialists and Republicans. Already the courage of the Austrians was elevated by the balanced success which they had obtained (1); and from the hesitation of the enemy in following up his advantage at Pastrengo, they perceived with pleasure that the genius of Napoléon had not been inherited by his successor (2).

Scherer experiences a check in endeavouring to cross the Adige.

After much irresolution, and assembling a council of war, Scherer resolved to descend the Adige with the bulk of his forces, to attempt a passage between Verona and Legnago at Ronca or Albarredo, while Serrurier, with one division, was thrown across the upper stream at Polo to distract the attention of the enemy. Preparatory to this design, the army was countermarched from left-right, a complicated operation, which fatigued and embarrassed the soldiers without any adequate advantage. At length, on the 30th March, while the main body of the army was descending the river, Serrurier crossed with seven thousand men at Polo, and boldly advanced on the high-road leading to Trent towards Verona; Kray, debouching from the central point at Verona, assailed the advancing columns with fifteen thousand men of the divisions Frœlich and Elnitz, and attacking the Republicans with great vigour, drove them back in disorder to the bridge, and pressing forward, approached so near, that it would have fallen into his hands, if the French had not sunk the boats of which it consisted. The situation of Serrurier was now altogether desperate; part of his men dispersed and saved themselves in the mountains; a few escaped over the river at Rivoli; but above fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and the total loss of his division was nearly three thousand men (3).

Counter-marches of both parties.

Notwithstanding this severe check, Scherer persisted in his design of passing the Adige below Verona. After countermarching his troops, without any visible reason, he concentrated them below Villa Franca, between the Adige and the Tartaro; his right encamped near Porto-Legnago, the remainder in the position of Magnano. Kray, perceiving the defects of their situation, wisely resolved to bring the weight of his forces to bear on the Republican left, so as to threaten their communications with Lombardy. For this purpose, he directed Hohenzollern and St-Julien to the Montebaldo and the road to Trent; while Winkassowich, who formed part of Bellegarde's corps in the Tyrol, was to move on La Chiesa, by the eastern side of the lake of Guarda, and he himself debouched from Verona at the head of the divisions of Kaim, Zoph, and Mercantin, right against the Republican centre at Magnano. The peril of the left wing of the French was now extreme, and it became indispensable to move the right wing towards it, in order to avoid its total destruction. Had Kray's army, which was now raised, by the arrival of his reserves, to forty-five thousand men, moved on the 4th April, he would have surprised the French in the midst of their

(1) Dum. i. 60, 61. Jom. xi. 172, 173. Scher. i. 179, 181.

(2) Saguntinis quia preter spem successerunt. (3) Jom. xi. 177. Scher. i. 179. St. Cyr, i. 152, 153.

and the opportunity lost (1).

It was just when the lateral movement was on the point of being accomplished that the hostile armies encountered each other on the plains of MAGNANO. The French force amounted to thirty-four thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry; the Austrians were superior, having 40,000 men in the field, of whom five thousand were horse.

Villa Franca on the road to Medina. The ... which fall into the Tartaro and ... entry difficult, that of cavalry impossible (2).

The right wing of the French, commanded by Victor and Grenier, overwhelmed the division of Mercantin to which it was opposed. But while this success attended the Republicans in that quarter, the Austrian centre, under Kaum, penetrated, without opposition, between the rear of Montrichard and the front of Delmas, who were in the act of completing their lateral movement from right to left, and occupied a salient angle in the centre of the French position. Had the Imperialists been in a situation to have supported this advance by fresh troops, it would have been decisive of the fate of the battle. But the Emperor's army, which was at the time in a state of great exhaustion, was unable to do so; and thus the French, by causing their rear to be exposed, were enabled to resist the farther progress of the enemy, but even to attack and carry the village of Dutt. This was notwithstanding the most vigorous resistance from Kaum's division, which was unable to the operations of the Austrians, who were then in the possession of Verona.

Victory on every side seemed to indicate that, though decisive success was no longer to be expected from the insulated situation of all the divisions, the operations which they were severally

of the reserve of French, supported by two batteries of heavy artillery, he fell unawares upon the division of Grenier, and put it to the rout; Victor, trying to restore the combat, was charged in flank by the Imperial horse, and driven back. The rout of the Austrian army was completed by the attack of the Imperial cavalry, which rallied in its rear. Meanwhile, the French advanced upon the centre, and Serrurier made his retreat.

and advanced near to Verona. But the rout of the right wing, which was now driven a mile and a-half from the field of battle, so as to leave the centre entirely uncovered, was decisive of the victory. Before night, Scherer drew off his shattered forces behind the Tartaro, carrying with them two thousand prisoners and several pieces of cannon, a poor compensation for the loss of four thousand killed and wounded, four thousand prisoners, seven standards,

(1) Jour at 119, 131 Dom J. 65 Th x, 250
St Cyr, 131

(2) Duns, 1 65. Tom 11 186, 187

St. Cyr., 1811

eight pieces of cannon, and forty caissons, which had fallen into the hands of the Imperialists (1).

Its decisive results. This victory, one of the most glorious in the annals of the Austrian monarchy, was decisive of the fate of Italy. Thenceforth, the French fell from one disaster into another, till they were driven over the Maritime Alps, and expelled from the whole peninsula—a striking example of the importance of early victory to the whole fate of a campaign, and of the facility with which the confidence and vigour resulting from long-continued triumphs may, by a single well-timed success, be exchanged for the depression and irresolution which are the sure forerunners of defeat. The advantages gained by the Imperialists were mainly owing to the possession of the fortified posts of Verona and Legnago, and the interior line of operations which they afforded them on the Adige,—another instance, among the many which this war exhibited, of the inestimable importance of a central position in the hands of one who can avail himself of it, and the degree to which it may sometimes, in the hands of a skilful general, counterbalance the most decided superiority in other respects (2).

Disorderly retreat of the French. The Republicans, thrown into the deepest dejection by this defeat, retired on the following day behind the Mincio; and not feeling themselves in security there, even with the fortress of Mantua on one flank, and that of Peschiera on the other, Scherer continued his retreat behind the Oglio, and then the Adda. This retrograde movement was performed in such confusion, that it entirely lost that general the little consideration which remained to him with his troops, and they loudly demanded the removal of a leader who had torn from their brows the laurels of Rivoli and Arcola. The Austrians, astonished at their own success, and fearful of endangering it by a precipitate advance, moved slowly after the beaten army. Eight days after the battle elapsed before they crossed the Mincio, and established themselves at Castillaro, after detaching Elnitz, with ten thousand men, to observe Mantua, and three battalions to form the investment of Peschiera (3).

Corfu surrenders to the Russian and Turkish fleets. While the Republican fortunes were thus sinking in Italy, another disaster awaited them, in the capture of Corfu, which capitulated to the combined forces of Russia and Turkey, shortly after the commencement of hostilities; and thus deprived them of their last footing in the Ionian isles. Thus on every side the star of the Republic seemed to be on the wane, while that of Austria was rising in the ascendant (4).

Operations in Germany. While these important events were in progress to the south of the Alps, the Austrians evinced an unpardonable tardiness in following up their success at Stockach. In vain the Archduke urged them not to lose the precious moments; the Aulic Council, desirous not to endanger the advantage which they had already gained, enjoined him to confine his operations in clearing the right bank of the Danube by detached parties. After several engagements, the French were finally expelled from the German side, but in their retreat they, with needless barbarity, burned the celebrated wooden bridge at Schaffhausen, the most perfect specimen of that species of architecture that existed in the world (5).

(1) Th. x. 251, 252. Jom. xi. 190, 194. Dum. i. 64, 65. St.-Cyr, i. 185, 190.

(2) Jom. xi. 195.

(3) Th. x. 252, 253. Jom. xi. 198, 199. Dum. i. 66. St.-Cyr, i. 191, 195.

(4) Ann. Reg. 1799, 80. Jom. xi. 199.

(5) Jom. xi. 205. Dum. i. 72. Arch. Ch. i. 215, 221.

which they had hitherto found for their flanks in the neutral ridges of the Alps, the Republicans were now compelled to maintain one uninterrupted line of defence from the Texel to the gulf of Genoa, and any considerable disaster in one part of that long extent weakened their operations in every other. Masséna was well aware that a mountainous country, in appearance the most easy, is frequently in reality the most difficult of defence; because the communication from one part of the line to another is often so much obstructed, and it is so easy for a skilful adversary to bring an overwhelming force to bear against an unsupported part. Impressed with those ideas, he drew back his advanced posts at Tanfers, Glarentz on the Adige, and Fintermuntz on the Inn, and arranged his forces in the following manner. The right wing was composed of Lecourhe in the Engadine, Menard in the Grisons, and Lorges in the valley of the Rhine, as far down as the lake of Constance; the centre, consisting of four divisions, supported by an auxiliary Swiss corps, occupied the line of that river as far as Huningen. Headquarters were established at Basle, which was put in a respectable posture of defence. The left wing, scattered over Huningen, Old Brisach, Kehl, and Mannheim, was destined to protect the line of the Rhine below that place. The whole of these forces amounted to one hundred thousand men, of whom about two-thirds were stationed in Switzerland and the Grisons (1).

Description of the theatre of war Three impetuous streams, each flowing within the other, descend from the snowy ridges of the Alps towards the north, and form, by their junction, the great river of the Rhine. The first of these is the Rhine itself, which, rising in the Glaciers near the St.-Gothard, and flow-

river covers the whole of Switzerland, and contains within its ample circuit all its tributary streams. The second is formed by the course of the Linth, which, rising in the Alps of Glarus and the Wallenstatter sea, forms in its course the charming lake of Zurich, and issuing from its northern extremity at the town of the same name, under the appellation of the Limmat, falls into the Aar, not far from the junction of that river with the Rhine. That line only covers a part of Switzerland, and is of much smaller extent than

the romantic lake of the four cantons at Altdorf, and leaving its wood-clad chills at Lucerne, falls into the Aar, near its junction with the Rhine. All these lines, shut in on the right by enormous mountains, terminating on the left in deep rivers, and intersected by vast lakes and ridges of rock, present the greatest advantages for defence. Masséna soon found that the exterior circle, that of the Rhine, could not be maintained, with the troops at his disposal,

(1) *Dum.* i. 71. *Join.* x. 211, 213, 215. *Th.* x. 277, 278. *Archduke.* i. 233, 244

against the increasing forces of the Austrians, and he retired to the inner line, that of the Limmat and Linth, and established his head-quarters at Zurich, in a position of the most formidable strength (1).

General at-
tack upon
Masséna's
line in the
Grisons.
April 30.

Meanwhile Hotze and Bellegarde were combining a general attack upon the whole line of the Republicans in the Grisons. Towards the latter end of April, their forces were all in motion along the immense extent of mountains from the valley of Coire to the Engadine. After a vigorous attack, Bellegarde was repulsed by Lecourhe, from the fortified post of Ramis, in the Lower Engadine, while a detachment sent by the Col de Tcherfs to Zemetz was cut to pieces, with the loss of six hundred prisoners, among whom was the young Prince de Ligne. But as the Imperialists were advancing through the valleys on his flanks, Lecourhe retreated in the night, and next day was attacked by Bellegarde at Suss, whence, after an obstinate resistance, he was driven with great loss to the sources of the Albula. At the same time, a general attack was made, in the valley of the Rhine, on the French posts; but though the Imperialists were at first so far successful as to drive back the Republicans to Luciensteg and the heights of Mayenfeld, yet, at the close of the day, they were obliged to fall back to their former position (2).

Insurrection
of the Swiss
in his rear;
being un-
supported,
is crushed.

This general attack upon the French line in the Grisons, was combined with an insurrection of the peasants in their rear and in the small cantons, where the desire for revenge, on account of the cruelties of the French during the preceding year, had become extremely strong. This feeling had been worked up to a perfect fury by an attempt of the Directory to complete the auxiliary forces of eighteen thousand men, which Switzerland was bound to furnish, by levies from the militia of the different cantons. Determined to combat rather against than for the destroyers of their liberties, ten thousand men took up arms in the small cantons and adjoining districts of the Grisons, and fell with such rapidity upon the French posts in the rear, that they not only made themselves masters of Disentis and Hantz, but surprised the important bridge of Reichenau, which they strongly barricaded, thus cutting off all communication between the divisions of Lecourbe, at the sources of the Albula, and the remainder of the army. Had the attack of Hotze and Bellegarde succeeded at the same time that this formidable insurrection broke out in their rear, it is highly probable that Masséna's right wing would have been totally destroyed; but the defeat of Hotze at Luciensteg gave the Republicans time to crush it before it had acquired any formidable consistency. Masséna, aware of the vital importance of early success in subduing an insurrection, acted with the greatest vigour against the insurgents; Ménard moved towards Reichenau, which was abandoned at his approach, and pursued the peasants to Hantz and Disentis. At this latter place they stood firm, in number about six thousand, and, though destitute of artillery, made a desperate resistance. At length, however, they were broken, and pursued with great slaughter into the mountains, leaving above one thousand men slain on the spot. At the same time, Soult proceeded with his division to Schwytz, where he overthrew a body of peasants; and, embarking on the lake of Lucerne, landed, in spite of the utmost resistance, at Altdorf, and cut to pieces a body of three thousand men, supported by four pieces of cannon, who had taken post in the defiles

(1) Th. x. 278, 279. Jom. xi. 213.

(2) Jom. xi. 215, 219. Dum. i. 114, 117. Archduke, i. 253, 256.

of the Reuss above that place. The broken remains of this division fled by Wasen to the valley of Schöllenen, but there they were met and entirely dispersed by Lecourbe, who, after subduing the insurrection in the Val-levantine, had crossed the St-Gothard, and fallen upon the fugitives in rear. In this affair, above two thousand peasants were killed and wounded, and such was the consternation excited by the military execution which followed, that the people of that part of Switzerland made no further attempt, during the progress of the campaign, to take a part in hostilities. They saw that their efforts were of little avail amidst the immense masses of disciplined men, by whom their country was traversed, and suffering almost as much, in the conflicts which followed, from their friends as their enemies, they resigned themselves, in indignant silence, to be the spectators of a contest, from which they had nothing to hope, and no power to prevent (1).

These movements, however, rendered it indispensable for the French to evacuate the Engadine, as great part of the troops who formed the line of defence had been drawn into the rear to quell the insurrection. Lonson retired from Tirrano, and joined Lecourbe at S-Gracomo, and as the Imperialists, who were now far advanced in Lombardy, were collecting forces at Lugano, evidently with the design of seizing upon the St-Gothard, and so turning the flank of Masséna's position, that active general instantly crossed the Bernhardine, and descending the Misocco, advanced to Bellinzona, in order to protect the extreme right of his interior line, which rested on the St-Gothard, the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat (2).

The Archduke, convinced that it was by turning the right of Masséna in the mountains, that he would be most easily forced from this strong line of defence, strengthened Hotze by fresh troops, and combined a general attack with Lecourbe for the 14th May. The forces they brought into action on that day were very considerable, amounting to not less than thirty thousand men, while those of Ménard, since the greater part of Lecourbe's division had retreated to Bellinzona, did not exceed fourteen thousand men. Luciensteg, since it fell into the hands of the Republicans, had been greatly strengthened, a narrow defile, bounded by the precipices of the Alps on one side, and a rocky eminence bathed by the Rhine on the other, was crossed by strong intrenchments, mounted with a formidable artillery, but the intelligence which the Archduke received of the approach of thirty thousand Russians to support his army, who had already arrived in Galicia, determined him without delay to commence offensive operations. Accordingly, on the 12th May, the columns were every where put in motion in the mountains, and two days afterwards this important post was attacked. The assailants were divided into four columns, one was destined to engage the attention of the enemy by a false attack in front, the second to make a circuit by the Alps of Mayensfeld, and descend on the intrenchments in rear, a third to cross the Suvisir Alps, and the fourth, to which the cavalry and artillery were attached, to assail the pass called the Slapiner Joch. Hotze commanded in person the attack in front, while Jellachich directed the other columns. After twelve hours of fatiguing march, the latter succeeded in bringing his troops in rear to attack the intrenchments. When the animating sound of their hurra was heard, Hotze pressed forward to assail the works in front, and, after a stout resis-

(1) Join x. 219 221 Dun. i. 111 119 Arch
Ch. i. 267 268

(2) Dun. i. 120 121 Join x. 222 223 Arch
Ch. i. 263 267

tance, the barriers were burst open, and the fort carried, with the loss to the Republicans of fifteen hundred prisoners (1).

This important success occasioned the immediate retreat of the French armies from the Grisons. Their left fell back by Sargans to Wallenstadt; the centre by the gorge of Vettis; the right by Reichenau, Ilantz, and Disentis, into the valley of Urseren. The centre of the army was forced; and had Bellegarde been at hand to follow up the successes of Hotze, it would have been all over with the Republicans in Helvetia. As it was, they did not effect their retreat from the Grisons without sustaining a loss of three thousand men in prisoners alone; while the total loss of the Imperialists was only seventy-one men; an extraordinary, but well-authenticated proof of the immense advantage of offensive operations in mountain warfare, and the great disasters to which even the best troops are subjected by being exposed, when acting on the defensive, to the loss of their communications, by their adversary turning their position (2).

Retreat of
Masséna
behind the
Lake of
Zurich.
May 20.

This catastrophe obliged Masséna to alter entirely his line of defence. The right wing in the Alps being driven back, it was no longer possible to maintain the line of the lake of Constance and the Rhine from Stein to Eglisau. In consequence, he fell back from

the Rhine behind the Thur; Lecourbe received orders to evacuate the St.-Gothard and concentrate his forces below the Devil's Bridge, in the valley of the Reuss, while the bulk of his army was assembled round the headquarters at Zürich, all the approaches to which were fortified with the utmost care (3).

Part of the
Austrian
left wing is
detached
into Lombardy.

Notwithstanding the strength of this position, Lecourbe would have been unable to have maintained his ground with the right wing against the impetuous attacks of Hotze, had that enterprising general been supported by Bellegarde; but the Aulic Council, conceiv-

ing that Italy was to be the theatre of decisive operations, directed him to descend into Lombardy, and reinforce the army there, now commanded by Suwarrow, leaving only ten thousand men to guard the Valteline and gain possession of the St.-Gothard. In pursuance of these orders he crossed the Splügen, and proceeded by the lake of Como to Milan, while Hotze vigorously pursued the retreating enemy in the valley of the Rhine, and every where drove him back to the Swiss frontiers (4).

Encouraged by these successes, and the near approach of the Russian auxiliaries, to push the war with vigour, the Archduke published a proclamation to the Swiss, in which he announced that he was about to enter their territory, to deliver them from their chains, and exhorted them to take up

May 22. arms against their oppressors. At the same time the Rhine was passed at all points; a large column crossed at Stein, under Nauendorf; another at Eglisau, while Hotze crossed the upper part of the stream in the Grisons, and penetrated, by the source of the Thur, into the Toggenberg. To

May 24. prevent the junction of the Archduke and Hotze, Masséna left his intrenchments on the Limmat, and commenced an attack on the advanced guard of Nauendorf. A desultory action ensued, which was maintained with great vivacity on both sides; fresh troops continually came up to reinforce those who were exhausted with fatigue, and though undecisive upon the whole, Oudinot gained a considerable advantage over an Austrian division, commanded by Petrasch, which was defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners.

(1) Dum. i. 123, 124. Jom. xi. 224, 225. Arch. Ch. i. 271, 278.

(2) Jom. xi. 226, 227. Dum. i. 124, 125. Arch. Ch. i. 271, 281.

(3) Jom. xi. 228. Dum. i. 127.

(4) Dum. i. 124, 126. Jom. xi. 228, Ch. i. 283, 284.

May 30
Archduke
receives
the news
of the
defeat
of the
Archduke

Notwithstanding that check, however, the object was gained, the Archduke marched on the following day, towards Winterthur, while Hotze descended with all his forces to support him. The important post called the Steigpass was attacked at noon, and carried by that intrepid general (1), while the Archduke effected his junction with the left wing of his army at Winterthur and Nestenbach. Masséna, upon this, fell back to Zurich, and the Republicans confined themselves to their defensive position on the Limmat.

May 30
The right
wing is
driven from
the St.
Gothard
While the French centre was thus forced back to their interior line of defence, the right wing, under Lecourbe, was still more severely pressed by the Imperialists. No sooner had Bellegarde arrived in Lombardy, than Suwarow detached General Haddick, with ten thousand men, to drive them from the St.-Gothard. Loison's division, defeated at the Monte Cenere, by Hohenzollern, retired up the valley of the Ticino, to Airolo, where it was reinforced by several additional battalions, in order to maintain the passage of the St.-Gothard, and give time for the baggage and artillery to defile to Altdorf. Overwhelmed by numbers, Loison was at length driven over the snowy summit of that rugged mountain, through the smiling valley of Urseren, and down the deep descent of the Devil's Bridge, to Wasen, with the loss of six hundred prisoners. An Austrian brigade even chased

but Lecourbe
place, at
such vigour, that they were obliged to retrace their steps in confusion up the whole valley of Schöllenen, and could only prevent the irruption of the enemy into the valley of Urseren by cutting an arch of the Devil's Bridge. At the same time, General Vaintrailles, at the head of a strong French division, which Masséna had dispatched to the support of the army of Italy, attacked and routed a body of six thousand peasants, which had taken post at Leuk (2), in the upper Valais, and made himself master of Brieg, the well-known village at the foot of the Simplon.

Masséna's
position at
Zurich
Meanwhile, the bulk of the Austrian forces were concentrated in the environs of Zurich, where Masséna still maintained, with characteristic obstinacy, his defensive position. The French lines extended from the intrenched heights of Zurich, through those of Regensberg, and thence to the Rhine, in a direction nearly parallel to the course of the Aar. The camp around Zurich was strengthened by the most formidable redoubts, at which the army had laboured for above a month, while the whole country by which it could be approached, situated between the Glatt, the Limmat, and the Aar, filled with wooded heights, and intersected by precipitous ravines, presented the greatest obstacles to an attacking army. On the 5th June, the Archduke, having assembled all his forces, assailed him along the

of the action. The combat at the same time raged in the centre with all

(1) Dum x 161, 167. Joim x 233, 237. Arch
Ch i 292, 306.

(2) Joim x 240, 241. Dum i 138. Arch Ch i
236, 290.

certain success; and at length the Archduke, seeing the repulse of Hotze, and deeming the heights of the Zurichberg the decisive point, detached General Wallis, with a portion of the reserve, to renew the attack, while the Prince of Lorraine made a simultaneous effort on the side of the Attisherg. Wallis at first made a great impression, carried the farm of Zurichberg, and, after a vehement struggle, arrived at the palissades of the intrenchments; but Masséna, seeing the danger, flew to the spot, at the head of a column of grenadiers, and assailed the Imperialists in flank, while a tremendous fire of grape and musketry from the summit of the works tore down the foremost of their ranks. Notwithstanding all their efforts, the Imperialists were unable to force the intrenchments; Hotze himself was severely wounded; and, after a bloody conflict, they retired over the Glatt, leaving three thousand killed and wounded on the field battle (1).

He prepares a second and better arranged attack. Masséna prevents it by a retreat.

Noways discouraged by this check, the Archduke, after a day's repose, made arrangements for a renewal of the attack; and, taught, by experience, adopted such dispositions as must have ensured success. Before daybreak on the morning of the 6th, two columns, of eight thousand men each, were destined to assault the heights of

Zurich and Wipchungen, while all the left, the reserve, and part of the centre, were to support their attack. But Masséna, apprehensive of the result, retreated during the night, defiled over the bridges of Zurich and Wellingen, and took post, between Lucerne and Zurich, on Mount Albis, a rocky ridge stretching from the lake of Zurich to the Aar, in a position even stronger than the one he had left. The retreat was effected without loss under cover of night; but the great arsenal of Zurich, containing 150 pieces of cannon, and immense warlike stores, fell on the day following into the hands of the Imperialists (2).

Dissolution of all the Swiss forces in the service of France.

The evacuation of the intrenched camp at Zurich, drew after it the dissolution of the forces of the Swiss Confederacy in the interest of France. The battalions of Berne and Soleure, already much weakened by desertion, were entirely dissolved by that event; while those of Zurich and Turgovia, menaced with military execution on their dwellings, if they continued longer with the enemy, made haste to abandon a cause of which they were already ashamed in their hearts. In a week the battalions of the Pays de Vaud, and a few hundreds of the most ardent of the Zurich democrats, alone remained of the eighteen thousand auxiliaries first assembled under the tricolor standard. At the same time, the provisional government of Helvetia, no longer in safety at Lucerne, set off for Berne; the long file of its carriages excited the ironical contempt of the peasantry, still ardently attached to the institutions of their fathers, in the rural districts through which they passed (3).

Reflections on the magnitude of the preceding operations in the Alps.

The details which have now been given of the campaign in the Alps, though hardly intelligible to those who have not traversed the country, or studied the positions with care in an excellent map, offer the most remarkable spectacle, in a military point of view, which the revolutionary war had yet exhibited (4). From the 14th May, when the attack on the fort of Luciensteg commenced, to the 6th June, when the intrenched camp at Zurich was abandoned, was nothing but one

(1) *Jom.* xi. 249, 251. *Dum.* i. 169, 170. *Th.* x. 295. *Arch. Ch.* i. 327, 344.

(2) *Jom.* xi. 251, 252. *Th.* x. 296. *Dum.* i. 169, 170. *Arch. Ch.* i. 345, 350.

(3) *Jom.* xi. 255, 256. *Arch. Ch.* i. 350, 357.

(4) Those who have enjoyed the advantage of

having travelled over these mountains, will require the aid of no map to remind them of places whose relative position is indelibly imprinted in their memory. Those who have not, will find them delineated in the common *Carte Routière de la Suisse*.

continual combat, in a vast field of battle, extending from the snowy summits of the Alps, to the confluence of the great streams which flow from their perennial fountains. Posterity will hardly credit that great armies could be maintained in such a situation, and the same unity of operations communi-

these prolonged actions for twenty days; the forced marches by which they were succeeded; the sufferings and privations which the troops on both sides endured; the efforts necessary to find provisions for large bodies in those inhospitable regions, in many of which the traveller or the chamois hunter can often hardly find a footing, combined to render this warfare both the most memorable and the most animating which had occurred since the fall of the Roman empire (1).

Arrival of
the Rus-
sians under
Suwarrow
on the Min-
cio

While success was thus attending the Imperial standards on the Rhine and the Alps, events of a still more decisive character occurred on the Italian plains. A few days after the important battle of Magnano, twenty thousand Russians, under Suwarrow, joined the Imperial army, still encamped on the shores of the Mincio. Thus were the forces of the north, for the first time since the origin of the Revolution, brought into collision with those of the south, and that desperate contest commenced which was destined to inflict such terrible wounds on both empires, to wrap in flames the towers of the Kremlin, and bring the Tartars of the Desert to the shores of the Seine, and ultimately establish a new balance of power in Europe, by arraying all its forces under the banners either of Asiatic despotism or European ambition.

The Emperor Paul, who now entered, with all the characteristic impetuosity of his character, into the alliance against France, had embraced the most extensive and visionary ideas as to the ulterior measures which should be adopted upon the overthrow of the French Revolutionary power. He laboured to effect the formation, not only of a cordial league between all the sovereigns of Europe, to stop the progress of anarchy, but the restoration of all the potentates and interests which had been subverted by the French arms, and the closing of the great schism between the Greek and Catholic Churches, which had so long divided the Christian world. He went even so far as to contemplate the union of the Catholics and Protestants, the stilling of all the controversies which distracted the latter body, and the assemblage of the followers of Christ, of whatever denomination, under the banners of one Catholic

reveries of Condorcet (2).

Character
of the
troops and
their com-
manders

The troops thus brought against the Republicans, though very different from the soldiers of Eylau and Borodino, were still formidable by their discipline, their enthusiasm, and their stubborn valour. Their cavalry, indeed, was poorly equipped, and their artillery inferior in skill and science to that of the French, but their infantry, strong, hardy and resolute, yielded to none in Europe in the energy and obstinacy so essential to military success. Field-marshal Suwarrow, who commanded

them, and now assumed the general direction of the allied army, though the singularity of his manner and the extravagance of his ideas in some particulars have detracted, in the estimation of foreigners, from his well-earned reputation, was yet unquestionably one of the most remarkable generals of the last age. Impetuous, enthusiastic, and impassioned, brave in conduct, invincible in resolution, endowed with the confidence and ardour which constitute the soul of the conqueror, without the vigilance or foresight which are requisite to the general, he was better calculated to sweep over the world with the fierce tempest of Scythian war, than conduct the long and cautious contests which civilised nations maintain with each other. His favourite weapon was the bayonet, his system of war incessant and vigorous attack, and his great advantage the impression of superiority and invincible power which a long course of success under that method had taught to his soldiers. The first orders he gave to General Chastelar, chief of the staff to the Imperialists, were singularly characteristic, both of his temper of mind and system of tactics. That general having proposed a reconnoissance, the marshal answered warmly, "Reconnoissance! I am for none of them; they are of no use but to the timid, and to inform the enemy that you are approaching. It is never difficult to find your opponents when you really wish it. Form column; charge bayonets; plunge into the centre of the enemy; these are my reconnoissances;" words which, amid some exaggeration, unfold more of the real genius of war than is generally supposed (1).

Fearless and impetuous in conversation as action, the Russian veteran made no secret of the ultimate designs with which his imperial master had entered into the war. To restore every thing to the state in which it was before the French Revolution broke out; to overturn the new republics, re-establish, without exception, the dispossessed princes, restrain universally the spread of revolutionary ideas, punish the authors of fresh disturbances, and substitute for the cool policy of calculating interest a frank, generous, disinterested system, was the only way, he constantly maintained, to put down effectually the Gallic usurpation. The Austrian officers, startled at such novel ideas, carefully reported them to the cabinet of Vienna, where they excited no small disquietude. To expel the French from the whole Italian peninsula, and, if possible, raise up an effectual barrier against any future incursions in that quarter from their ambition, was, indeed, a favourite object of their policy; but it was no part of their designs to sanction a universal restitution of the possessions acquired since the commencement of the war, or exchange the distant and rebellious provinces of Flanders for the rich and submissive Venetian territories adjoining the Hereditary States, and affording them at all times a secure entrance into the Italian plains. Hence a secret jealousy and distrust speedily arose between the coalesced Powers, and experienced observers already began to predict, from the very rapidity of the success with which their arms were at first attended, the evolution of such causes of discord as would ultimately lead to the dissolution of the confederacy (2).

The plan of operations concerted between the Archduke and Suwarrow was to separate entirely the French armies of Switzerland and Italy, and to combine the movements of the two allied armies by the conquest of the Italian Alps, Lombardy, and Piedmont, in order to penetrate into France on its most defenceless side by the Vosges mountains and the defiles of the Jura, the

(1) Join. xi. 261, 262. Dum. i. 173. Hard. vii. 213, 219.

(2) Hard. vii. 220.

same quarter on which the great invasion of 1814 was afterwards effected. It was on this principle that they maintained so vigorous a contest under Bellegarde and Hotze, in the Val-levantine and Grisons, and by their successes the right wing of Massena was forced to retire, the Imperialists were interposed in a salient angle between the Republican armies, and the one thrown back on the line of the Po, the other on that of the Aar (1)

Moreau succeeded Slierer in the command of the army of Italy at this momentous crisis. He found it reduced, by sickness and the sword, to twenty-eight thousand combatants, and, after a vain attempt to maintain the line of the Oglio, the troops retired towards Milan, leaving the immense military stores and reserve artillery parks at Cremona to the Conquerors, while a bridge equipage, which was descending the Mincio from Mantua, with a view to gam the waters of the Po, also fell into the hands of the Imperialists (2)

Moreau finding himself cut off from his connexion with Massena in the Alps, and being unable to face the Allies in the plain of Lombardy, resolved to retire towards the mountains of Genoa, in order to facilitate his junction with Macdonald, who had received orders to evacuate the Parthenopean republic, and retire upon the Apennines. Mantua was invested, and all the frontier towns of the Cisalpine republic were abandoned to their own resources. Soon after, Peschiera was carried by assault,

Ferrara besieged, and Brescia summoned. Kray, to whom the right wing was intrusted, carried the latter town without opposition, and the garrison, eleven hundred strong, which had retired into the castle, soon after surrendered at discretion. The French now retired behind the line of the Adda, a rapid stream, which, descending from the lake of Lecco, runs in a deep and swift torrent, over a surface of twenty-four leagues, to the Po. The right bank is almost every where so lofty as to command the left, and the bridges at Lecco, Cassana, Lodi, and Pizzighetone are defended either by fortified towns or strong *tetes-de-pont*. On the 25th April the Allies approached this formidable line, and a sharp skirmish ensued between the Russians, under Prince Bagration, destined to meet a glorious death on the field of Borodino, and the French, before the walls of Lecco, in which the former were repulsed. commencing thus a contest which was never destined to be finally extinguished till the Russian standards waved on the heights of Montmartre (3)

Suwarrow now left twenty thousand men, under Kray, to besiege Peschiera and blockade Mantua, and prepared to force the passage of the Adda. To frustrate this intention, Moreau accumulated his troops in masses on that part of the river which seemed chiefly threatened. But while actively engaged in this design, the Austrian division of General Ott succeeded in throwing a bridge, during the night, at Trezzo, and before morning his whole troops had crossed over to the right, while, at the same time, Wukassowich surprised the passage at Brivio. The French line was thus divided into three parts, and Serrurier's division, eight thousand strong, which formed the extreme left, was not only cut off from all support, but even from receiving any orders from the remainder of the army. The divisions of Ott and Zoph commenced a furious attack on Grenier's division, and after a brave resistance, drove it back towards Milan, with the loss of two thousand four hundred men, including eleven hundred pri-

(1) Dum : 174 Jom : 262 Arch Ch : 11 (3) Jom : 265 267 Dum : 79 St Cyr : 1
33 34 200 207

(2) Jom : 262 263 Dum : 174 175

soners, while Serrurier, whose division was entirely isolated by the passage of Winkassowich at Brivio, took post at Verderio, in a strong position, determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Guillet, with the brigade under his orders, who was returning from the Valteline, escaped destruction by embarking on the lake of Como, steering for Menagio, and making his way to the lake of Lugano by the beautiful valley which leads from that place to Porlezza. By remaining in his position at Verderio while the Allied army was advancing, Serrurier necessarily was soon enveloped by their columns; evincing thus rather the courage of a soldier who disdains to retreat, than the conduct of an officer who knows how to extricate his men from difficulties. He was soon surrounded on all sides by the Imperialists; and, after an honourable resistance, finding his retreat cut off, and the assailants triple his own force, laid down his arms with seven thousand men. At the same time, Melas carried the *tête-de-pont* at Cassano, and pursued the fugitives with such vigour that he passed the bridge pell-mell with them, and pushed on before night to Gorgonzelo, on the road to Milan (1).

Suwarrow enters Milan in triumph. The situation of the French was now in the highest degree critical. In these engagements they had lost above eleven thousand men, and could now, even with all the reinforcements which they received, hardly muster in their retreat twenty thousand to meet the great army of the Allies, above sixty thousand strong, which was advancing in pursuit. In these disastrous circumstances, Milan was abandoned, and the army withdrawn behind the Ticino. April 29. Suwarrow, the same day, made his triumphal entry into that capital, amidst the transports of the Catholic and aristocratic party, and the loud applause of the multitude, who greeted him with the same acclamations which they had lavished, on a similar occasion, on Napoléon three years before. The Republican army, having left a garrison of two thousand men in the castle, moved slowly in two columns towards Turin, in deep dejection, and heavily burdened with the numerous families compromised by the Revolution, who now pursued their mournful way towards the frontiers of France (2).

Moreau retires to Alexandria and Turin. Nothing now remained to Moreau but to retire to such a position as might enable him to rally to his standards the yet unbroken army which Macdonald was bringing up from the south of the peninsula. For this purpose he divided his forces into two columns, one of which, under his own command, escorting the parks of artillery, the baggage, and military chest, took the road of Turin, while the other, consisting of the divisions of Victor and Laboissiere, moved towards Alexandria, with a view to occupy the defiles of the Bochetta and the approaches to Genoa. Having effected the evacuation of the town and the arsenal, provided for the defence of the citadel, in which he left a garrison of three thousand men, May 7. under General Fiorilla, and secured the communications with the adjacent passes of the Alps, the French general moved the remainder of his army into the plain between the Po and the Tanaro, at the foot of the northern slope and principal debouches of the Apennines, where they encircle the bay of Genoa and join the Maritime Alps. This position, extending only over a front of four leagues, supported on the right by Alexandria, and on the left by Valence, affording the means of manœuvring either on the Bormida or the Po, and covering at once the roads from Asti to Turin and Coni (3), and those

(1) Th. x. 284. Jom. xi. 276, 278. Dum. i. 112. St.-Cyr, i. 194, 199. Arch. Ch. i. 230, 231.

(2) Arch. Ch. i. 35, 36. Th. x. 286. Jom. xi. 278, 9. St.-Cyr, i. 199, 201.

(3) Jom. xi. 280, 284. Th. x. 286, 287. Dum. i. 111, 112. St.-Cyr, i. 230, 203.

from Acqui to Nizza and Savona, was better adapted than any other that could have been selected to enable the Republicans to maintain their footing in Italy, until they were reinforced by the army of Macdonald, or received assistance from the interior of France.

Whether he is tardy by Suwarrow's Master of all the plain of Lombardy, and at the head of an overwhelming force, Suwarrow did not evince that activity in pursuing the broken remains of his adversary which might have been expected from the general vigour of his character. For above a week he gave himself up to festivities at Milan, while an army hardly a third of his own was pressing columns before him. At length, finding his

At the same time Orzi, Novi, Alessandria, &c. Allies, with a hundred pieces of cannon, twenty gun-boats, a siege equipage, and immense stores of ammunition and provisions, an advantage which enabled Kray to draw closer the blockade of Mantua, and dispatch Hohenhausen, one of the castle of Milan. On the 9th the Allies

which was to cross the Po, turn his right from Novi to communications with Genoa to mask his real design, him to a general and decisive action

Check of the Russians under Rosenberg, in order to cross The right, or southern bank of the Po, from the junction of the Tanaro to Valence, is more lofty than the northern, which is low, marshy, and approachable only on dykes. Some large islands opposite Mugarone having afforded facilities for the passage, Rosenberg directed against Valence, it to cross it in that quarter.

In the night of the 11th, 1800, men across the principal arm into a wooded island, from whence they shortly passed over, some by swimming, others by wading, with the water up to their armpits, and from the village of Mugarone. Moreau no sooner heard of this

Constantine, defended themselves; assailed on every side, and torn to pieces by a murderous use of grape-shot, they were driven back, first into the island, then across to the northern bank, with the loss of eight hundred killed and wounded, four pieces of cannon, and seven hundred prisoners. No sooner was Suwarrow informed of the first success of Rosenberg's attack, than he pushed forward two divisions to support him, while another was advanced towards Marengo to effect a diversion; but the bad success of the enterprise, which failed because it was not combined with sufficient support at the first (2), rendered it necessary that they should be recalled, and the Allied army was concentrated anew in the intrenched camp of Garofalo

(1) Dum i 142, 145. Jour xi 282, 290. St Cyr. (2) Jour xi 292, 294. Dum i 146. St-Cyr, i 203. Arch. Ch. iii 37, 39. 204, 205. Tâ x 235

Indecisive
action be-
tween Su-
warrow and
Moreau
near Alex-
andria.

At the same instant that this was passing in one quarter, Suwarrow raised his camp at S.-Juliano, with the design of crossing the Po near Casa Tenia, and marching upon Sesia. This attempt was not attended with decisive success. A warm action ensued between the division of Victor and the Russian advanced guard, nine thousand strong, under the orders of Generals Bagrathion and Lusignan. Victory was long doubtful, and although the French were at length forced to retreat under shelter of the cannon of Alexandria, the demonstration led to no serious impression at the time on the position of the Republican general (1).

Moreau at
length re-
treats to the
crest of the
Apennines
and Turin.

Tired with the unsatisfactory nature of these manœuvres, Suwarrow resolved to march with the bulk of his forces upon Turin, where the vast magazines of artillery and military stores of the French army were assembled, in the hope that, by reducing its citadel, and occupying the plains of Piedmont to the foot of the Alps, the position of Moreau on the Po and the Tanaro might be rendered no longer tenable, from the interruption of its communications with France. By a singular coincidence, not unusual in war, at the very time that the Russian marshal was adopting this resolution, Moreau had resolved, on his part, to retire by Asti, upon Turin and Coni, and, abandoning the line of the Apennines, concentrate his forces for the preservation of his communication with the Alps. Invincible necessity had compelled him to adopt this retrograde movement. Great part of Piedmont was in a state of insurrection; a large body of peasants had recently occupied Ceva, another had made themselves masters of Mondovi, which closed the principal line of retreat for the army, the sole one then practicable for artillery and carriages. The recent success of the Russians towards Alexandria led him to believe that the weight of their force was to be moved in that direction, and that he would soon be in danger of having his communications with France cut off. Influenced by these considerations, he detached the division of Victor, without artillery or baggage, by the mountain paths, towards Genoa, in order to maintain the crest of the Apennines, and reinforce, when necessary, the army of Macdonald, which was approaching from Naples, while he himself, having first thrown three thousand men into Alexandria, retired by Asti towards Turin, with the design of maintaining himself, if possible, at Coni, the last fortified place on the Italian side of the Alps, until he received the promised reinforcements from the interior of France (2).

May 27.
Suwarrow
enters
Turin.

No sooner was Suwarrow informed of the retreat of Moreau, than he occupied Valence and Casala, which had been abandoned by the Republicans, and, after having moved forward a strong body under Schwiekwsky to form the investment of Alexandria, advanced himself with the main body of the army towards Turin. Wukassowich, who commanded the advanced guard, with the aid of some inhabitants of the town who favoured his designs, surprised one of the gates, and rapidly introducing his troops, compelled the French to take refuge in the citadel. The fruits of this conquest were 261 pieces of cannon, eighty mortars, 60,000 muskets, besides an enormous quantity of ammunition and military stores, which had been accumulating in that city ever since the first occupation of Italy by the arms of Napoleon. This great stroke, the success of which was owing to the celerity and skill of the Russian generals, deprived Moreau of all his resources, and rendered the situation both of his own army and that of Macdonald in the high-

(1) Jom. xi. 296, 297. Dum. i. 146. St.-Cyr, i. 205.

(2) Th. x. 291. Dum. i. 148, 149. Jom. vi. 300, 301. St.-Cyr, i. 206, 208. 44

And the
castle of
Milan is
taken
May 21

est degree critical At the same time, intelligence was received of the fall of the castle of Milan, after four days of open trenches, an advantage which permitted the division of Hohenzollern to reinforce the besieging army before Mantua, while the artillery was dispatched to Tortona, which was now closely invested (1)

Moreau
retreats
towards

Unable from these disasters, to maintain his ground in the basin of Piedmont, Moreau now thought only of regaining his position

armies into France. For this purpose he retired to Savigliano, having first moved forward an advanced guard, under Grouchy, to clear the road he was to follow, by retaking Mondovì and Ceva, into the latter of which the Austrians had succeeded in throwing a small garrison to support the insurgents who had occupied it. That general retook Mondovì, but all his efforts failed before the ramparts of Ceva. The closing of the great road through this town rendered Moreau's situation apparently hopeless. Suwarrow, with a superior force, was close in his rear, the only route practicable for artillery by which he could regain the Apennines was blocked up, and he could not retire by the Col di Tendo without abandoning all prospect of rejoining Macdonald, and leaving his army to certain destruction. From this desperate situation the Republicans were extricated by the skill and vigour of their general, aided by the resources of Guillemot and the engineer corps under his directions.

He retires
over the
Apennines
to that
town

dered practicable for artillery and chariots, and as soon as this was done, the blockade of Ceva was raised, three thousand men were thrown as a garrison into Coni, which was abandoned to its own resources; and the remainder of

Still seen
lying the
crest of the
mountains

the army, after a strong rear-guard had been posted at Murialto to cover the passage, defiled over the narrow and rocky path, and arrived in safety at Loano, on the southern side of the mountains. No sooner were they arrived there than they formed a junction with Victor, who had successfully accomplished his retreat by Acqui, Spigno, and Digo, and occupied all the passes leading towards Genoa over the Apennines, Victor was intrusted with the important post of Pontremoli, while the other divisions placed themselves on the crest of the mountains from Loano to the Bocchetta (2)

Suwarrow
spreads over
the whole
of Piedmont
and Lombardy

Suwarrow, on being informed of the retreat of Moreau from the plain of Piedmont, spread his troops over its rich surface, and up the glens which run from thence into the heart of the Alps. The Russian divisions entered into the beautiful valleys of Suza, St. Jean de Maurienne, and Aosta. Frélich pushed his advanced posts to the neighbourhood of Coni, Pignuerol capitulated, Suza surrendered at discretion, and the advanced posts of the Allies every where appearing on the summit of the

itself master of Ferrara; that a flotilla from Venice had surprised Ravenna,

and an insurrection had broken out in the mountainous parts of Tuscany and the Ecclesiastical States, which threatened Ancona, and had already wrested Arezzo and Lucca from the Republican dominions (1).

Thus, in less than three months after the opening of the Campaign on the Adige, the French standards were driven back to the summit of the Alps; the whole plain of Lombardy was regained, with the exception of a few of its strongest fortresses; the conquests of Napoleon had been lost in less time than it had taken to make them; and the Republican armies, divided and dispirited, were reduced to a painful and hazardous defence of their own frontiers, instead of carrying the thunder of their victorious arms over the Italian Peninsula. A hundred thousand men were spread over the plain of Lombardy, of whom forty thousand were grouped under Suwarrow round Turin (2). History has not a more brilliant or decisive series of triumphs to record; and they demonstrate on how flimsy and insecure a basis the French dominion at that period rested; how much it was dependent on the genius and activity of a single individual; how inadequate the revolutionary government was to the long-continued and sustained efforts which were requisite to maintain the contest from their own resources; and how easily, by a combined effort of all the powers at that critical period, when Napoleon was absent, and time and wisdom had not consolidated the conquests of democracy, they might have been wrested from their grasp, and the peace of Europe established on an equitable foundation. But, notwithstanding all their reverses, the European governments were not as yet sufficiently awakened to the dangers of their situation; Prussia still kept aloof in dubious neutrality; Russia was not irrevocably engaged in the cause; and Great Britain, as yet confining her efforts to the subsidizing of other powers, had not descended as a principal into the field, or begun to pour forth, on land at least, those streams of blood which were destined to be shed before the great struggle was brought to a termination.

These successes, great as they were, were yet not such as might have been achieved, if the Russian general, neglecting all minor considerations, and blockading only the greater fortresses, had vigorously followed up with his overwhelming force the retreating army of the Republicans, and driven it over the Maritime Alps. Unable to withstand so formidable an assailant, they must have retired within the French frontier, leaving not only Mantua and Genoa, but the army which occupied the Neapolitan territory, to its fate. This bold and decisive plan of operations was such as suited the ardent character of the Russian general, and which, if left to himself, he would unquestionably have adopted; but his better judgment was overruled by the cautious policy of the Aulic Council, who, above all things, were desirous to secure a fortified frontier for its Venetian acquisitions, and compelled him, much against his will, to halt in the midst of the career of victory, and besiege in form the fortresses of Lombardy. Something was no doubt gained by their reduction (3); but not to be compared with what might have been expected if an overwhelming mass had been interposed between the French armies, and the conquerors of Naples had been compelled to lay down their arms between the Apennines and the Po (4).

(1) Jom. xi. 310, 315. Dum. i. 176, 179. Arch. Ch. ii. 46, 48.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 47.

(3) Arch. Ch. ii. 47, 48. Hard. vii. 248, 249.

(4) A Russian officer of Suwarrow's staff at this juncture wrote to Count Rostopchin at St. Petersburg:—"Our glorious operations are thwarted by those

very persons who are most interested in their success. Far from applauding the brilliant triumphs of our arms, the cursed cabinet of Vienna seeks only to retard their march. It insists that our great Suwarrow should divide his army, and direct it at once to several points, which will save Moreau from total destruction. That cabinet, which fears a too

at Naples in the first fervour of revolutionary success, had been involved in those consequences, the invariable attendant on a sudden concession of power to the people, spoliation of the rich, misery among the poor, and inextricable embarrassment in the finances of the state. In truth, the Directory, pressed by extreme pecuniary difficulties, looked to nothing so much in their conquests as indemnifying themselves for the expenses of their expeditions, and invariably made it the first condition with all the revolu-

to democratic ascendency in Naples were found to be bitter in the extreme; successive contributions of twelve and fifteen millions of francs on the capital and provinces, of which mention has already been made, excited the utmost dissatisfaction, which was greatly increased soon after by the expe-

general alarm; the Jacobin clubs, begun to terror of revolutionary times, the national guard totally failed in producing any efficient force. While the confiscation of the church property, and the

elited by the
oppression
of the
French.

Ruffo, in Calabria, succeeded in exciting a revolt, and raised to field an army, fifteen thousand strong, composed of the descendants of the Brutians and Lucanians, while another insurrection, hardly less formidable, broke out in the province of Apulia. But these tumultuary bodies, imperfectly armed and totally undisciplined, were unable to withstand the veteran troops of the late French Republic. The great slaughter of the late French Republic.

couraged by this success, marched into Apulia, where his forces were greatly augmented, and he was reinforced by some regular troops dispatched from Sicily (41).

May 7
Macdonald
commences

to from designs which it dazes

as the generous project

Italy, broke out into insurrection in every quarter. Duhesme left Apulia in open revolt, and had a constant fight to maintain before he reached Capua; a few hundred English landed at Salerno, and, aided by the peasantry, advanced to Vietri and Castello-mare; while the insurgents of the Roman and Tuscan states, becoming daily more audacious, interrupted all the communications with the north of Italy. Notwithstanding these menacing circumstances, Maedonald effected his retreat in the best order, and without sustaining any serious loss. He arrived at Rome on the 16th, where he reinforced his army by the divisions of Grenier, continued his route by Acquapendente to Florence, where he rallied to his standards the divisions of Ganthier and Montrichard, who were in the environs of Pistoia and Bologna, and established his headquarters at Lucca in the end of May. The left wing, composed of the Polish division Dombrowsky, took post at Carzana and Aula; the centre occupied the great road from Florence to Pistoia, the right, the high road to Bologna, and all the passes into the Modena, with an advanced guard in the city of Bologna itself (1).

He enters into communication with Moreau, and concert measures with him.

In this situation, Moreau and Maedonald were in open communication; and it was concerted between them that the chief body of their united forces should be brought to bear upon the Lower Po, with a view to threaten the communications of the Allies, disengage Mantua, and compel their retreat from the plain of Lombardy.

For this purpose it was agreed that Maedonald should cross the Apennines and advance towards Tortona; his right resting on the mountains, his left on the right bank of the Po, while Moreau, debouching by the Bochetta, Gavi, and Serravalle, should move into the plain of that river. As the weight of the contest would in this view fall upon the former of these generals, the division of Victor, which formed the eastern part of Moreau's army, was placed under his orders, and a strong division directed to descend the valley of the Trebbia, in order to keep up the communication between the two armies, and support either as occasion might require (2).

Position of the Allies at this juncture.

The position of the allied armies, when these formidable preparations were making to dislodge them from their conquests, were as follows: Kray, who commanded the whole forces on the Lower Po,

had 24,000 men under his orders, of whom one-half were engaged in the siege of Mantua; while 3,000 under Hohenzollern, had been dispatched to cover Modena, and 6,000, under Ott, watched the mouths of the lateral valleys of the Taro and the Trebbia: The main body of the army, consisting of the divisions Zoph, Kaim, and the Russians, amounting to 28,000 men, was encamped in the neighbourhood of Turin, with its advanced posts pushed into the entrance of the Alpine valleys. Frölich, with 6,000 men, observed Coni; Wukassowich, with 5,700, occupied Mondovi, Ceva, and Salicetto; Lusignan, with 5,000 combatants, blockaded Fenestrelles; Bagrathion, with a detachment of 1,500 men, was posted in Cezanna, and the Col di Passietta; Schwickowsky, with 6,000 men, blockaded Tortona and Alexandria; the corps of Count Bellegarde, 15,000 strong, detached from the Tyrol, was advancing from Como to form the siege of these two fortresses; while that of Haddick, amounting to fourteen-thousand bayonets, which formed the communication between the rear of the army and the left wing of the Archduke

(1) Th. x. 297. Jom. xi. 338, 341. Dum. i. 154, 155.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 49. Jom. xi. 341, 342. Th. x. 299.

Charles, was preparing to penetrate into the Valais by the Simplon and the pass of Nufenen (1).

Thus, though the Altes had above a hundred thousand men in the field, they could hardly assemble thirty thousand men at any one point; so immensely had they extended themselves over the plains of Lombardy, and so obstinately had the Anti Council adhered to the old system of establishing a cordon of troops all over the territory which they occupied. This vast dispersion of force was attended with little danger as long as the shattered army of Marengo alone was in the field; but the case was widely different when it was supported by thirty-five thousand fresh troops, prepared to penetrate into the centre and most unprotected part of their line. Had Macdonald been able to push on as rapidly from Florence as he had done in arriving at that place, he might have crushed the divisions of Kleber, Hohenzollern, and Ott, before they could possibly have been suc-

assemble a sufficient body of men to resist the attack at the menaced point (2)

Macdonald, having at length completed his preparations, raised his camp in the neighbourhood of Pistoia on the 7th June, with an army, including Victor's division, of thirty-seven thousand men, and marched across the Apennines to Bologna. Hohenzollern, who commanded in the Modena, withdrew his posts into the town of

Modena, where he was attacked in a few days, and, after a bloody engagement, driven out with the loss of fifteen hundred men. Had the right wing of the Republicans punctually executed his instructions, and occupied the road to Ferrara during the combat round the town, the whole of the Imperialists would have been made prisoners. Immediately after this success, Macdonald advanced to Parma, driving the Imperial cavalry before him, while Ott, who was stationed at the entrance of the valley of the Taro, seeing that his retreat was in danger of being cut off, retired to Piacenza, leaving the road open to Victor, who upon that debouched entirely from the Apennines, and effected his junction with Macdonald at Borgo San Donnino, entirely to the north of the mountains. On the day following, Piacenza was occupied by the Republicans, and their whole army established in the neighbourhood of that city (3).

No sooner was Suwarrow informed of the appearance of Macdonald's army in Tuscany, than he adopted the same energetic resolution by which Napoleon had repulsed the attack of Wurmser on the Adige three years before. All his advanced posts in Piedmont were recalled, the brigade of Lusignan, near Fenestrelles, the divisions Frélich, Bagration and Schiwakowsky began their march on the same day for the general rendezvous at Asti, and Ray received orders instantly to

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 48, 49. Jour. xi. 343, 344.
Dum. i. 160, 182, 185. Th. x. 297, 298.

(2) Th. x. 298, 299. Dum. i. 184, 189. Jour. xi. 344.

(3) Arch. Ch. ii. 51, 52. St. Cyr. i. 213, 214.
Dum. i. 191, 192. Jour. xi. 346, 349.

were provisioned, a great intrenched camp formed near the *tête-de-pont* of Valence, and all the stores recently captured, not necessary for the siege of the citadel, removed from Turin. By these means the Allied army was rapidly reassembled, and on the 15th June, although Kray with the troops from Mantua had not yet arrived, thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry were encamped at Garofalo, on the ground they had occupied six weeks before (1).

The two
armies meet
on the
Trebbia.

The intelligence of Suwarrow's approach induced Macdonald to concentrate his forces; but, nevertheless, he flattered himself with

the hope that he would succeed in overwhelming Ott before he could be supported by the succours which were advancing. Three torrents, flowing parallel to each other, from the Apennines to the Po, intersected the plain occupied by the French army; the Nura, the TREBBIA, and the Tidone. The bulk of the Republican forces were on the Nura; the divisions Victor, Dombrowsky, and Rusca, were in advance on the Trebbia, and received orders to cross it, in order to overwhelm the Austrian division stationed

June 17. behind the Tidone. For this purpose, early on the morning of the 17th, they passed both the Trebbia and the Tidone, and assailed the Imperialists with such vigour and superiority of force, that they were speedily driven back in great disorder; but Suwarrow, aware, from the loud sound of the cannonade, of what was going forward, dispatched Chastellar with the advanced guard of the main army, which speedily re-established affairs. By degrees, as their successive troops came up, the superiority passed to the side of the Allies; the Austrians rallied, and commenced a vigorous attack on the division of Victor, while the Russian infantry, under Bagrathion, supported

First and
Indecisive
action there.

the left of the Imperialists. Soon after, Dombrowsky, on the left, having brought up his Polish division by a sudden charge, captured eight pieces of cannon, and pushed forward to Caramel; but at this critical moment, Suwarrow ordered a charge in flank by Prince Gortschakoff, with two regiments of Cossacks and four battalions, while Ott attacked them in front. This movement proved decisive; the Poles were broken, and fled in disorder over the Tidone. Meanwhile the right of the Republicans, composed of Victor's division, withstood all the efforts of Bagrathion, and was advancing along the Po to gain possession of the bridge of S.-Giovanni, when the rout of Dombrowsky's division obliged them to retire. This retreat was conducted in good order, till the retiring columns were charged in flank by the Cossacks, who had overthrown the Poles; in vain the French formed squares, and received the assailants with a rolling fire; they were broken, great part cut to pieces, and the remainder fled in disorder over the Trebbia. The Russians, in the heat of the pursuit (2), plunged like the Carthaginians of old into that classic stream, but they were received with so destructive a fire of musketry and grape-shot from the batteries of the main body of the French on the other side, that they were forced to retire with great loss; and the hostile armies bivouacked for the night on the same ground which had been occupied nineteen hundred years before by the troops of Hannibal and the Roman legions (5).

(1) St.-Cyr, i. 215, 217. Jom. xi. 349, 353. Dum. i. 193. Arch. Ch. ii. 55.

(2) Jom. xi. 354, 357. Dum. i. 195, 197. Th. x. 300, 301. Arch. Ch. ii. 53.

(3) It is remarkable, that the fate of Italy has thrice been decided on the same spot; once in the battle between the Romans and Carthaginians, again, in 1746, in that between the Austrians and French, and in 1799, between the French and

Russians. A similar coincidence will frequently again occur in the course of this work, particularly at Vittoria, Leipsie, Lutzen, Fleuras, and many others; a striking proof how permanent are the operation of the causes, under every variety of the military art, which conduct hostile nations, at remote periods from each other, to the same fields of battle.—See ARCHDUKE CHARLES, ii. 61. The author visited this field in 1818, along with his

During the night, Suwarrow brought up all his forces, and, encouraged by the success of the preceding day, made his dispositions towards his own right, which was to assail that quarter, his best infantry, consisting of the divisions Bagrathion and Selwickowsky, under the orders of Prince Rosenberg. These troops received orders to pass the Trebbia, and advance by Settimo to St. Georgia, on the Dura, in order to interpose between the French left and the mountains. Melas commanded the centre, supported by a powerful reserve under Fröhlich; while Ott, with a small corps, formed the left, and was established on the high-road to Piacenza, rather to preserve the communication with its castle, than to take any active part in the engagement. The day was the anniversary of the battle of Kolin; and Suwarrow, to stimulate the ardour of the Austrians; gave for the watchword, "Theresa and Kolin," while the general instructions to the army were to combat in large masses, and as much as possible with the bayonet (1).

Macdonald, who intended to have delayed the battle till the day following, had only the divisions Victor, Dombrowsky, and Rusea, with the brigade of Salm, in position on the Trebbia; those of Olivier and Montrichard could not arrive in line till noon. A furious action commenced at six o'clock, between the troops of Bagrathion and Victor's division, which formed the extreme left of the French and rested on the mountains. The French general, seeing he was to be attacked, crossed the Trebbia, and advanced against the enemy. A bloody battle ensued on the ground intersected by the Torridella, till at length, towards evening, the steady valour of the Russians prevailed, and the Republicans were driven back with great slaughter over the Trebbia, followed by the Allies, who advanced as far as Settimo. On the French right, Salm's division, enveloped by superior forces, retreated with difficulty across the river. In the middle of the day, the divisions of Olivier and Montrichard arrived to support the centre; but though they gained at first a slight advantage, nothing decisive occurred, and at the approach of night they retired at all points over the Trebbia, which again formed the line of separation between the hostile armies (2).

Worn out with fatigue, the troops, on both sides, lay down round

of Rosenberg alone had crossed the stream, and reached Settimo, in the rear of the French lines; but disquieted by its separation from the remainder of

without distinguishing, on friends and foes, and the extraordinary spectacle

was exhibited of a nocturnal combat by moonlight, by hostile bodies up to the middle in water. At length the officers succeeded in putting an end to this useless butchery, and the rival armies, separated only by the stream, sunk into sleep within a few yards of each other, amidst the dead and the dying (1).

Preparations of both parties for battle on the third day. The sun arose for the third time on this scene of slaughter; but no disposition appeared on either side to terminate the contest. Suwarrow, reinforced by five battalions and six squadrons, which had come up from the other side of the Po, again strengthened his right, renewed to Rosenberg the orders to press vigorously on in that quarter, and directed Melas to be ready to support him with the reserve. Hours, even minutes, were of value; for the Russian general was aware that Moreau had left his position on the Apennines, that the force opposed to him was totally inadequate to arrest his progress, and he was in momentary expectation of hearing the distant sound of his cannon in the rear of the army. Every thing, therefore, depended on a vigorous prosecution of the advantages gained on the two preceding days, so as to render the co-operation of the Republican armies impossible. On the other hand, Macdonald, having June 19. now collected all his forces, and reckoning on the arrival of Moreau on the following day, resolved to resume the offensive. His plan was to turn at once both flanks of the enemy; a hazardous operation at all times, unless conducted by a greatly superior army, by reason of the dispersion of force which it requires, but doubly so in the present instance, from the risk of one of his wings being driven into the Po. The battle was to be commenced by Dombrowsky moving in the direction of Niviano to outflank the corps of Rosenberg, while Rusca and Victor attacked it in front; Olivier and Montrichard were charged with the task of forcing the passage of the river in the centre; while the extreme right, composed of the brigade of Salm and the reserve of Watrin, were to drive back the Russian left by interposing between it and the river Po (2).

Desperate conflict on the Trebbia. Such was the fatigue of the men on both sides, that they could not commence the action before ten o'clock. Suwarrow at that hour, was beginning to put his troops in motion, when the French appeared in two lines on the opposite shore of the Trebbia, with the intervals between the columns filled with cavalry, and instantly the first line crossed the river with the water up to the soldiers' arm-pits, and advanced fiercely to the attack. Dombrowsky pushed on to Rivallo, and soon outflanked the Russian right; and Suwarrow, seeing the danger in that quarter ordered the division Bagrathion to throw back its right in order to face the enemy, and, after a warm contest, that general succeeded in driving the Poles across the river. But that manœuvre having uncovered the flank of the division Schwickousky, it was speedily enveloped by Victor and Rusca, driven back to Casaleggio, and only owed its safety to the invincible firmness of the Russian infantry, who formed square, faced about on all sides, and by an incessant rolling fire maintained their ground till Bagrathion, after defeating the Poles, came up in their rear, and Chastellar brought up four battalions of the division of Forster to attack them in front. The Poles, entirely disconcerted by their repulse, remained inactive; and, after a murderous strife, the French were overwhelmed, and Victor and Rusca driven, with great loss, over the Trebbia (3).

In the centre, Olivier and Montrichard had crossed the river, and attacked

(1) Jom. xi. 362. Th. x. 304.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 55. Jom. xi. 363. Th. x. 303.

(3) Jom. xi. 364, 365. E 304. Hard. vii. 256, 257

the Austrians, under Melas, with such vigour, that they made themselves masters of some pieces of artillery, and threw the line into disorder. Already Montrichard was advancing against the division Forster, in the middle of the Russian line, when the Prince of Lichtenstein, at the head of the reserve, composed of the flower of the Allied army, who at that moment was defiling towards the right to support Schwiebkowsky, suddenly fell upon their flank, when already somewhat disordered by success, and threw them into confusion, which was soon increased into a defeat by the heavy fire of Forster on the other side. This circumstance decided the fate of the day. Forster was now so far relieved as to be able to support Suwarrow on the right, while Melas was supported by the reserve, who had been ordered, in the first moment of alarm, in the same direction. Prince Lichtenstein now charged the division of Olivier with such fury, that it was forced to retire across the river. At the extreme left of the Allies, Watrin advanced, without meeting with any resistance, along the Po, but he was ultimately obliged to retreat, to avoid being cut off and driven into the river by the victorious centre. Master of the whole left bank of the river, Suwarrow made several attempts to pass it, but he was constantly repulsed by the firmness of the French reserves, and night at length closed on this scene of carnage (1).

Such was the terrible battle of the Trebbia, the most obstinately contested and bloody which had occurred since the commencement of the war, since, out of thirty-six thousand men in the field, the French, in the three days, had lost above twelve thousand killed and wounded, and the Allies nearly as many. It shows how much more fierce and sanguinary the war was destined to become when the iron bands of Russia were brought into the field, and how little all the advantages of skill and experience avail, when opposed to the indomitable courage and heroic valour of northern states. But though the losses on both sides were nearly equal, the relative situation of the combatants was very different at the termination of the strife. The Allies were victorious, and soon expected great reinforcements from Hohenzollern and Klenau, who had already occupied Parma and Modena, and would more than compensate their losses in the field, whereas the Republicans had exhausted their last reserves, were dejected by defeat, and had no second army to fall back upon in their misfortunes. These considerations determined Maedonald, he decamped during the night (2), and retired over the Nura, directing his march to re-enter the Apennines by the valley of the Taro.

Early on the following morning, a despatch was intercepted from

joy, and made them resolve to pursue the enemy with the utmost vigour. For this purpose, all their divisions were instantly dispatched in pursuit, Rosenberg, supported by Forster, moved rapidly towards the Nura, while Melas, with the divisions Ott and Fröhlich, advanced to Placentia. Victor's division, which formed the rear-guard on the Nura, was speedily assailed by superior forces both in front and flank, and, after a gallant resistance, broken, great part made prisoners, and the remainder dispersed over the mountains. Melas, on his side, quickly made himself master of Placentia, where the

French wounded, five thousand in number, were taken prisoners, including the generals Olivier, Rusca, Salm, and Cambray; and had he not imprudently halted the division Frœlich at that town, the whole troops of Watrin would have fallen into his hands. Macdonald, on the following day, retired to Parma, from whence he dislodged Hohenzollern, and with infinite difficulty rallied the remains of his army behind the Larda, where they were reorganized

June 21. in three divisions. The melancholy survey showed a chasm in his ranks of above fifteen thousand men since crossing the Apennines. At the same time, Lapoyce, defeated at Casteggio by a Russian detachment, was driven from the high-road, and with great pain escaped by mountain paths into the neighbourhood of Genoa (1). All the French wounded fell into the hands of the Allies; they made prisoners in all, during the battle and in the pursuit, four generals, five hundred and six officers, and twelve thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight private soldiers (2).

The pursuit of Suwarrow was not continued beyond the Larda, in consequence of intelligence which there reached him of the progress of Moreau. Macdonald retired, therefore, unmolested to Modena and Bologna, where he repulsed General Ott, who made an attack on his army at Sassocolo, and regained the positions which it had occupied before the advance to the Trebbia (3).

Successful operations, during the battle, of Moreau against Bellegarde. In effect, the return of Suwarrow towards Tortona was become indispensable, and the dangerous situation of matters in his rear showed the magnitude of the peril from which, by his rapid and decided conduct, he had extricated his army. Moreau, on the 16th, debouched from the Apennines by Gavi, and moved in two columns towards Tortona, at the head of fourteen thousand men. He advanced, however, with such circumspection, that on the 18th he had not passed Novi and Serravalle; and on that day the fate of the Neapolitan army was determined on the banks of the Trebbia. Bellegarde, unable with four brigades to arrest his progress, retired to a defensive position near Alexandria, leaving Tortona uncovered, the blockade of which was speedily raised by the French general. Immediately after, Moreau attacked Bellegarde with forces so immensely superior, that he defeated him, after a sharp action, with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. The Austrians, in disorder, sought refuge behind the Bormida, intending to fall back under the cannon of Valence (4); and Moreau was advancing towards Placentia, when he was informed of the victory of Suwarrow and the fall of the citadel of Turin.

Fall of the citadel of Turin. June 20. The vast military stores found by the Allies in the city of Turin, enabled them to complete their preparations for the siege of its citadel with great rapidity. A hundred pieces of heavy cannon speedily armed the trenches; forty bombs were shortly after added; the batteries were opened on the night of the 10th June, and on the 19th the second parallel was completed. Night and day the besiegers from that time thundered on the walls from above two hundred pieces of artillery, and such was the effect of their fire, that the garrison capitulated within twenty-four hours after, on condition of being sent back to France. This conquest was of immense importance. Besides disengaging the besieging force of General Kaim, which instantly set out to reinforce Bellegarde, and rendering the Allies masters of one of the strongest fortresses in Piedmont, it put into their hands 61 pieces of cannon, 40,000 muskets, and 50,000 quintails of powder, with the loss of only fifty men (5).

(1) Dum. i. 205. Th. x. 306. Jom. xi. 371, 373.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 56.

(3) Jom. xi. 374, 375. Dum. i. 205.

(4) Jom. xi. 379, 380. Dum. i. 204. Th. x. 307. Arch. Ch. ii. 57.

(5) St. Cyr. i. 220. Jom. xi. 380, 381. Dum. i. 206.

June 27
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No sooner was Suwarrow informed, upon the Larda, of the advance of Moreau and the defeat of Bellegarde, than, without losing an instant, he wheeled about, and marched with the utmost expedition to meet this new adversary. But Moreau fell back as rapidly as he approached, and after revictualling Tortona, retired by Novi and Gavi to his former defensive position on the Apennines. The

Allies occupied Novi, and pushed their advanced posts far up the valleys into the mountains, while the blockade of Tortona was resumed; and the besieging force, removed from the lines before Mantua, sat down again before that important fortress. Macdonald commenced a long and painful retreat over the Apennines into Tuscany and the Genoese territory; a perilous lateral operation at all times in presence of an enemy in possession of the plain of the Po, and doubly so after the recent disaster which they had experienced. Fortunately for the French, Suwarrow had received at this time positive orders from the Aulic Council, ever attached to methodical proceedings, to attempt no operation beyond the Apennines till the fortresses of Lombardy were reduced (1), in consequence of which he was compelled to remain in a state of inactivity on the Orba, while his antagonist completed his hazardous movements. Macdonald arrived, leaving only a detachment on the Apennines July 27 near the sources of the Trebbia, at Genoa by Lerici, in the middle of July, in the most deplorable state, his artillery dismounted or broken down, the cavalry and caissons without horses, the soldiers half naked, without shoes or linen of any sort, more like spectres than men. How different from the splendid troops which, three years before, had traversed the same country, in all the pomp of war, under the standards of Napoléon (2)!

Reo gan za
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Moreau

Mutual exhaustion, and the intervening ridge of the Apennines, now compelled a cessation from hostilities for above a month. Suwarrow collected forty five thousand men in the plain between Tortona and Alexandria, to watch the Republicans on the mountains of Genoa, and cover the sieges of those places and of Mantua, which were now pressed with activity. The French, in deep dejection, commenced the reorganization of their two armies into one, Macdonald was recalled, and yielded the command of the right wing to St-Cyr, Perignon was intrusted with the centre, and Lemoine, who brought up twelve fresh battalions from France, put at the head of the left. Montrichard and Lapoye were disgraced, and Moreau continued in the chief command. Notwithstanding all the reinforcements he had received, this skilful general was not able, with both armies united, to reel on on more than forty thousand men for operations in the field, the poor remains of above a hundred thousand that might have been assembled for that purpose at the opening of the campaign (3).

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The remarkable analogy must strike the most inattentive observer, between the conduct of Suwarrow previous to the battle of the Trebbia, and that of Napoléon on the approach of Wurmser to succour Mantua. Imitating the vigour and activity of his great predecessor, the Russian general, though at the head of an army considerably inferior to that of his adversaries, was present every where at the decisive point. The citadel of Turin, with its immense magazines, was captured by an army of only forty thousand men, in presence of two whose united force exceeded fifty thousand, for although Suwarrow ordered up great part of the garrison of Mantua to reinforce his army previous to the battle of the Trebbia,

(1) Arch. Ch. xl. 63

(2) Journ. xi. 381 387 335 St. Cyr. i. 218 219

(3) Ch. vi. 67

(3) Journ. xi. 388 390 Oum. i. 220, 223 St. Cyr.

i. 220

they were prevented from joining by an autograph order of the Emperor, who deemed the acquisition of that fortress of greater importance than any other consideration to the Austrian empire (1). The Russian general, therefore, had to contend not only with the armies of Macdonald and Moreau, but the obstacles thrown in his way by the Imperial authorities; and when this is considered, his defeat of the Republicans, by rapidly interposing the bulk of his forces between them, and turning first on the one, and then on the other, must be regarded as one of the most splendid feats which the history of the war afforded.

Naval efforts of the Directory to get back the army from Egypt.

During these critical operations at the foot of the Apennines, the Directory had succeeded in assembling a great naval force in the Mediterranean. Already convinced, by the disasters they had experienced, of the impolicy of the eccentric direction of so considerable

a part of their force as had resulted from the expedition to Egypt, they exerted all their efforts to obtain the means of their return, or at least open a communication with that far-famed, now isolated army. No sooner was intelligence received of the defeat of Jourdan at Stockach, than Bruix, minister of marine, repaired to Brest, where he urged, with the utmost diligence, the preparations for the sailing of the fleet. Such was the effect of his exertions, that, in the end of April, he was enabled to put to sea, with twenty-five ships of the line, at the time when Lord Bridport was blown off the coast with the Channel fleet. As soon as intelligence was received that they had sailed, the English admiral steered for the southern coast of Ireland, while Bruix, directing his course straight to Cadiz, raised the blockade of that harbour, which Admiral Keith maintained with fifteen ships of the line, and passed the straits of Gibraltar. The entrance of the combined fleet into the Mediterranean seemed to announce decisive events, but nevertheless it came to nothing. The immense armament, amounting to fifty ships of the line, steered for the bay of Genoa, where it entered into communication with Moreau, and for a time powerfully supported the spirits of his army. But after remaining some weeks on the Italian coast, Bruix sailed for Cadiz, from whence he returned to Brest, which he reached in the middle of August, without either having fallen in with any of the English fleets, or achieved any thing whatever, with one of the most powerful squadrons that ever left a European harbour (2).

Which came to nothing.

June 20. Expulsion of the Republicans from Naples.

The retreat of Macdonald was immediately followed by the recovery of his dominions by the King of Naples. The army of Cardinal Ruffo, which was soon swelled to twenty thousand men, advanced against Naples, and having speedily dispersed the feeble bands of the revolutionists who opposed his progress, took possession of that capital; and a combined force of English, Russians, and Neapolitans having a few days after entered the port, the fort St. Elmo was so vigorously besieged, that it was obliged to capitulate, the garrison returning to France, on condition of not again serving till exchanged. Capua was next attacked, and surrendered, by capitulation, to Commodore Trowbridge, which was followed, two days after, by the reduction of the important fortress of Gaeta, on the same terms, which completed the deliverance of the Neapolitan dominions (3).

Bloody revenge of the Royalist party at Naples.

The French, who surrendered in these two last fortresses, gave up unconditionally to their indignant enemies the revolted Neapolitans who had taken a part in the late revolution. A special commission

(1) Jom. xi. 386. Hurd. vii. 250, 251.

(2) Jom. xi. 394, 396. Ann. Reg. 1799; 291.

(3) Ann. Reg. 1799, 292. Bol. iii. 395, 410.

was immediately appointed, which, without much formality, and still less humanity, condemned to death the greater part of those who had been engaged in the insurrection, and a dreadful series of executions, or rather massacres, took place, which but too clearly evinced the relentless spirit of Italian revenge. But the executions at Naples were of more moment, and peculiarly call for the attention of the British historians, because they have affixed the only stain to the character of the greatest naval hero of his country. The garrisons of the *Castello Nuovo*, and the *Castella del Uovo*, had capitulated to Cardinal Ruffo, on the express condition that they themselves, and their families, should be protected, and that they should have liberty either to retire to London, or remain in Naples, as they should feel inclined, but in this latter case they were to experience no molestation in their persons or property. This capitulation was subscribed by Cardinal Ruffo, as viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples, by Captain *Tracy*, the name granted an security, if preferred

following the fortunes of the tricolor standard. In terms of this treaty, two vessels, containing the refugees from Castellomare, had already arrived safe at Marseilles (1).

But these wise and humane measures were instantly interrupted by the arrival of the King and Queen, with the court, on board of Nelson's fleet. They were animated with the strongest feelings of revenge against the Republican party, and unfortunately the English admiral, who had fallen under the fascinating influence of Lady Hamilton, who shared in all the feelings of the court, was too much inclined to adopt the same principles. He instantly declared the capitulation null, as not having obtained the king's authority, and entering the harbour at the head of his fleet, made all those who had issued from the castles, in virtue of the capitulation, prisoners, and had them chained, two and two, on board his own fleet. The King, whose humanity could not endure the sight of the punishments which were preparing, returned to Sicily, and left the administration of justice in the hands of the Queen and Lady Hamilton. Numbers were immediately condemned and executed, the vengeance of the populace supplied what was wanting in the celerity of the criminal tribunals, neither age, nor sex, nor rank were spared, women as well as men, youths of sixteen, and grey-headed men of seventy, were alike led out to the scaffold, and infants of twelve years of age sent into exile. The Republicans behaved, in almost every instance, in their last moments with heroic courage, and made men forget, in pity for their misfortunes, the ingratitude or treason of which they had previously been guilty (2).

The fate of the Neapolitan admiral, Prince Francis Carracciolo, was particularly deplorable. He had been one of the principal leaders of the revolution, and after the capitulation of the castles had retired to the mountains, and brought bound on board the court-martial was there immediately sent to execution. In vain the old man entreated that he might be shot, and not die the death of a malefactor, his prayers were disregarded, and after being strangled by the executioner, he was thrown from the vessel into the sea. Before night his body was seen erect

(1) *Deb.* 1. 401. 402. *Ann. Reg.* 1792. 292.

(2) *Deb.* 11. 406. 407. *Constitutional History* 1. 47. 49.

in the waves from the middle upwards, as if he had risen from the deep to reproach the English hero with his unworthy fate (1).

Reflections on these unpardonable atrocities For these acts of cruelty no sort of apology can or ought to be offered. Whether the capitulation should or should not have been granted, is a different and irrelevant question. Suffice it to say, that it had taken place, and that, in virtue of its provisions, the Allied powers had gained possession of the castles of Naples. To assert in such a case that the King had not ratified the capitulation, and that without such a sanction it was null, is a quibble, which, though frequently resorted to by the French, is unworthy of a generous mind, and destitute of any support in the law of nations. The capitulation of the vanquished should ever be held sacred in civilized warfare, for this reason, if no other existed, that, by acceding to it, they have deprived themselves of all chance of resistance, and put the means of violating it with impunity in the hands of their adversaries—it then becomes a debt of honour which must be paid. The sovereign power which takes benefit from one side of a capitulation by gaining possession of the fortress which the capitulants held, is unquestionably bound to perform the other part of the bilateral engagement, by whomever entered into, which, so far from repudiating, it has, by that very act, homologated and acquiesced in. If the Neapolitan authorities were resolutely determined to commit such a breach of public faith, the English admiral, if he had not sufficient influence to prevent it, should at least have taken no part in the iniquities which followed, and not stained the standard of England by judicial murders committed under its own shadow. In every point of view, therefore, the conduct of Nelson in this tragic affair was inexcusable; his biographer may perhaps with justice ascribe it to the fatal ascendancy of female fascination (2); but the historian, who has the interests of humanity and the cause of justice to support, can admit of no such alleviation, and will best discharge his duty by imitating the conduct of his eloquent annalist, and with shame acknowledging the disgraceful deeds (3).

And on the inference to be drawn from the campaign. The events of this campaign demonstrate, in the most striking manner, the vast importance of assuming the offensive in mountain warfare; and how frequently a smaller force, skilfully led, may triumph over a greater in such a situation, by the simple expedient of turning its position by the lateral valleys, and appearing unexpectedly in its rear. The nature of the ground is singularly favourable to such an operation, by the concealment which lofty intervening ridges afford to the turning column, and the impossibility of escape to the one turned, shut in on both sides by difficult, perhaps impassable ridges, and suddenly assailed in rear when fully occupied in front. The brilliant successes of Lecourhe at Glarus and Martinsbruck; and of Hotze at Luciensteg, were both achieved, in opposition to superior forces, by the skilful application of this principle. Against such a danger, the intrenchments usually thrown up in the gorge or at the summit of mountain passes, afford but little protection; for open behind (4), they are easily taken by the column which has penetrated into the rear by a circuitous route, and, destitute of casements, they afford no sort of protection against a plunging fire from the heights on either side.

Nor did this memorable struggle evince in a less convincing manner the croneous foundation on which the opinion then generally received rested,

(1) Southey, ii. 47, 53. Bot. iii. 414, 415.

(2) Southey, 47, 53, Bot. iii. 415, 416. Ward. vii. 332, 333.

(3) It deserves to be recorded to the honour of Napoleon, that he endeavoured to palliate Nelson's

share in these dark transactions, ascribing it to misinformation, and the fascinating ascendancy of Lady Hamilton.—O'MEARA, i. 308.

(4) Arch. Ch. i. 95, 96.

the successful irruption of Massena into the Grisons, after the disaster of Stockach brought the Republican standards to the Rhine; or the splendid stroke of Lecourbe in the Engadine, when the disaster of Magnano caused them to lose the line of the Adige? In tactics, or the lesser operations of

equally safe against the efforts of an adversary, who by having acquired possession of the entrance of all the valleys leading from thence into the plain, is enabled to cut him off both from his communications and his resources. Water descends from the higher ground to the lower, but the strength and sinews of war in general follow an opposite course, and ascend from the riches and fortresses of the plain to the sterility and desolation of the mountains. It is in the valley of the Danube and the plain of Lombardy that the struggle between France and Austria ever has and ever will be determined (1), the lofty ridges of Switzerland and Tyrol, important as an accessory to secure the flanks of either army, are far from being the decisive point.

foundation for the anti-revolutionary alliance, which had been eloquently supported by Mr. Burke, and afterwards became the basis of the great confederacy which brought the war to a successful issue, gave the utmost uneasiness to the cabinet of Vienna. They were terrified at the very rapidity of the Russian conqueror's success, and endeavoured, by every means in their power, to moderate his disinterested fervour, and render his surprising success the means only of securing their great acquisitions in the north of Italy. Hence the jealousies, heartburnings, and divisions which destroyed the cordial co-operation of the Allied troops, which led to the fatal separation of the Russian from the Austrian forces both in Italy and Switzerland, and ultimately brought about all the disasters of the campaign. Had the hands of Austria been clean, she might have invaded France by the defenceless frontier of the Jura, and brought the contest to a glorious issue in 1799, while Napoleon was as yet an exile on the banks of the Nile. Twice did the European

and next from the anxiety of Austria, in 1799, to retain her iniquitous

perity is to be found in that strenuous, but upright course, which is equally the seduction and the violence of wickedness.

(1) Arch. Ch. i. 53, 51

CHAPTER. XXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1799.—PART II.

FROM THE BATTLE OF THE TREBBIA TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN.

ARGUMENT.

Dangerous position of the Republic at this juncture—Enormous consumption of human life since the commencement of the Campaign—Clear proof thus afforded of the error of the Directory in attacking Switzerland and Italy—Military preparations of the Allies and Republicans—Objects of the contending generals—Great Levy of troops by the Directory—Their Measures to reinforce the Armies—The Aulic Council injudiciously restrain Suwarrow from active operations—This leads to an agreement for a disastrous separation of the Austrian and Russian forces—Resumption of hostilities by the Republicans around Genoa—Progress of the Siege of Mantua—Description of that fortress—Commencement of the Siege by Kray—Its Surrender—Fall of Alexandria—Commencement of the Siege of Tortona—Position of the Republicans in front of Genoa—Magnanimous conduct of Moreau on Joubert's assuming the Command—Advance of the French to raise the Siege—Positions of the Allies—and of the French—Joubert had resolved to retreat on learning the fall of Mantua—He is attacked before doing so—of Joubert—Battle of Novi—The Allies are at first repulsed—Combine forces—The advance of Melas at length decides the Victory—Great Loss on both sides—Moreau still maintains himself on the crest of the Apennines—Separation of the victorious force—Operations of Championnet in the Alps at this time—Fall of Tortona—Situation of Masséna and the Archduke at Zurich—Insane dislocation of the Allied forces at this period by the Aulic Council—Description of the Theatre of War—Plan of the Allies—and of Masséna—Commencement of the Attack by Lecourbe on the St.-Gothard—The Imperialists are forced back at all points—They are driven from the Grimsel and the Furca—and the St.-Gothard—Successes of the French near Schwytz, who drive the Austrians into Glarus—Unsuccessful Attempt of the Archduke to cross the Limmat below Zurich—Being foiled, he marches to the Upper Rhine—Austrian left is defeated in Glarus—Successful Expedition of the Archduke against Mannheim—Plan of the Allies for a combined attack by Suwarrow and Korsakow on Masséna—Relative situation of the French and Russian centres at Zurich—Unfounded confidence of the latter—Masséna's able Plan of Attack—The passage of the Limmat is surprised below Zurich—Feigned attacks on Zurich and the Lower Limmat—Dreadful Confusion in the town of Zurich—Brave Resolution of Korsakow to cut his way through the enemy—He does so, but loses all his artillery and baggage—Success of Soult against Hotze above the Lake—Death of the latter officer—Operations of Suwarrow on the Ticino—Bloody Conflict above Airolo—The St.-Gothard is at length forced by the Russians—Dreadful Struggle at the Devil's Bridge—Arrived at Altdorf, Suwarrow is forced to ascend the Schächenthal—Difficult passage of that ridge to Mitten—He finds none of the expected reinforcements there—and is surrounded on all sides, and reluctantly compelled to retreat—He crosses the mountains into Glarus—Desperate Struggle at Næfels—Dreadful passage of the Alps of Glarus to Mantz on the Rhine—Bloody Conflicts with Korsakow near Constance—The Archduke hastens to his aid, and checks the further pursuit—Treaty between Russia and England for an Expedition to Holland—Vigorous Preparations for the Expedition in England—The Expedition sails, and lands on the Dutch coast—Action at the Helder—Defeat of the enemy—Capture of the Dutch Fleet at the Texel—The British are attacked by the Republicans, but repulse them with great loss—The English, joined by the Russians, at length advance—Plan of the attack—Disaster of the Russians on the right—Victory of the British in the centre and left—But the continued retreat of the Russians arrests the British in the midst of their success—Removal of the Dutch Fleet to England—The Duke of York renews the attack, and is successful—His critical Situation notwithstanding—Indecisive Action—Which leads to the Retreat of the British—Who first retire, and at length capitulate—Reflections on this disaster in the nation—Affairs of Italy after the Battle of Novi—The Imperialists draw round Coni—Championnet is constrained to attempt its relief—Measures to effect that object—Preparations for a decisive battle—Battle of Genola, in which the French are defeated—Success of St.-Cyr near Novi—Siege and Fall of Coni—Gallant Conduct of St.-Cyr in the Bocchetta Pass—Unsuccessful Attempt of the Imperialists upon Genoa—Who go into Winter Quarters—Fall of Ancona—Position of the respective parties at the conclusion of the

Since the period when the white flag waved at Sautour and the tricolor was displaced at Lyon and Toulon, the Republic had never been in such danger as after the first pause in the campaign of 1799. It was, in truth, the Allied forces in 1795 was torn by more vehement attacking powers in 1799. The war field greatly superior, not only no longer languished in retreat on the first reverse; the loss of three or four it won

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force; those cut on at most 110,000 (1); while the means of supplying these vast chasms were much more ample on the part of the Allied Monarchs than the French Directory. Never, in ancient or modern times, had such immense armies contended on

so extensive a field. The right of the Allies rested on the Maine; their centre was posted in Switzerland; while their left stretched over the plain of Lombardy to the foot of the Apennines; and a shock was felt all along this vast line, from the rocks of Genoa to the marshes of Holland. The results hitherto had been, to an unprecedented degree, disastrous to the French. From being universally victorious, they had everywhere become unfortunate; at the point of the bayonet they had been driven back, both in Germany and Italy, to the frontiers of the Republic; the conquests of Napoléon had been lost as they had been won; and the power which recently threatened Vienna, now trembled lest the Imperial standards should appear on the summits of the Jura, or the banks of the Rhone.

It was now apparent what a capital error the Directory had committed in overrunning Switzerland, in extending their forces through the Italian peninsula, instead of concentrating them to bear the weight of Austria on the Adige; and exiling their best army and greatest general in Africa at the very time when the Allies were summoning to their aid the forces of a new monarchy and the genius of a hitherto invincible conqueror. But these errors had been committed; their consequences had fallen like a thunderbolt on France; the return of Napoléon and his army seemed impossible; Italy was lost; and nothing but the invincible tenacity and singular talents of Masséna enabled him to maintain himself in the last defensive line to the north of the Alps, and avert invasion from France in the quarter where its frontier is most vulnerable. To complete its misfortunes, internal dissension had paralysed the Republic at the very time when foreign dangers were most pressing, and a new government added to its declining fortunes the weakness incident to every infant administration.

The preparations of the allies to follow up this extraordinary flow of prosperous affairs were of the most formidable kind. The forces in Italy amounted to one hundred and fifteen thousand men; and after deducting the troops required in the siege of Mantua, Alexandria, and other fortresses in the rear, Suwarrow could still collect above fifty thousand men to press on the dispirited army of Moreau in the Ligurian Alps, which could not muster twenty thousand soldiers around its banners. This army was destined to clear the Maritime Alps and Savoy of the enemy, and turn the position of Masséna, who still maintained himself with invincible obstinacy on the banks of the Limmat. The Archduke had not under his immediate orders at that period above forty-three thousand men, twenty-two thousand having been left in the Black Forest, to mask the garrisons in the *têtes-de-pont* which the French possessed on the Upper Rhine, and sixteen thousand in the Grisons and the central Alps, to keep possession of the important ridge of the St.-Gothard. But a fresh Russian army of twenty-six thousand men was approaching under Korsakow, and was expected in the environs of Zurich by the middle of August; and something was hoped from the insurrection of the Swiss who had been liberated from the French armies (1).

To meet these formidable forces, the French, who had directed all the new levies to the north of Switzerland, as the chiefly menaced point, had seventy-five thousand men, under Masséna, on the Limmat, and the utmost efforts were made in the interior to augment to the greatest degree this important army. The English and Russians also had combined a plan for the descent of forty thousand men on the coast of Holland, for which purpose seventeen thousand men were to be furnished by his Imperial Majesty and

(1) Archduke, ii, 2, 92. Dum. i. 223, 225. Jom. xii. 60, 72.

twenty-five thousand by Great Britain; and this force, it was hoped, would not only liberate Holland, but paralyse all the north of France, as General Brune had only fifteen thousand French troops in the United Provinces, and the native soldiers did not exceed twenty thousand (1). Thus, while the

summits of the Maritime Alps

But although the plan of the Allies was so extensive, the decisive point lay in the centre of the line, and it was by the Archduke that the vital blow was to be struck, which would at once have opened to them an entrance into the heart of France. This able commander impatiently awaited the arrival of the Russians under Korsakow, which would

from the interior, he had no such sudden increase to expect as awaited the Imperial forces. It was equally indispensable for the Republicans to resume the offensive without any delay in Italy, as the important fortresses of Mantua and Alexandria were now hard pressed by the Allies, and if not speedily

exhibited an energy commensurate to the crisis in which they were placed. The imminence of the peril induced them to exhibit it without disguise to both branches of the legislature. General Jourdan proposed to call out at once all classes of the conscripts, which, it was expected, would produce an increase of two hundred thousand men to the armies, and to levy a forced loan of 120,000,000 francs, or L. 4,800,000 on the opulent classes, secured on the national domains. Both motions were at once agreed to by the Councils. To render them as soon as possible available, the conscriptions were ordered to be formed into regiments, and drilled in their several departments, and marched off, the moment they were disposable, to the nearest army on the frontier, while the service of Lisle, Strasbourg, and the other fortresses was, in great part, intrusted to the national guards of the vicinity. Thus, with the recurrence of a crisis in the affairs of the Republic, the revolutionary measures which had already been found so efficacious were again put in activity. Bernadotte, who at this crisis was appointed minister at war, rapidly infused into all the departments of the military service his
 that it was to the
 its whom he assembled round the Imperial standards, that not only the victory of Zurich, at the close of the campaign, but the subsequent triumph of Marengo, were, in a great degree, owing (3).

(1) *Jon xlii* 60 178, 182 *Ann. Reg* 1792
 301 *Arch Ch* ii 2, 92

(2) *Arch Ch* ii 72, 26 *Dum.* i. 275

(3) *Cap* in *Lett. Cass.* ii 241 *Gek* i 90 *Jon*
 18. 29 *Th* x 334 337

Their measures to reinforce the armies. In order to counteract as far as possible the designs of the Allies, it was resolved to augment to thirty thousand men the forces placed on the summit of the Alps, from the St.-Bernard to the Mediterranean; while the army of Italy, debouching from the Apennines, should resume the offensive, in order to prevent the siege of Coni and raise those of Mantua and Alexandria; and Masséna should execute a powerful diversion on the Limmat ere the arrival of the Russians under Korsakow. For this purpose, all the conscripts on the eastern and southern departments were rapidly marched off to the armies at Zurich and on the Alps, and the fortresses of Grenoble, Briançon, and Fenestrelles, commanding the principal entrances from Piedmont into France, armed and provisioned. At the same time the direction of the troops on the frontier was changed. Championnet, liberated from prison, was intrusted with the command of the army of the Alps, while that of the army of Italy was taken from Moreau, under whom, notwithstanding his great abilities, it had experienced nothing but disaster, and given to Joubert; a youthful hero, who joined heroic valour to great natural abilities, and though as yet untried in the separate command of large armies, had evinced such talents in subordinate situations as gave the promise of great future renown if it had not been cut short in the very outset of his career on the field of Novi (1).

The Aulic Council injudiciously restrain Suwarrow from active operations. Suwarrow, who was well aware of the inestimable importance of time in war, was devoured with anxiety to commence operations against the army of Moreau in the Ligurian Alps, now not more than twenty thousand strong, before it had recovered from its consternation, or was strengthened by the arrival of Macdonald's forces, which were making a painful circuit by Florence and Pisa in its rear. But the Aulic Council, who looked more to the immediate concerns of Austria than the general interest of the common cause, insisted upon Mantua being put into their hands before any thing was attempted either against Switzerland, Genoa, or the Maritime Alps; and the Emperor again wrote to Suwarrow, positively forbidding any enterprise until that important fortress had surrendered. The impetuous marshal, unable to conceal his vexation, and fully aware of the disastrous effects this resolution would have upon the general fate of the campaign, exclaimed, "Thus it is that armies are ruined!" but nevertheless, obeying the orders, he dispatched considerable reinforcements and a powerful train of artillery by the Po, to aid the siege of Mantua, and assembled at Turin the stores necessary for the reduction of Alexandria. Disgusted, however, with the subordinate part thus assigned to him, the Russian general abandoned to General Ott the duty of harassing the retreat of the army of Naples, and encamped with his veterans on the Bormida, to await the tedious operations of the besieging forces (2).

Leads to an agreement for a disastrous separation of the Russian and Austrian forces.

This circumstance contributed to induce an event, attended ultimately with important effects on the fate of the campaign, viz., the separation of the Austrian and Russian forces, and the rupture of any cordial concert between their respective governments. The cabinet of Vienna were too desirous of the exclusive sovereignty of the conquests in Italy, to be willing to share their possession with a powerful rival; while the pride of the Russians was hurt at beholding their unconquered commander, whom they justly regarded as the soul of the confederacy, subjected to the orders of the Aulic Council, who could not

(1) Jom. xii. 25, 26. St.-Cyr, i. 221, 222.

(2) Chastellar's Memoirs, 137. Jom. xii. 27, 28. Hard. vii. 250, 251.

appreciate his energetic mode of conducting war, and frequently interrupted him in the midst of the career of conquest. At the same time, the English government were desirous of allowing the Russian forces to act alone in Switzerland, aided by the insurrection which they hoped to organize in that country, and beheld with satisfaction the removal of the Muscovite standards from the shores of the Mediterranean, where their establishment in a per-

Alexandria and Mantua, should be concentrated in Switzerland under Marshal Suwarrow, that the Imperialists should alone prosecute the war in Italy, and that the army of the Archduke Charles should act under his separate orders on the Upper Rhine. This plan itself was highly advisable, but, from the time at which it was carried into execution, it led to the most calamitous results (1).

The whole forces of the Republic, at this period actually on foot, did not exceed 220,000 combatants, and although the new conscription was pressed with the utmost vigour, it could not be expected that it could add materially of

being raised the French force to forty-eight thousand men, including three thousand cavalry and a powerful artillery, it was deemed indispensable on every account to resume offensive operations, in conjunction with the army of the Alps, which had now been augmented to a respectable amount. Every thing, accordingly, was put in motion in the valleys of the Alps and Apennines, and the French army, whose headquarters were at Corneghiano, occupied at Voltri, Savona, Vado, and Loano nearly the same position which Napoleon held, previous to his memorable descent into Italy in March 1796. But it was too late, all the activity of Moreau and Joubert could not prevent the fall of the bulwarks of Lombardy and Piedmont (3).

The siege of Mantua, which had been blockaded ever since the battle of Magnano, was pressed in good earnest by General Kray after the victory of the Trebbia. The capture of Turin having placed at the disposal of the Allies immense resources, both in artillery and ammunition, the desert of Macdonald relieved them from all anxiety as to the raising of the siege, thirty thousand men were soon collected round its walls, and the batteries of the besiegers armed with two hundred pieces of cannon. The garrison originally consisted of nearly eleven thousand men, but this force, barely adequate at first to man its extensive ramparts, was now considerably weakened by disease. The peculiar situation of this celebrated fortress rendered it indispensable that, at all hazards, the exterior works should be maintained, and this was no easy matter with an insufficient body of troops. The soldiers were provisioned for a year, but the inhabitants, thrice impoverished by enormous contributions, were in the most miserable condition, and the famine with which they were menaced, joined to the natural unhealthiness of the situation during the autumnal months, soon produced those contagious disorders ever in the rear of protracted war, which in spite of every precaution, seriously weakened the strength of the garrison (4).

(1) Archduke i 83 84
(2) Dum. i 233

(3) Nam i 235 Jom x i 29 30 St-Lyr i 222
(4) Dum 238, 250 Jom xii 31 35

Pajolo deepened to such a degree, that it might have prolonged for at least eight days his means of defence, and possibly, by preventing the besieging force taking a part in the battle of Novi, which shortly followed, altered the fate of the campaign (1)

July 8 While the bulwark of Lombardy was thus falling, after an unexpected short resistance, into the hands of the Imperialists, Count Bellegarde was not less successful against the citadel of Alexandria

Trenches were opened on the 8th July, and in a few days, eighty pieces of cannon were placed in battery, and such was the activity with which they were served, that in seven days they discharged no less than forty-two thousand

July 21 projectiles. On the 21st, the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, surrendered at discretion. Thus conquest was of great importance to the future projects of Suwarrow, but it was dearly purchased by the loss of General Chastellar, his chief of the staff, who was severely wounded soon after the first trenches were opened, an officer whose talents and activity had, in a great degree, contributed to the success of the campaign (2)

Commencement of the siege of Tortona Aug. 2 After the fall of Alexandria and Mantua, Suwarrow, faithful to the orders he had received from Vienna, to leave no fortified place in the enemy's hands in his rear, drew his forces round Coni, and commenced the siege of Tortona. His army was soon augmented by the arrival of General Kray with twenty thousand men from the siege of the latter

Aug. 12 place, who entered into line on the 12th August. The trenches were opened before Tortona on the 5th August, and on the 7th, the castle of Serravalle, situated at the entrance of one of the valleys leading into the Apennines, was taken after a short cannonade. But the French army, who were now concentrated under Joubert on the Apennines, was preparing an offensive movement, and the approaches to Genoa were destined to be the theatre of one of the most bloody battles on record in modern times (3)

The Republicans at this epoch occupied the following positions. The right wing, fifteen thousand strong, under St-Cyr, guarded the passes of the Apennines from Pontremoli to Torrigho, and furnished the garrison of Genoa. The centre, consisting of ten thousand, held the important posts of the Bocchetta and Campo Fredo, while the left, twenty-two thousand strong, was encamped on the reverse of the mountains on the side of Piedmont, from the

Position of the Republicans in front of Genoa upper end of the valley of Tanaro, and both guarded the communications of the whole army with France, and kept up the connexion with the corps under Championnet, which was beginning

to collect on the higher passes of the Alps. On the other hand, the Allies could only muster forty-five thousand in front of Tortona, General Kaim, with twelve thousand being at Cherasco to observe the army of the Alps, and Klenau in Tuscany, with seven thousand combatants, and the remainder of their great army occupied in keeping up the communications between their widely scattered forces (4)

Aug. 12 The arrival of Joubert to supersede him in the command of his army, had no tendency to excite feelings of jealousy in the mind of his great predecessor. Moreau was incapable of a personal feeling when the interest of his country was at stake, and with a magnanimity truly worthy of admiration, he not only gave his youthful successor the full benefit of his matured counsel and experience, but offered to accompany

(1) Journ. xii. 37. 47. Dum. i. 262. 272.

(2) Dum. i. 251. 255. Journ. x. 49. 51.

(3) Journ. xii. 93. Arch. Ch. ii. 90. 91. Dum. i.

(4) Arch. Ch. ii. 71. Journ. xii. 94. 97. St-Cyr i. 221. 222.

circumstances, he resolved, late on the night of the 14th, after such irresolution as throws great doubts on his capacity as general-in-chief, whatever his talents as second in command may have been, on retiring into the fastnesses of the Apennines, and only waited for the arrival of his scouts in the morning to give the necessary orders for carrying it into effect, when the commencement of the attack by the Allies compelled him to accept battle in the position which he occupied (1).

Aug 15
He is at
tacked be-
fore doing
so by
Suvwarrow
Death of
Joubert

Suvwarrow's design was to force back the right of the French, by means of the corps of Kray, while Bagrathion had orders to turn their left, and unite in their rear, under cover of the cannon of Serravalle, with that corps; while Derfelden attacked Novi in the centre, and Melas commanded the reserve, ready to support any

part of the army which required his aid. In pursuance of these orders, Kray commenced the attack at five in the morning, Bellegarde attacked Grouchy, and Ott Lemoine, the Republicans were at first taken by surprise; and their masses, in great part in the act of marching, or entangled in the vineyards, received the fire of the Austrians without being able either to deploy or answer it. Notwithstanding the heroic resistance of some brigades, the Imperialists sensibly gained ground, and the heads of their columns were already mounting the plateau, when Joubert hurried in person to the spot, and received a ball in his breast, ing, "Forward, let us throw fell, and with his last breath

Battle of
Novi

The confusion occasioned by this circumstance would have proved their corps a strange concentric,

they were calculated to take place at different times; and while this important advantage was gained on their left, the Russians in the centre were still resting at Pozzolo-Formigaro, and Melas had merely dispatched a detachment from Rivolta to observe the course of the Scrivia. This circumstance, joined to the opportune arrival of Moreau, who assumed the command and harangued the troops, restored order, and the Austrians were at length driven down to the bottom of the hill, on their second line. During this encounter, Bellegarde endeavoured to gain the rear of Pasturana by a ravine which encircled it, and was on the point of succeeding, when Pérignon charged him so vigorously with the grenadiers of Partouneaux and the cavalry of Richemont, that the Imperialists were driven back in confusion, and the whole left wing rescued from danger (5).

The Allies
were at first
repulsed

Hitherto the right of the Republicans had not been attacked, and St-Cyr availed himself of this respite to complete his defensive arrangements. Kray, finding the whole weight of the engagement on his the ider iles

(1) Jour 21^e 103 St Cyr i 237 243

Suvwarrow's order of battle at Novi was highly characteristic of that regular war of It was imply this: Kray and Bellegarde w

tended by a few horsemen instantly reconnoitring

speedily supported, Kray would be compelled to retreat. The Russians advanced with great gallantry to the attack; but a discharge from the division Laboissiere of musketry and grape, at half gunshot threw them into confusion; and, after an obstinate engagement, they were finally broken by a charge by Watrin, with a brigade of infantry, on their flank, and driven back with great loss to Pozzolo-Formigaro (1).

Combined attack of all their forces. The failure of these partial attacks rendered it evident that a combined effort of all the columns was necessary. It was now noon, and the French line was unbroken, although the superiority of numbers on the part of the Allies was nearly fifteen thousand men. Suwarrow, therefore, combined all his forces for a decisive movement; Kray, whom nothing could intimidate, received orders to prepare for a fresh attack; Derfelden was destined to support Bagrathion in the centre, Melas was directed to break up from Rivolta to form the left of the line, while Rosenberg was ordered in all haste to advance from Tortona to support his movement. The battle, after a pause, began again with the utmost fury at all points. It was for long, however, most obstinately disputed. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Kray, who returned above ten times to the charge, the Imperialists could make no impression on the French left; in vain column after column advanced to the harvest of death; nothing could break the firm array of the Republicans; while Bagrathion, Derfelden, and Milaradowitch, in the centre, after the most heroic exertions, were compelled to recoil before the terrible fire of the infantry and batteries which were disposed around Novi. For above four hours, the action continued with the utmost fury, without the French infantry being any where displaced, until at length the fatigue on both sides produced a temporary pause, and the contending hosts rested on their arms amidst a field covered with the slain (2).

The advance of Melas decides the victory.

The resolution of any other general but Suwarrow would have been shaken by so terrible a carnage without any result; but his moral courage was of a kind which nothing could subdue. At four o'clock the left wing of the Allies came up, under Melas, and preparations were instantly made to take advantage of so great a reinforcement. Melas was directed to assail the extreme right of the Republicans, and endeavour, by turning it, to threaten the road from Novi to Genoa, while Kray again attacked the left, and Suwarrow himself, with the whole weight of the Russians, pressed the centre. The resistance experienced on the left was so obstinate, that, though he led on the troops with the courage of a grenadier, Kray could not gain a foot of ground; but the Russians, in the centre, after a terrible conflict, succeeded in driving the Republicans into Novi, from the old walls and ruined towers of which they still kept up a murderous fire. But the progress of Melas on the right was much more alarming. While one of his columns ascended the right bank of the Scrivia and reached Serravalle, another by the left bank had already turned the Monte Rotondo, and was rapidly ascending its sides; while the general himself, with a third, was advancing against the eastern flank of the plateau of Novi. To make head against so many dangers, Moreau ordered the division Watrin to move towards the menaced plateau, but finding itself assailed during its march, both in front and rear, by the divisions of Melas, it fell into confusion, and fled in the utmost disorder, with difficulty cutting its way through the enemy on the road in the rear of the French position. It now became indispensable for the

(1) Dum. i. 323. Jom. xii. 109, 110. Th. x. 352. St.-Cyr, i. 248, 250.

(2) Th. x. 353. Jom. xii. 112, 113. Dum. i. 324, 325. St.-Cyr, i. 252, 254.

NonRepublicans to retire; for Lichtenstem, at the head of the Imperial cavalry

mained open but that which led by Pasturana to Oradea. Surrounded, he was, to his advantage, was preparing a last and simultaneous attack on the front and flanks of his opponent, when Moreau anticipated him by a general retreat. It was at first conducted in good order, but the impetuous assaults of the Allies soon converted it into a rout. Novi, stripped of its principal defenders, could no longer withstand the assaults of the Russians, who, confident of victory, and seeing the standards of the Allies in the rear of the French position rushed forward with resistless fury and deafening cheers, over the dead bodies of their comrades, to the charge, Lemoine and Gronchy with difficulty sustained themselves, in retiring, against the impetuous attacks of their unwearied antagonist Kray, when the village of Pasturana, in their rear, was carried by the Russians, whose vehemence increased with their success, and the only road practicable for their artillery cut off. Despair now seized their ranks; infantry, cavalry, and artillery disbanded, and fled in tumultuous confusion across the vineyards and orchards which adjoined the line of battle. The Russian army, on the other hand, was rather fatigued to

continue the pursuit (1)

Great loss on both sides The battle of Novl was the most bloody and obstinately contested that had yet occurred in the war. The loss of the Allies was 1800 killed, 5200 wounded, and 1200 prisoners; but that of the French was much more considerable, amounting to 4500 killed, 5300 wounded, and 3000 prisoners, besides 57 cannons, 28 caissons, and 4 standards. As the war advanced, and fiercer passions were brought into collision, the carnage became daily greater; the officers were more prodigal of their own blood and that of their soldiers; and the chiefs themselves, regardless of life, at length led them on both sides to the charge, with an enthusiasm which nothing

shock of the opposing squadrons, and kray, Bagration, and others led their troops to the mouth of the enemy's cannon, as if their duty had been that of merely commanding grenadier battalions (2).

The consequences of the battle of Novi were not so great as might have been expected from so desperate a shock. On the night of the 15th, Moreau regained in haste the defile of the Apennines, and posted St-Cyr, with a strong rear-guard, to defend the approaches to the Bochetta. In the first moments of consternation, he had serious thoughts of evacuating Genoa, and the artillery was already collected at San Pietro d'Arena for that purpose, but finding that he was not seriously disquieted, he again dispersed his troops through the mountains, nearly in the position they held before the battle. St-Cyr was intrusted with the right, where a serious impression was chiefly apprehended, and an attack which

(1) Joan sis 104, 120 Th x 556 556 Dam i 321 327 Arch Ch ii 72, 13 Si Cyr, l 235 254 (2) Dam i 323, 320 Joan sis 121 Si-Cyr l 255 270 Th x 355

Klenau made on that part of the position with five thousand men was repulsed, with the loss of seven hundred men to the Imperialists. Suwarrow himself, informed of the successes of the French in the small cantons of Switzerland, immediately detached Kray, with twelve thousand men, to the Tessino; while he himself, in order to keep an eye on Championnet, whose force was daily accumulating on the Maritime Alps, encamped at Asti, where he covered at once the blockade of Coni and the siege of Tortona (1).

Aug. 20.

Aug. 20.
Operations
of Cham-
pionnet in
the Alps
during this
time. Fall
of Tortona.

During the concentration of the Allied forces for the battle of Novi, this active commander so ably disposed his little army, which only amounted to sixteen thousand combatants, instead of thirty thousand, as he had been promised by the Directory, that he succeeded in forcing the passage of the Little St.-Bernard, and driving the Imperialists back to Suza. These successes continued even after the Russian commander took post at Asti; and in a variety of affairs of posts in the valleys

of the Alps, they succeeded in taking fifteen hundred prisoners and four pieces of cannon. But these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the fall of Tortona, which capitulated on the 23th August, on condition that, if not relieved by the 11th September, the place should be surrendered to the Allies. This conquest was the only trophy which they derived from the bloody battle of Novi. Moreau made an ineffectual attempt to relieve the blockade, and, finding it impossible to effect the object, retired into the fastnesses of the Apennines; while Suwarrow, who had received orders to collect the whole Russians in the Alps, set out, agreeably to the plan fixed on, with seventeen thousand men for the canton of the Tessino (2).

While these great events were passing to the south of the Alps, events of still more decisive importance occurred to the north of those mountains. Immediately after the capture of Zurich and the retreat of Masséna to Mount Albis, the Archduke established the bulk of his forces on the hills which separate the Glatt from the Limmat, and placed a line of posts along the whole line of that river and the Aar, to observe the movements of the Republicans. Each of the opposing armies in Switzerland numbered about seventy-five thousand combatants; but the French had acquired a decided superiority on the Upper Rhine, where they had collected forty thousand men, while the forces of the Imperialists amounted in that quarter only to twenty-two thousand. Both parties were anxiously waiting for reinforcements; but as that expected, by the Archduke, under Korsakow, was by much the most important, Masséna resolved to anticipate his adversary, and strike a decisive blow before that dreaded auxiliary arrived. For this purpose he commenced his operations by means of his right wing in the higher Alps, hoping, by the advantage which the initiative always gives in mountainous regions, to dispossess the Imperialists from the important position of the St.-Gothard, and separate their Italian from their German armies by the acquisition of these elevated ridges, which were universally at that period deemed the key to the campaign (3).

At the very time when the French general was making preparations for these important movements, the Aulic Council gave every possible facility to their success, by compelling the Archduke to depart with his experienced troops for the Rhine, and make way for the Russians under Korsakow, equally unskilled in mountain war-

Insane dis-
location of
the Allied
forces at
this period
by the
Aulic Coun-
cil.

(1) Jom. xii. 127, 128. Dum. i. 334, 335. St.-Cyr,

ii. 1, 3.
(2) Jom. xii. 129, 133, 138. Arch. Ch. ii. 74, 77.
Dum. i. 336, 337.

(3) Arch. Ch. ii. 77, 81. Jom. xii 55, 58. Dum.
i. 296.

fare, and unacquainted with the French tactics. In vain that able commander represented that the line of the Rhine, with its double barrier of fortresses,

and Austrians on the frontier of the Jura, where no fortresses existed to impede an invading force; that fifty thousand Russians in Switzerland could not supply the place of seventy thousand Austrians; and the chances, therefore, were that some serious disaster would occur in the most important part of the line of operations; and that nothing could be more hazardous than to make a change of troops and commanders in presence of a powerful and enterprising enemy, at the very time that he was meditating offensive operations. These judicious observations produced no sort of effect, and the court of Vienna ordered "the immediate execution of its will, without further objections (1)."

Description of the theatre of war To understand the important military operations which followed, it is indispensable to form some idea of the ground on which they took place. The St.-Gothard, though inferior in elevation to many other mountains in Switzerland, is nevertheless the central point of the country, and from its sides the greatest rivers in Europe take their rise. On the east, the Rhine, springing from the glaciers of Disentis and Hinter-Rhine, carries its waters, by a circuitous course, through the vast expanse of the lake of Constance to the German ocean; on the north, the Reuss and the Aar, descending in parallel ravines through rugged mountains, feed the lakes of Lucerne, Thun, and Brienz, and ultimately contribute their waters to the same majestic stream; on the west, a still greater river rises in the blue and glittering glacier of the Rhone, and descending through the long channel of the Valais, expands into the beautiful lake of Geneva; while to the south, the snows of the St.-Gothard nourish the impetuous torrent of the Tessino, which, after foaming through the rocks of Faido, and bathing the smiling shores of the Italian bailiwicks, swells out into the sweet expanse of the Lago Maggiore, and loses itself in the classic waves of the Po.

The line of the Limmat, which now separated the hostile armies, is composed of the Linth, which rises in the snowy mountains of Glarus, and, after

(1) Arch Ch ii 80 91 Th x 407 408

The relative situation and strength of the two armies at this period is thus given by the Archduke Charles:—

FRENCH		Infantry	Cavalry
From Huningen to the mouth of the Aar	.	10 991	3 208
From the mouth of the Aar to Mont Cenis,	.	23 792	3 239
From Mount Albis to the lake of Lucerne	.	11,701	561
From the lake of Lucerne to the valley of Oberthal.	.	7 732	
In the Valais, from Brig to St.-Maurice,	.	10 886	631
In the interior of Switzerland,	.	2 038	1,126
Total,	.	67,230	8 691

ALLIES		Infantry	Cavalry
Between Wetz and Wutach,	.	4 269	1,319
From the mouth of the Aar to the lake of Zurich,	.	37 053	10 458
Between the lake of Zurich and Lucerne	.	8 722	834
From the lake of Lucerne to the St.-Gothard,	.	4 161	173
On the St.-Gothard, the Grimsel, and the Upper Valais,	.	5 744	150
In the Grisons,	.	1 133	355
Swiss,	.	3 453	
Total,	.	64,415	13,301

forming in its course the lake of Zurich, issues from that great sheet of water, under the name of the Limmat, and throws itself into the Aar at Bruick. Hotze guarded the line of the Linth; the Archduke himself that of the Limmat. Korsakow was considerably in the rear, and was not expected at Schaffhausen till the 19th August (1).

One road, practicable for cavalry, but barely so for artillery at that period, crossed the St.-Gothard from Bellinzona to Altdorf (2). Ascending from Bellinzona on the southern side, it passes through a narrow defile close to the Tessino, between immense walls of rock between Faido and Airolo; climbs the steep ascent above Airolo to the inhospitable summit of the St.-Gothard; descends, by a torrent's edge, its northern declivity to the elevated mountain-valley of Urseren, from whence, after traversing the dark and humid gallery of the Unnerloch, it crosses the foaming cascade of the Reuss by the celebrated Devil's Bridge, and descends, through the desolate and rugged valley of Schol-lenen, to Altdorf on the lake of Lucerne. But there all vestige of a practicable road ceases; the sublime lake of Uri lies before the traveller, the sides of which, formed of gigantic walls of rock, defy all attempt at the formation of a path, and the communication with Lucerne is carried on by water along the beautiful lake of the four cantons. The only way in which it is possible to proceed on land from this point, is either by shepherds' tracks towards Stantz and the canton of Underwalden, or by the rugged and almost impracticable pass of the Schachenthal, by which the traveller may reach the upper extremity of the canton of Glarus. From the valley of Urseren, in the heart of the St.-Gothard, a difficult and dangerous path leads over the Furca and the Grimsel, across steep and slippery slopes, where the most experienced traveller can with difficulty keep his footing, to Meyringen, in the valley of Oberhasli.

Plan of the
Allies The plan of the Allies was, that Hotze, with twenty-five thousand Austrians, should be left on the Linth; and at the end of September a general attack should be made on the French position along the whole line. Korsakow was to lead the attack on the left with his Russian forces; Hotz in the centre with the Austrians; while Suwarrow, with seventeen thousand of his best troops, flushed with the conquest of Italy, was to assail the right flank of the Republicans, and by the St.-Gothard throw himself into the rear of their position on the Limmat. This design might have been attended with success, if it had been undertaken with troops already assembled on the theatre of operations; but when they were to be collected from Novi and Bavaria, and undertaken in presence of a general perfectly master of the ground, and already occupying a central position in the midst of these converging columns, it was evidently attended with the most imminent hazard, as if any of the columns did not arrive at the appointed time, the whole weight of the enemy might be expected to fall on the first which appeared (3).

And of
Masséna,
Aug. 11. Masséna intrusted to Lecourbe, whose skill in mountain warfare had already been amply evinced, the important duty of throwing forward his right wing, and expelling the Imperialists from the higher Alps; while he himself, by a false attack along the whole line, and especially upon Zurich in the centre, distracted the attention of the enemy, and prevented him from perceiving the accumulation of force which was brought to bear on the St.-Gothard. Early on the morning of the 14th August, his troops were every where in motion. On the left, the Allied

(1) Th. x. 409, 410. Arch. Ch. i. 96.

(2) The magnificent chaussée, which now tra-

verses this mountainous and romantic region, was not formed till the year 181

(3) Th. x. 411. Arch.

outposts were driven in along the whole line; and in the centre the attack was so impetuous that the Austrians were forced back almost to Zurich, where the Archduke rapidly collected his forces to resist the inroad. After considerable bloodshed, as the object was gained, the Republicans drew off, and resumed their positions on the Limmat (1).

Commence-
ment of the
attack by
Lecourbe on
the St
Gothard The real attack of Lecourbe was attended with very different results. The forces at his disposal, including those of Thureau in the Valais, were little short of thirty thousand men, and they were directed with the most consummate ability. General Gudin, with five battalions, was to leave the valley of the Aar, force the ridge of the Grimsel, and forming a junction with General Thureau in the Valais, drive the Austrians from the source of the Rhone and the Furca. A second column of three battalions, commanded by Loison, received orders to cross the ridge of the Steinen between Oberhasli and the valley of Schöllenen, and descend upon Wasen; while a third marched from Engelberg upon Erstfeld, on the lake of Lucerne, and a fourth moved direct by the valley of Issi upon Altdorf. Lecourbe himself was to embark from Lucerne on board his flotilla, make himself master of Brunnen and Schwytz on its eastern shore, and combine with

The Impe-
rialists were
forced back
at all points The Republican parties, under Lecourbe and Oudinot, advanced by land and water against Schwytz, and after an obstinate combat, the united Swiss and Imperialists were driven from that canton into the Muttenthal. From Brunnen, the har-

difficulties, had crossed the Steinerberg and the glaciers of Susten, and not only forced the enemy back into the valley of Reuss, but, after five assaults, made himself master of the important elevated post of Wasen, in the middle

n driven up from Altdorf
uty they had no resource
whence they reached by Tavitch the valley of the Rhine (3).

They are
driven from
the Grimsel
and the
Furca Meanwhile successes still more decisive were achieved by the Republicans in the other parts of their mountain line. General Thureau at the same hour attacked Prince Rohan, who was stationed in the Valais, near Brig, to guard the northern approach to the Simplon, and defeated him with such loss, that he was constrained to evacuate the valley of

mountain. He succeeded in stopping the advance of the Republicans up the Valais, but during his absence the important posts of the Grimsel and Furca were lost, General Gudin, at the head of three thousand men, set out from

(1) *Ibid.* i. 298, 299.

(2) *Ibid.* i. 299, 301, 303. *Arch. Ch.* li. 803. i. 303, 307.

Journ. xii. 17, 18.

(3) *Arch. Ch.* li. 107, 108. *Journ. xii.* 19, 20. *Dans*

Goultanen, in the valley of the Aar, and after climbing up the valley, and surmounting with infinite difficulty the glaciers of Gielmen, succeeded in assailing the corps who guarded, amidst ice and snow, the rugged summit of the Grimsel from a higher point than that which they occupied. After a desperate conflict, in which a severe loss was experienced on both sides, the Imperialists were driven down the northern side of the mountain into the Valais; and Colonel Strach, finding himself now exposed on both flanks, had no alternative but to retire by the dangerous pass called the Pas de Nufenen, over a slippery glacier, to Faido on the Tessino, from whence he rejoined the scattered detachments of his force, which had made their escape from the Valais by paths known only to chamois hunters through the Val Formazza at Bellinzona (1).

Lecourbe, ignorant of the success of his right wing; on the succeeding day pursued his career of victory in the valley of the Reuss. Following the retiring columns of the Imperialists up the dark and shaggy pass of Schollenen, he at length arrived at the Devil's Bridge, where a chasm thirty feet wide, formed by the blowing up of the arch, and a murderous fire from the rocks on the opposite side of the ravine, arrested his progress. But this obstacle was not of long duration. During the night the Republicans threw beams over the chasm; and the Austrians, finding themselves menaced on their flank by General Gudin, who was descending the valley of Urseren from the Furca by Realp, were obliged to evacuate that almost impregnable post, and retire to the heights of the Crispalt, behind the Oberalp, near the source

And the St-
Gothard.

of the Rhine. There they maintained themselves, with great resolution, against the Republican grenadiers till the evening; but on the following day as they were assailed by the united forces of Lecourbe and Gudin, they were finally broken and driven back to Hantz, with the loss of a thousand prisoners and three pieces of cannon. At the same time, a detachment took possession of the summit of the St.-Gothard, and established itself at Airolo, on the southern declivity of the mountain (2).

Successes of
the French
left, who
drive the
Imperialists
into Glarus.

While Lecourbe was gaining these great successes on the right, his left, between the lakes of Lucerne and Zurich, was equally fortunate. General Chabran, on the extreme left, cleared the whole western bank of the lake of Zurich as far as Weggis, the central columns drove the Imperialists from Schwytz into the Muttenthal, and defeated Jellachich at Ensiedlen; and on the following day, aided by Chabran, who moved against his flank by the Wiggisthal, they totally routed the Austrians, who fell back, with the loss of twelve hundred prisoners, by the lake of Klonthal, into the canton of Glarus. Thus, by a series of operations, as ably executed as they were skilfully conceived, was the whole left wing of the Imperialists routed and driven back in less than forty-eight hours, with the loss of ten pieces of cannon, four thousand prisoners, and two thousand killed and wounded, and the important post of the St.-Gothard, with all its approaches and lateral valleys, wrested from their hands (3).

Unsuccessful
attempt
of the Arch-
duke to
cross the
Limmat be-
low Zurich.

These brilliant successes, however, were only gained by Masséna through the great concentration of his forces on the right wing. To accomplish this he was obliged to weaken his left, which, lower down in the plain, guarded the course of the Aar. The Archduke

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 105, 107. Jom. xii. 80, 81. Dum. i. 308, 309. Ebel, Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse, 325.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 108, 110. Jom. xii. 81, 82. Dum. i. 308, 309.

(3) Arch. Ch. ii. 212, 213. Jom. xii. 82, 84. Dum. i. 305.

Many readers will recognise, in the theatre of these operations, the scenes indelibly engraven on their memory by the matchless sublimity of their features.

resolved to avail himself of this circumstance to strike a decisive blow against that weakened extremity, in which he was the more encouraged by the arrival of twenty thousand Russians of Korsakow's corps at Schaffhausen, and the important effect which success in that quarter would have in threatening the communications of the Republican army with the interior of France. For this purpose, thirty thousand men were assembled on the banks of the river, and the point selected for the passage at Gross Dettingen, a little below the junction of the Reuss and the Aar. Hotze was left in Zurich with eight thousand men, which he engaged to defend to the last extremity, while Korsakow promised to arrive at Ober Endingen, in the centre of the line, with twenty-three thousand men. The march of the columns was so well concealed, and the arrangements made with such precision, that this great force reached the destined point without the enemy being aware of their arrival, and every thing promised a favourable issue to the enterprise, when it proved abortive from the difficulties of the passage, and the want of skill and due preparation in the Austrian engineers. The bridges for the crossing of the troops were commenced under such a violent fire of artillery

as speedily cleared the opposite banks, but it was found impossible to anchor the pontoons in the rocky bed of the stream, and the rapidity of the current rendered it hopeless to construct the bridges in any other manner. Thus, from the want of a little foresight and a few precautions on the part of the engineers, did a project fail, as ably conceived as it was accurately executed by the military officers, and which promised to have altered the fate of the campaign, and perhaps of the war. Had the passage been effected, the Archduke, with forty thousand men, would have cleared all the right bank of the Aar, separated the French left wing on the Rhine from their centre and right in Switzerland, compelled Masséna to undertake a disastrous retreat into the canton of Berne, exposed to almost certain destruction the small corps at Basle, and opened to immediate invasion the defenseless frontier of the Jura, from the united troops of the Archduke, Korsakow, and Suwarrow. The want of a few grappling irons defeated a project on which perhaps the fate of the world depended. Such is frequently the fortune of war (1).

Desirous still of achieving something considerable with his veteran troops before leaving the command in Switzerland, the Archduke, after his troops had resumed their position, again concentrated his left under Hotze. But the usual jealousies between the troops and commanders of rival nations prevented this project from being carried into execution, and before the end of the month the Austrians, under their able commander, were in full march for the Upper Rhine, leaving twenty-five thousand men, under Hotze, as an auxiliary force to support Korsakow until the arrival of Suwarrow from the plains of Piedmont (2).

This change of commanders, and weakening of the Allied forces, presented too great chances of success to escape the observation of so able a general as Masséna, whose army was now augmented, by reinforcements from the interior, to above eighty thousand men. The movement commenced with an attack by Soult, with the right wing of the Republicans, upon Hotze, who occupied the canton of Glarus, and, after several sharp skirmishes, a decisive action took place near Nafels, in which the Austrians were defeated, and compelled to fall back to a defensive line in

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 119 120. Dam. i. 311 312. (2) Journ. xi. 92 277. Arch. Ch. ii. 177 178. Journ. xii. 87, 92.

their rear, extending from the lake of Zurich by Wasen through the Wallenstadter See, by Sargans to Coire, in the Grisons. It was at this critical moment that the Archduke, yielding to the pressing commands of the Aulic Council, was compelled to abandon the army with the great body of his troops, leaving the united force of Korsakow and Hotze, fifty-six thousand strong, scattered over a line forty miles in length, to sustain the weight of Masséna, who could bring sixty-five thousand to bear upon the decisive point around the ramparts of Zurich (1).

The arrival of the Archduke was soon attended with important effects upon Aug. 26. the Upper Rhine. The French had crossed that river at Mannheim on the 26th August with twelve thousand men, and driving General Muller, who commanded the Imperialists, before them, laid siege to Philipsburg, on which they had commenced a furious bombardment. But the approach of the Austrian commander speedily changed the state of affairs. The columns of that prince rapidly approaching, threatened to cut off their retreat to the Rhine, and they were obliged hastily to raise the siege and retire to Mannheim.

Sept 6. The insufficient state of defence of that important place, inspired
Successful expedition of the Archduke against Mannheim. Sept. 11. the Archduke with the design of carrying it by a *coup-de-main*. Its fortifications had, some months before, been levelled by the Republicans; but since that time, they had been indefatigable in their endeavours to restore them, and they were already in a respectable state of defence. On the 17th, the Austrians, in two columns, one of fourteen thousand men, the other of seven thousand, with a reserve of eight thousand, moved towards Mannheim, and on the following day gave the assault. A thick fog favoured the enterprise; the Austrians got into the redoubts almost before Sept. 18. the French were aware of their approach, and drove them over the Rhine, with the loss of eighteen hundred prisoners, and twenty-one pieces of cannon. This success threw a momentary lustre over the expedition, for which the Allies were about to pay dear by the disasters experienced before Zurich (2).

Plan of the Allies for a combined attack, by Suwarrow and Korsakow, on Masséna. After the departure of the Archduke, it was concerted between Suwarrow, Korsakow, and Hotze, that the former of these commanders should set out from Bellinzona on the 21st September, and attack the Republican positions near Airolo on the Tessino. On the 25th, he expected to be at Altdorf, after having made himself master of the St.-Gothard. From thence he was to form a junction with Korsakow at Zurich, and with their united forces assail the position of Masséna on the Limmat in front, while Hotze attacked it in flank. By this means they flattered themselves that they would be able to march on the Aar with the mass of their forces, and drive the French back upon the frontier of the Jura and their own resources. This project was well conceived, in so far as the turning the French position by the St.-Gothard was concerned, and if it had all been executed as vigorously and accurately as it was by Suwarrow, the result might have been very different, but it presented almost insurmountable difficulties in the execution, from the rugged nature of the country in which the principal operations were to be conducted, the difficulty of communicating from one valley or one part of the army to another, and the remote distances from which the corps who were to combine in the operation were to assemble. It would have been more prudent with such detached bodies, to have chosen the Misocco and the Bernardine for the field marshal's

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 135, 139. Th. x. 412, 413. Jom. xii. 231, 284.

(2) Jom. xii. 238, 341. Arch. ii. 149.

march, as that would have brought him down, by roads practicable for artillery, through the Via-Mala into the heart of the Austrian army, under cover of the posts which they still occupied in the Grisons; but it did not promise such brilliant results in the outset as that which he adopted, and it was more suitable to the impetuous character of the Russian veteran to throw himself at once through the narrow ravines of the St.-Gothard upon the flank of his adversary's line (1).

Meanwhile Korsakow collected the greater part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Zurich, where they were encamped between the ramparts of the town and the banks of the Sill. The position which they occupied, and the necessity of striking a decisive blow before the arrival of Suwarrow, suggested to Masséna a plan which he conceived and executed with the most consummate ability. He had a superiority, until the arrival of Suwarrow, of ten thousand over the Allies; but the corps which that commander brought with him would turn the balance as far the other way (2). Now, therefore, was the moment, by a decisive blow in the centre, to ruin the Allied army before the junction of that dreaded commander. But the distribution of these troops rendered this superiority still more important; for Masséna could assemble thirty-nine thousand on the decisive line of the Limmat (3), while Korsakow could only collect twenty-five thousand, the bulk of whom were grouped together under the cannon of Zurich, where their numbers were of no avail, and their crowded state in a narrow space only unimpeded any military movements.

The temper and feeling of the Russian troops, even more than their defective position, rendered them the ready victims of a skilful and daring adversary. Justly proud of their long series of victories over the Turks, and of the decisive impression which Suwarrow had made in the Italian campaign, they had conceived both an unreasonable confidence in their own strength, and an unfounded contempt for their enemies. This feeling was not the result of a course of successes over an antagonist with whom they had repeatedly measured their strength, but of a blind idea of superiority, unfounded either in reason or experience, and likely to lead to the most disastrous consequences. In presence of the first general then in Europe, at the head of a greatly superior force, Korsakow thought it unnecessary to adopt other measures or take greater precautions than if he had been on the banks of the Dniester, in front of an undisciplined horde of bar-

the bulk of his forces further down the river at Kloster-Fahr, where it was slenderly guarded; and thus to turn the position under the ramparts of that

(1) Dum. li. 58. 61. Arch. Ch. li. 172. 178. Journ. xli. 211, 212.

(2) The French army in the field was 76,000; that of the Allies without Suwarrow, 70,000; with him, 88,000.—*Journ.* xli. 215.

(3) Journ. xli. 215. 216. Arch. Ch. li. 183. 185.

(4) Arch. Ch. li. 181, 182.

(5) Th. x. 414. 415. Journ. xli. 217, 218.

(6) The presumption and arrogance of Korsakow were carried to such a pitch, that, in a conference with the Archduke Charles, shortly before the battle, when that great general was pointing out the positions which should in an especial manner be guarded, and said, pointing to the map, "Here you

By great exertions the French engineers collected, by land-carriage, twelve pontoons and thirty-seven barks at Dietikon, on the evening of the 23d September, where they were concealed behind an eminence and several hedges, and brought down to the margin of the river at daybreak on the following morning. The French masked batteries were then opened, and by the superiority of their fire the opposite bank was speedily cleared of the feeble detachments of the enemy who occupied it, and the passage commenced. Six hundred men, in the first instance, were ferried over, and the French artillery, directed by General Foy, protected this gallant band against the attacks of the increasing force of the enemy, till the boats returned with a fresh detachment. Meanwhile the pontoons arrived, at a quick trot, from Dietikon; the bridge began to be formed, and the troops, ferried over, attacked and carried the height on the opposite side, though defended with the most obstinate valour by three Russian battalions, from whence seven pieces of cannon had hitherto thundered on their crossing columns. By seven o'clock the plateau of Kloster-Fahr, which commanded the passage, was carried, &c. with the artillery which crowned it, and before nine the bridge was completed, and Oudinot, with fifteen thousand men, firmly established on the right bank of the river.

While this serious attack was going on in the centre, General Ménard on the left had, by a feigned attack, induced the Russian commander, Durasow, to collect all his forces to resist the threatened passage on the lower Limmat, and Mortier, by a vigorous demonstration against Zurich, retained the bulk of the Russian centre in the neighbourhood of that city. His troops were inadequate to produce any serious impression on the dense masses of the Russians who were there assembled; but while he was retiring in confusion, and Korsakow was already congratulating himself on a victory, he was alarmed by the increasing cannonades in his rear, and intelligence soon arrived of the passage at Kloster-Fahr, the disaster of Markoff, and the separation of the right wing under Durasow from the centre, now left to its own resources at Zurich. Shortly after, he received the most alarming accounts of the progress of Oudinot; he had made himself master of Hong, and the heights which surround Zurich on the north west; and, in spite of a sally which Korsakow made towards evening, at the head of five thousand men, which compelled the enemy to recede to the foot of the heights to the north of the town, they still maintained themselves in force on that important position, barred the road of Winterthur, the sole issue to Germany, and all but surrounded the Allied army within the walls of the city. Before nightfall, Masséna, fully sensible of his advantages, summoned the Russian commander to surrender, a proposal to which no answer was returned.

During these disasters the confusion in Zurich rose to the highest pitch. The immense confluence of horsemen, baggage-waggons, suddenly thrown back upon the city, its streets were soon completely blocked up; the cries of the wounded in from all quarters; the trampling of the cavalry as they made their way through the dense mass, and the dying to make head against the enemy from all sides, formed a scene hitherto unknown in the history of war.

should place a battalion."—"A company goes," said Korsakow. "No," replied the Russian, "a battalion."—"I understand you," replied another, "an Austrian battalion, *crâtes*." Harp. vii. 287.

which a parallel can only be found in the horrors of the Moscow retreat. When night came, the extensive watch-fires on all the heights to the north and west of the city, showed the magnitude of the force with which they were threatened in that quarter, while the unruffled expanse of the lake offered no hope of escape on the other side, and the bombs which already began to fall in the streets, gave a melancholy presage of the fate which awaited them if they were not speedily extricated from their perilous situation (1).

Brave reso-
lution of
Korsakow
to force
his way
through

In these desperate circumstances, Korsakow evinced a resolution as worthy of admiration as his former presumptuous confidence had been deserving of censure. Disdaining the proposal to sur-
render, he spent the night in making arrangements for forcing,

masses of
during
the night

French outposts Strengthened by these reinforcements, Korsakow resolved to attempt the passage through the enemy on the following day.

Sept 28
He cuts
his way
through the
enemy, but
loses all his
baggage and
artillery

At daybreak, on the 28th, the Russian columns were formed in order of battle, and attacked with the utmost impetuosity the division Lorges and the brigade Bonterns, which had established themselves on the road to Wintherthur, the sole line of retreat which remained to them. The resistance of the French was ob-

stinato and the carnage frightful, but the Russians fought with the courage of despair, and at length succeeded in driving the Republicans before them and opening a passage. The whole army of Korsakow was then arranged for a retreat, but contrary to every rule of common sense, as well as the military art, he placed the infantry in front, the cavalry in the centre, and the artil-

lery in the rear, leaving only a slender detachment to defend

means against the cavalry in the centre were more successful. The divisions Lorges and Gazan, by reiterated charges on the moving mass, at length succeeded in throwing it into confusion, the disorder soon spread to the rear; all the efforts of the generals to arrest it proved ineffectual; the brave Serey, destined to honourable distinction in a more glorious war, was wounded and made prisoner, and amidst a scene of unexampled confusion, a hundred

and
up-
of

the Immat, while Oudinot, carrying every thing before him, fell from the heights on the north, the garrison defiled after the main army in confusion; soon the gates were seized, a mortal struggle ensued in the streets, in the course of which the illustrious Lavater, seeking to save the life of a soldier threatened with death, was barbarously shot. At length all the troops

(1) Journ. all. 234 236 Arch. Ch. i. 125, 126
Th. 2. 417, 418

(2) Arch. Ch. II. 127 Th. 2. 418 419

who remained in Zurich laid down their arms; and Korsakow, weakened by the loss of eight thousand killed and wounded, and five thousand prisoners, besides his whole artillery and ammunition, was allowed to retire without further molestation by Elisan to Shaffhausen (1).

Success of Soult's attack on the Imperial right, on the upper part of the line above the lake, was hardly less successful. Hotze had there retained only two battalions, at his headquarters of Kaltbrunn; the remainder were dispersed along the vast line, from the upper end of the lake of Zurich by Sargans, to Coire in the Grisons. Accumulating his forces, Soult skilfully and rapidly passed the Linth, at three in the morning of the 25th. One hundred and fifty volunteers first swam across the river, with their sabres in their teeth, during the darkness of the night, and aided by the artillery from the French side, speedily dispersed the Austrian posts on the right bank, and protected the disembarkation of six companies of grenadiers, who soon after made themselves masters of Schenis.

Wakened by the sound of the cannon, Hotze ran, with a few officers and a slender escort, to the spot, and fell dead by the first discharge of the Republican videttes. This calamitous event threw the Austrians into such consternation, that they fell back from Schenis to Kaltbrunn, from which they were also dislodged before the evening. At the same time, the French had succeeded in crossing a body of troops over the river, a little lower down, at Shemersken, and advanced to the bridge of Grynau, where a desperate conflict ensued. These disasters compelled the Austrians to retreat to their position at Wesen, where they were next day assaulted by Soult, and driven first behind the Thiers, and at length over the Rhine, with the loss of three thousand prisoners, twenty pieces of cannon, all their baggage, and the whole flotilla, constructed at a great expense, on the lake of Wallenstadt (2).

While these disasters were accumulating upon the Allied force, which he was advancing to support, Suwarrow was resolutely and faithfully performing his part of the general plan. He arrived at Taverno on the 15th August, and dispatching his artillery and baggage, by Como and Chiavenna, towards the Grisons, set out himself, with twelve thousand veterans, to ascend the Tessino and force the passage of the St.-Gothard, while Rosenberg, with six thousand, was sent round by the Val Blegno, to turn the position by the Crispalt and Disentis, and so descend into the valley of Urseren by its eastern extremity. On the 21st September, the Russian main body arrived at Airolo, at the foot of the mountain, where General Gudim was

Sept. 27. strongly posted, with four thousand men, covering both the direct road over the St.-Gothard and the path which led diagonally to the Furca. Two days after, the attack was commenced, with the utmost resolution, by the Russian troops; but in spite of all their efforts, they were arrested in the steep zigzag ascent above Airolo by the rapid and incessant fire of the French tirailleurs. In vain the Russians, marching boldly up, answered by heavy platoons of musketry; their fire, however sustained, could produce little impression on detached parties of sharpshooters, who, posted behind rocks and scattered fir-trees, caused every shot to tell upon the dense array of their assailants. Irritated at the unexpected obstacles, the old marshal advanced to the front, lay down in a ditch, and declared his resolution "to be buried there, where his children had retreated

(1) Th. x. 419, 420. Arch. Ch. ii. 199, 201. Jom. xii. 257, 258. Hard. vii. 292.

(2) Jom. xii. 259, 260. Dum. ii. 61, 63.

over the rugged summit of the St -Gothard to the Valley of Urseren. At the same time, Rosenberg had assailed the French detachment on the summit of the Cr-

Sept 24
Dreadful
struggle at
the Devil's
Bridge Assailed by such superior forces, both in front and flank, Lecourbe had no alternative but a rapid retreat. During the night, therefore, he threw his artillery into the Reuss, and retired down the valley of Schöllenen, breaking down the Devil's Bridge to impede the progress of the enemy, while Gudin scaled the Furca by moonlight, and took post on the inhospitable summit of the Grimsel. On the following morning the united Russian forces approached the Devil's Bridge, but they found an impassable gulf, two hundred feet deep, which stopt the leading companies, while a

Reuss to scale the rocks on the left, by which the post at the bridge was turned, and beams being hastily thrown across, the Russian troops, with loud shouts, passed the terrific defile, and pressing hard upon the retiring column of the Republicans, effected a junction with Aussenberg at Wasen, and drove the enemy beyond Altdorf to take post on the sunny slopes where the Alps of

Sept 26 Surenen descend into the glassy lake of Lucerne (2).

Arrived at
Altdorf,
Suwarrow
is forced to
ascend the
Schächen
thal The capture of the St -Gothard by the Russians, and the expulsion of the French from the whole valley of the Reuss, was totally unexpected by Masséna, and would have been attended with important results upon the general fate of the campaign, if it had not been simultaneous with the disaster of Korsakow at Zurich, and the defeat of Hotze's corps by the Republicans on the 1st 1st. But, coming as it did in the midst of these misfortunes, it only induced another upon the corps whose defeat was about to signalize the Republican arms. Arrived at Altdorf, Suwarrow found his progress in a direct line stopt by the lake of Lucerne, whose perpendicular sides precluded all possibility of a further advance in that direction, while the only outlet to join the Allied forces on his right lay through the horrible defile of the Schächenthal, in which even the omiscious Lecourbe had not ventured to engage his troops, however long habituated to mountain warfare. There was now, however, no alternative, and Suwarrow, with troops exhausted with fatigue, and a heart boiling with indignation, was compelled to commence the perilous journey (3).

Difficult
passage of
that ridge
to Mitten No words can do justice to the difficulties experienced by the Russians in this terrible march, or the heroism of the brave men engaged in it. Obligated to abandon their artillery and baggage, the whole army advanced in single file, dragging the beasts of burden after them,

(1) Th. x 421, 422 Joen, xli 255 256, Dum. x 422 Arch. Ch. li 227 228

(2) Joen all 257 259 Th. x 422 Dum. li 52
53 Arch. Ch. li 229, 231

(3) Joen x 259, 260 Dum. li 51, 52 Th. x 422 Arch. Ch. li 235.

up rocky paths, where even an active traveller can with difficulty find a footing. Numbers slipped down the precipices, and perished miserably; others, worn out with fatigue, lay down on the track, and were trodden under foot by the multitude who followed after them, or fell into the hands of Lecourbe, who closely hung upon their rear. So complete was the dispersion of the army, that the leading files had reached Mitten before the last had left

Sept. 28. Altdorf; the precipices beneath the path were covered with horses, equipages, arms, and soldiers unable to continue the laborious ascent. At length the marshal reached Mitten, where the troops, in a hospitable valley, abounding with cottages and green fields, hoped for some respite from their fatigues; and where, in conformity to the plan agreed on, they were to have met the Austrian corps of Jellachich and Linken, to threaten the right of the Republicans (4).

Sept. 25. But it was too late: the disasters of the Imperialists deprived them of all hope of relief from this quarter. Jellachich, faithful to his instructions, had broken up from Coire and the valley of the Rhine on the 23th, with eight battalions made himself master of the village of Mollis, and driven the Republicans back to Naefels, at the bridge of which, however, they resolutely defended themselves. But on the following day, the French, issuing from Wasen, menaced the retreat of the Austrians by the side of the Wallenstadter See; and Jellachich, informed of the disasters at Zurich, the death of Hotze, and the retreat of his corps, made haste to fall back behind the Rhine. On the same day, Linken, who had crossed from the valley of the Rhine by the valley of Sernst and the sources of the Linth, after making prisoners two battalions whom they encountered, appeared in the upper part of the valley of Glarus, so as to put Molitor between two fires. His situation now appeared all but desperate, and by a little more vigour on the part of the Russians might have been rendered so; but the retreat of Jellachich having enabled Molitor to accumulate his forces against this new adversary, he was obliged to retreat, and after remaining inactive for three days at Schwanden, recrossed the mountains, and retired behind the Rhine (2).

And is there surrounded on all sides, and reluctantly forced to retreat. Suwarrow thus found himself in the Muttenthal, in the middle of the enemy's forces, having the whole of Masséna's army on one side, and that of Molitor on the other. Soon the masses of the Republicans began to accumulate round the Russian marshal. Molitor occupied Mont Brakel and the Klonthal, the summit of the pass between the Muttenthal and Glarus, while Mortier entered the mouth of the valley towards Schwytz, and Masséna himself arrived at Fluellen, to concert with Lecourbe a general attack on the Russian forces. In this extremity, Suwarrow having, with the utmost difficulty, assembled his weary troops in the Muttenthal, called a council of war, and following only the dictates of his own impetuous courage, proposed an immediate advance to Schwytz, in the rear of the French position at Zurich, and wrote to Korsakow, that he would hold him answerable with his head for one step further that he continued his retreat. The officers, however, perceiving clearly the dangerous situation in which they were placed, strongly urged the necessity of an immediate retreat into Glarus and the Grisons, in order to strengthen themselves by that wing of the Allied army which alone had escaped a total defeat. At length, with the utmost difficulty, the veteran conqueror was persuaded to alter his

(1) Jom. xii. 270, 271. Th. x. 423. Arch. Ch. ii. 37.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 212, 220. Jom. xii. 271, 272* Dum. ii. 68, 69.

...reat, weeping with
... which his marvel-
... areer by the faults

of the generals placed under his command (1).

Sept 30. Preceded by the Austrian division under Aussenberg, the Russians ascended Mount Bragel, and chasing before them the detachments of Solitor, great part of whom were made prisoners near the lake Klonthal, hrew back that general upon the banks of the Linth. It was now the turn of the French. In the midst of dangers which would have overwhelmed an ordinary commander, he made the most judicious use of every inch of ground, and turning every way to face the adversaries who assailed him. Determined to block up the passage to the Russians, he ultimately took post at Naefels, already immortalized in the wars of Swiss independence, where he was furiously attacked, for a whole day, by Prince Bagration. Both parties fought with the most heroic courage, regardless of ten days' previous combats and marches, in which they had respectively been engaged, but all the efforts of the Russian grenadiers could not prevail over the steady resistance of the Republicans, and towards evening, having received reinforcements from Wasen, they sallied forth, and drove the assailants back to Glarus. On the same day Masséna, with a large force, attacked the rearguard of the Russians, which was winding, encumbered with wounded, along the Muttenthal, but Rosenberg halting, withstood their attack with such firmness, that the Republicans were compelled to give way, and then breaking suddenly from a courageous defensive to a furious offensive, he routed them entirely, and drove them back as far as Schwytz, with the loss of five pieces of cannon, a thousand prisoners, and as many killed and wounded (2).

Dreadful passage of the Alps of Glarus to Naefels on the Rhine. indispensable and the only route for the French, resolved to retreat over the mountains into the Grisons by Engi, Matt, and the valley of Sernst. To effect this in presence of a superior enemy, pressing on his footsteps both from the side of Naefels and the Klonthal, was a task of the most arduous nature. The rugged summits of the mountains, the fatigues of the march, and the hardships which presented themselves, hardships, tenfold greater than those which had but awaited the French on the plains.

Oct 3. and augmented the natural immensity of the difficulties. In the face of this incredible difficulty the wearied column wound its painful way amongst inhospitable mountains in single file, without either stores to sustain its strength, or covering to shelter it from the weather. The snow, which, in the upper parts of the mountains, was two feet deep, and perfectly soft from being newly fallen, rendered the ascent so fatiguing, that the strongest men could with difficulty advance a few miles in a day. No cottages were to be found in these

dreary and sterile mountains, not even trees were to be met with to form the cheerful light of the bivouacs, vast grey rocks starting up amongst the snow alone broke the mournful uniformity of the scene, and under their shelter, or on the open surface of the mountain, without any covering or fire, were the soldiers obliged to lie down, and pass a long and dreary autumnal night. Great numbers perished of cold, or sunk down precipices, or into crevices from which they were unable to extricate themselves, and where they were

Oct. 6. soon choked by the drifting of the snow. With incredible difficulty the head of the column, on the following day, at length reached, amidst colossal rocks, the summit of the ridge; but it was not the smiling plains of Italy which there met their view, but a sea of mountains, wrapped in the snowy mantle which seemed the winding-sheet of the army, interspersed with cold grey clouds which floated round their higher peaks. The Alps of Tyrol and the Grisons, whose summits stretched as far as the eye could reach in every direction, presented a vast wilderness, in the solitudes of which the army appeared about to be lost, while not a fire nor a column of smoke was to be seen in the vast expanse to cheer the spirits of the soldiers. The path, long hardly visible, now totally disappeared, not a shrub or a bush was to be met with; the naked tops of the rocks, buried in the snow, no longer served to indicate the lying of the precipices, or rest the exhausted bodies of the troops. On the southern descent the difficulties were still greater; the snow, hardened by a sharp freezing wind, was so slippery, that it became impossible for the men to keep their footing; whole companies slipped together into the abysses below, and numbers were crushed by the beasts of burden rolling down upon them from the upper parts of the ascent, or the masses of snow which became loosened by the incessant march of the army, and fell down with irresistible force upon those beneath. All the day was passed in struggling with these difficulties, and with the utmost exertions the advanced guards reached the village of Pautz, in the Grisons, at night, where headquarters were established. The whole remainder of the columns slept upon the snow, where the darkness enveloped them without either fire or covering. But nothing could overcome the unconquerable spirit of the Russians. With heroic resolution and incredible perseverance they struggled on, through hardships which would have damned any other soldiers (1); and at length the scattered stragglers were rallied in the valley of the Rhine, and head-quarters established at Hantz on the 10th, where the troops obtained some rest after the unparalleled difficulties which they had experienced.

Bloody conflicts with Korsakow, near Constance. Meanwhile Korsakow, having reorganized his army, and recovered in some degree from his consternation, halted his columns at Busingen, and turning fiercely on his pursuers, drove them back to Trullikon; but the enemy having there received reinforcements, the combat was renewed with the utmost obstinacy, and continued, without any decisive result on either side, till nightfall. On the same day, a body of Russian and Austrian cavalry, three thousand strong, posted in the vineyards and gardens which form the smiling environs of Constance, were attacked by a superior body of Republicans, under the command of General Gazen; a furious combat commenced, in the course of which the town was three times taken and retaken, barricades were thrown up in the streets, and the unhappy citizens underwent all the horrors of a fortress carried by assault. The Archduke Charles, informed of these circumstances, hastened with all his disposable forces from the environs of Mannheim. From the 1st to the 7th of October,

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 249, 251. Jom. xii. 277, 279.

Arch Duke
haste is to
his aid and
elerts it a
further pur
sult

twenty-seven battalions and forty-six squadrons arrived in the neighbourhood of Villingen, and the prince himself fixed his headquarters at Donaschingen, in order to be at hand to support the broken remains of Korsakow's army. The Allies were withdrawn from the St Gothard, and all the posts they yet occupied in Switzerland, to the n the hostile armies, the shausen to Dlesenhosen,

Treaty be
tween it s
aia and Eng
land for an
expedition
to Holland

While these desperate conflicts were going on in the south of Europe, England, at length rousing its giant strength from the state of inactivity in which it had so long been held by the military inexperience and want of confidence in its prowess on the part of government, was preparing an expedition more commensurate than any it had

ants, and the means of defence within the power of the Republicans were most inconsiderable. By a treaty, concluded on the 22d June, between England and Russia, it was stipulated that the former of these powers was to furnish 15,000, and the latter 17,000 men, towards a descent in Holland, and that 1,41,000 a-month should be paid by England for the expenses of the Russian troops, and her whole naval force be employed to support the operations. To re-establish the stadtholder in Holland, and terminate the revolutionary tyranny under which that opulent country groaned; to form the nucleus of an army which might threaten the northern provinces of France, and restore the barrier which had been so insanely destroyed by the Emperor Joseph, to effect a diversion in favour of the great armies now combating on the Rhine and the Alps, and destroy the ascendancy of the Republicans in the maritime provinces and naval arsenals of the Dutch, were the objects proposed in this expedition, and which, by efforts more worthy of the strength of England, might unquestionable have been attained (2).

The preparations for the expedition, both in England and the Baltic, were pushed with the utmost vigour, and the energy and skill with which the naval departments and arrangements for disembarkation were made in the British harbours, were such as to excite the admiration of the French historians (3). In the middle of July, Sir Home Popham sailed for the Baltic to receive on board the Russian contingent; while twelve thousand men, early in August, were assembled on the coast of Kent, and twelve thousand more were preparing for the same destination. All the harbours of England resounded with the noise of preparation, it was openly announced in the newspapers that a descent in Holland was in contemplation; and the numerous British cruisers, by reconnoitring every river and harbour along the Channel, kept the maritime districts in constant alarm from Brest to the Texel. The best defensive measures which their circumstances would admit were adopted by the Directory, and Brune, the at the head of the forces of both nations; but lie Dutch troops

Vigorous
preparations
for the ex
pedition in
England.

(1) Arch Ch ii 259 264 Jon xii 283 288
(2) Jon xii 178 179 Ann Reg 1799 304, and
State papers 216 217 Dum ii 343 349

(3) Jon xii 180 181, Dum ii 349 354
(4) Jon xii 182 183 Ann Reg 301 Dum ii
351, 352

The expedition sails, and lands on the Dutch coast.

On the 15th August, the fleet, with the first division of the army, twelve thousand strong, set sail from Deal, and joined Lord Duncan in the North Sea. Tempestuous weather, and a tremendous surf on the coast of Holland prevented the disembarkation from being effected for a fortnight; but at length, on the 26th, the fleet was anchored off the Helder, in north Holland, and preparations were immediately made for a descent on the following morning. At daylight on the 27th the disembarkation began, the troops led with equal skill and resolution by Sir RALPH ABERCROMBY, and the landing covered by the able exertions of the fleet under Admiral Mitchell; and never was the cordial co-operation of the land and sea forces more required than on that trying service. The naval strength of England was proudly evinced on this occasion; fifteen ships of the line, forty-five frigates and brigs, and one hundred and thirty transport vessels covered the sea, as far as the eye could reach, with their sails. General Daendels, who was at the head of a division of twelve thousand men in the neighbourhood, marched rapidly to the menaced point; and when the first detachment of the British, two thousand five hundred strong, was landed, it found itself assailed by a much superior force of Batavian troops; but the fire from the ships carried disorder into their ranks, and they were driven back into the sandhills on the beach, from which, after an obstinate conflict, they were expelled before six in the evening, and the debarkation of the remaining divisions effected without molestation. In the night, the enemy evacuated the fort of the Helder, which was taken possession of next day by the English troops. In this affair the loss of the different parties was singularly at variance with what might have been expected; that of the British did not exceed five hundred, while that of the Dutch was more than thrice that number (1).

Action at the Helder. Defeat of the Dutch.

Capture of the Dutch fleet at the Texel.

This success was soon followed by another still more important. The position at the Helder having been fortified, and a reinforcement of five thousand fresh troops come up from England, the British fleet entered the Texel, of the batteries defending which they had now the command by the occupation of the Helder, and summoned the Dutch fleet, under Admiral Story, consisting of eight ships of the line, three of fifty-four guns, eight of forty-four, and six smaller frigates, who had retired into the Vlietu canal, to surrender. At the sight of the English flag, symptoms of insubordination manifested themselves in the Dutch fleet; the admiral, unable to escape, and despairing of assistance, surrendered without firing a shot; and immediately the Orange flag was hoisted on all the ships, and on the towers and batteries of the Helder and Texel. By this important success the Dutch fleet was finally extricated from the grasp of the Republicans, a circumstance of no small moment, in after times, when England had to contend, single-handed, with the combined maritime forces of all Europe (2).

The British are attacked by the Republicans, but repulse them with great loss.

The Russian troops not having yet arrived, the British commander, who was only at the head of twelve thousand men, remained on the defensive, which gave the Republicans time to assemble their forces; and having soon collected twenty-four thousand, of whom seven thousand were French, under the orders of VANDAMME, General Brune, who had assumed the command-in-chief, resolved to anticipate the enemy, and resume the offensive. On the 10th of September all the columns were in motion; Vandamme, who commanded the right, was directed to move along

(1) Ann. Reg. 1799, 302. Jom. ii. 188, 189. Dum. ii. 365, 369.

(2) Dum. ii. 369, 372. Ann. Reg. 1790, 303; Jom. xii. 190.

the Langdyke, and make himself master of Ennsgruberg; Dumonceau, with the centre, was to march by Schorlham upon Krabbenham, and there force the

to dikes and causeys, intersecting in different directions a low and swampy ground, it consisted of detached conflicts at insulated points rather than any general movements; and, like the struggle between Napoleon and the Austrians in the marshes of Arcola, was to be determined chiefly by the intrepidity of the heads of columns. The Republicans advanced bravely to the attack, but they were every where repulsed. All the efforts of Vandamme were shattered against the intrepidity of the English troops which guarded the Sand-dyke, Dumonceau was defeated at Krabbenham, and Daendels compelled to fall back in disorder from before Petten. Repulsed at all points the Republicans resumed their position at Alkmaer, with a loss of two thousand men, while that of the British did not exceed three hundred (1)

The English joined by the Russians at length advanced Instructed by this disaster as to the quality of the troops with which he had to deal, General Brune remained on the defensive at Alkmaer, while the remainder of the expedition rapidly arrived to the support of the British army. Between the 12th and the 13th September, the Russian contingent, seventeen thousand strong, and seven thousand British, arrived, and the Duke of York took the command. The

and attack the enemy. As the nature of the ground precluded the employment of large masses, the attacking force was divided into four columns. The first, under the command of General Hermann, composed of eight thousand Russians and a brigade of English, was destined to advance by the Sand-dyke and the Slapperdyke against the left of Brune, resting on the sea, the second, under the orders of General Dundas, consisting of seven thousand men, of whom five thousand were English, was charged with the attack on Schorlham and the French centre, the third, under Sir James Pulteney, which required to advance along the Langdyke, which was defended by powerful intrenchments, was intended rather to effect a diversion than make a serious attack, and was not to push beyond Oude Scarpell, at the head of the Langdyke, unless in the event of unlooked-for success, while the fourth, consisting of ten thousand choice troops, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, was destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder Zee (2)

Disaster of the Russians on the 13th. The action commenced at daybreak on the 19th September with a furious attack by the Russians, under Hermann, who speedily drove in the advanced guard of the Republicans at kamp and Groot, and pressing forward along the Sand-dyke, made themselves masters of Schorlham and Bergen, and drove back Vandamme, who commanded in that quarter, to within half a league of Alkmaer. But the assailants fell into disorder in consequence of the rapidity of their advance, and Brune, having speedily moved up the division of Daendels and considerable reinforcements from his centre to the support of his left, Vandamme was enabled to resume the offensive, in consequence of which the Russians were attacked at once in front and both flanks in the village of Bergen, from whence, after a murderous conflict,

they were driven at the point of the bayonet. Their retreat, which at first was conducted in some degree of order, was soon turned into a total rout by the sudden appearance of two French battalions on the flank of their column (1). Hermann himself was taken prisoner, with a considerable part of his division, and General Essen, his second in command, who had advanced towards Schorlдам, was obliged to seek shelter, under cover of the English reserve, behind the Allied intrenchments of Zyp.

Success of
the British
in the centre
and left.

While the Russians were undergoing these disasters on the right, the Duke of York was successful in the centre and left. Dundas carried the villages there, after an obstinate resistance; Dumonceau

was driven back from Schorlдам, and two of his best battalions were made prisoners. At the same time Sir James Pulteney having been encouraged, by the imprudence of Daendels in pursuing too warmly a trifling advantage, to convert his feigned attack into a real one, not only drove back the Dutch division, but made a thousand prisoners, and forced the whole line, in utter confusion, towards St.-Pancras, under the fire of the English artillery. Abercromby had not yet brought his powerful division into action; but every thing promised decisive success in the centre and left of the Allies, when intelligence was brought to the Duke of York of the disaster on the right, and the rapid advance of the Republicans in pursuit of the flying Russians. He

But the
Russians
continue
their re-
treat, and
the British
are at length
repulsed.

instantly halted his victorious troops in the centre, and marched upon Schorl with two brigades of English and three Russian regiments, which was speedily carried, and if Essen could have rallied his broken troops, decisive success might yet have been attained.

But all the efforts of that brave general could not restore order or rescue the soldiers from the state of discouragement into which they had fallen; and the consequence was, that as they continued their retreat to the intrenchments of Zyp, the Republicans were enabled to accumulate their forces on the Duke of York, who, thus pressed, had no alternative but to evacuate Schorl (2), and draw back his troops to their fortified line. In this battle the Republicans lost 5,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; but the British lost 500 killed and wounded, and as many prisoners, while the Russians were weakened by 5,500 killed and wounded, 26 pieces of cannon, and 7 standards.

Removal of
the Dutch
fleet to
England.

While these events were in progress, the Dutch fleet was conveyed to the British harbours. It is remarkable that this measure gave equal dissatisfaction to the sailors on both sides. The Dutch

loudly complained that their ships, instead of being employed in their own country, under Orange colours, should be taken as prizes to Great Britain; while the English sailors lamented, that a fleet which could not escape had not fallen into their hands as glorious trophies, like those at St.-Vincent's or Camperdown. The officers on both sides were anxious to preserve a good understanding between their respective crews; but the sailors kept up a sullen distrust; so much more easy is it to accommodate differences between rival cabinets than heal the national animosity which centuries of warfare have spread among their subjects (5). Holland, however, had no reason in the end to complain of British generosity; after a decided, though unwilling hostility of twenty years, she obtained a lavish accumulation of gifts in Flanders and Java from her ancient rival, such as rarely rewards even the steadiest fidelity of an Allied power.

(1) *Jom.* xii. 200, 203. *Dum.* ii. 387, 388. *Ann.* Reg. 1799, 304, 305.

(2) *Ann.* Reg. 1799, 305, 306. *Jom.* xii. 199, 205. *Dum.* ii. 387, 389.

(3) *Dum.* ii. 381, 382.

The Duke
of York
renews the
attack and
is successful

The Duke of York was not discouraged by the issue of the attack on the 19th September. Having been reinforced, a few days after, by a fresh brigade of Russians and some English detachments, he arranged his army, as before, in four columns; and although the heavy rains

peril eagles. The Allied army on this occasion was about thirty thousand strong, and the Republicans nearly of equal force. At six in the morning the attack was commenced at all points. The Russian division of Essen, anxious to efface its former disgrace, supported by the English division of Dundas, advanced to the attack in the centre with such impetuosity, that the villages of Schorl and Schorldam were quickly carried, and the Republicans driven in confusion to the downs above Bergen. An attack was there projected by the Duke of York; but Essen, who recollected the consequence of the former rashness of the Russians on the same ground, refused to move till the advance of Abercromby on the right was ascertained, a circumstance which paralysed the success of the Allies in that quarter. Meanwhile, Aber-

the sandhills, and downs on which they rested. On the left, Sir James Pul-teney had made little progress, and his measures were confined to demon-strations; but as the English centre and right were victorious, and they had completely turned the French left, Brune retired in the night from the field of battle, and took up a fresh position, abandoning Alkmaer and all his former line. The loss sustained by the Republicans in this contest was above three thousand men and seven pieces of cannon, that of the Allies who bravely fought up to the ongest obstacles, in their

attack on the flank of the Republicans (1)

But although they had gained this success, the situation of the Duke of York's army was far from encouraging. The enemy's force was daily increasing, while for his own no further reinforcements could be expected, the autumnal rains, which had set in with more than

the inhabitants or Batavian troops in favour of the house of Orange had taken
to furnish the necessary supplies. To achieve the conquest of this important city, the Allied forces were put in motion to attack the French position which oc-cupied the narrow isthmus between Beverwick and the Zuyder Zee, by which it was necessary to pass to approach Haarlem, which was not more than three leagues distant (2).

(1) Dum. ii. 85, 86. Journ. xix. 207, 211. Ann
Reg. 1799, 308.

(2) Ann. Reg. 1799, 308, 309. Dum. ii. 308, 309.
Journ. xix. 211, 212.

Oct. 6.
Indecisive
Action.

The action commenced at seven in the morning, and was obstinately contested during the whole day. In the centre the Allies were, in the first instance, successful; Essen bore down all opposition, and Palthod, who commanded the Republicans, was on the point of succumbing, when Brune strengthened him with the greater part of a fresh division, and a vigorous charge threw back the Allies in confusion towards their own position. In their turn, however, the victorious Republicans were charged, when disordered with success, by an English regiment of cavalry, thrown into confusion, and driven back with great loss to Kastrienn, where they were with difficulty rallied by Vandamme, who succeeded in checking the advance of the pursuers. The action was less obstinately contested on the right, as Abercromby, who commanded in that quarter, was obliged to detach a considerable part of his troops to reinforce Essen; while on the left the immense inundations which covered the front of the Republican position, prevented Pulteney from reaching the French right under Daendels. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, amounting to about two thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. That of the English alone was twelve hundred men (1).

Which leads
to the
retreat of
the British.

The barren honours of this well-contested field belonged to the Allies, who had forced back the French centre to a considerable distance from the field of battle; but it is with an invading army as an insurrection, an indecisive success is equivalent to a defeat. Haarlem was the object of the English general, without the possession of which he could not maintain himself in the country during the inclement weather which was approaching, and Haarlem was still in the hands of the Republicans. The enemy's force was hourly increasing, and, two days after the action, six thousand infantry arrived to strengthen their already formidable position on the isthmus, by which alone access could be obtained to the interior of the country; and the total absence of all the necessary supplies in the corner of land within which the army was confined, rendered it impossible to remain there for any length of time. In these circumstances, the Duke of York, with the unanimous concurrence of a council of war, resolved to fall back to the intrenchments at Zyp, there to await reinforcements or farther commands from the British Cabinet; a resolution which was strengthened by the intelligence which arrived, at the same time, of the disasters which had befallen the Russians at Zurich. On the day after the battle, therefore, the Allies retired to the position they had occupied before the battle of Bergen (2).

The British
first action,
and at last
capitulate.

Brune lost no time in following up the retreating army. On the 8th the Republicans resumed their position in front of Alkmaer, and several sharp skirmishes ensued between the British rear-guard and the advanced posts of their pursuers. The situation of the Duke of York was now daily becoming more desperate; his forces were reduced by sickness and the sword to twenty thousand men; the number of those in hospital was daily increasing; there remained but eleven days' provision for the troops, and no supplies or assistance could be looked for from the inhabitants for a retreating army. In these circumstances he rightly judged that it was necessary to lose no time in embarking the sick, wounded, and stores, with such of the Dutch as had compromised themselves by their avowal of Orange principles and proposed a suspension of arms to General Brune, preparatory to the evacuation of Holland by the Allied troops. Some difficulty was at first experienced from the French insisting as a *sine*

(1) Jom. xii. 242, 246. Ann. Reg. 1799, 309. Dum. ii. 89.

(2) Jom. xii. 215, 217. Dum. ii. 90, 91. Ann. Reg. 1799, 310.

qua non that the fleet captured at the Texel should be restored, but this the British commander firmly resisted, and at length the conditions of the evacuation were agreed on. The principal articles were, that the Allies should, without molestation, effect the total evacuation of Holland by the end of November, that eight thousand prisoners, whether French or Dutch, should be restored, and that the works of the Helder should be given up entire, with all their artillery. A separate article stipulated for the surrender of the brave De Winter, made prisoner in the battle of Camperdown. Before the 1st of December all these conditions were fulfilled on both sides: the British troops had regained the shores of England, and the Russians were quartered in Jersey and Guernsey (1).

Such was the disastrous issue of the greatest expedition which had yet sailed from the British harbours during the war, and the only one at all commensurate to the power or the character of England. Coming, as it did, after the hopes of the nation had been highly excited by its early successes, and when the vast conquests of the Allies in the first part of the campaign had led to a very general expectation of the fall of the imperial power in France, it produced the most bitter disappointment, and contributed, in a signal degree, both on the continent and at home, to confirm the general impression that the English soldiers had irrevocably declined from their former renown, that the victors of Cressy and Azincour were never destined to revive, and that it was at sea alone that any hope for resistance remained. The power of the Republic. The Opposits disastres, and ascribed them all to the Administration, while the credulous public, incapable of just discrimination, and ever governed by the event, overlooked the important facts that the naval power of republican Holland had been completely destroyed by the expedition, and that in every encounter the English soldiers had asserted their ancient superiority over those of France. And instead of ascribing the failure of the expedition to its real causes, inadequacy of means and the jealousies incident to an Allied force unaccustomed to act together, joined the general chorus, and loudly proclaimed the utter madness of any attempts, by land at least, to resist the overwhelming power of France (2). The time was not yet arrived when a greater commander, wielding the resources of a more courageous and excited nation, was to wash out these stains on the British arms, and show to the astonished world that England was yet destined to take the lead, even on the continent, in the deliverance of Europe, and that the blood of the victors of Poitiers and Blenheim yet flowed in the veins of their descendants.

Affairs of
Italy after
the battle
of Novara

While the campaign was thus chequered with disaster to the north of the Alps, the successes of the Allies led to more durable consequences on the Italian plains. The Directory, overthrown by the command of both the who could only assemble conscripts, who guarded general Melas, who, after the command, had 68,000 men under his orders, independent of 15,000 in garrisons in his rear, and 7000

who marched towards the Arno and the Tiber. In despair at the unpromising condition of his troops, occupying the circular ridge of the mountains from the sources of the Trebbia to the great St.-Bernard, the French general at first proposed to repass the Alps, and after leaving such a force in the Maritime Alps as might secure the south of France from insult, proceed, with the bulk of his forces, to join General Thureau in the Valais. But the Directory refused to accede to this wise proposition, and instead, prescribed to the French general to maintain his position, and exert his utmost efforts for the preservation of Coni, which was evidently threatened by the Imperialists (1).

The Imperialists draw round Coni.

The cautious and minute directions of the Aulic Council having completely fettered the Austrian general, his operations were confined to the reduction of this fortress, the last bulwark in the plain of Italy still held by the Republicans, and justly regarded as an indispensable preliminary to the conquest of Genoa, from its commanding the chief communications of that city with the plain of Piedmont. With this view, both generals drew their troops towards Coni; the Austrians encircling its walls with a chain of posts in the plain, and the French accumulating their forces to overlook it. In the desultory warfare which followed, the Imperialists were ultimately successful. Melas, with the centre, twenty thousand strong, defeated Grenier at Savigliano, while Kray threw back their left through the valley of Suza to the foot of Mont Cenis. At the same time, the Republicans were equally unsuccessful in the valley of Aosta, where the united forces of Kray and Haddick expelled them successively from Ivrea and Aosta, and forced them to retire over the great St.-Bernard to Martigny (2). Relieved by these successes from all disquietude for his right flank, Melas gradually drew nearer to Coni, and began his preparations for the siege of that place.

Championnet is compelled to attempt its relief.

Pressed by the reiterated orders of the Directory, Championnet now resolved to make an effort for the relief of Coni. His disposable force for this enterprise, even including the army of the Alps under Grenier, did not exceed forty-five thousand men; but by a vigorous and concentric effort, there was some reason to hope that the object might be effected. St.-Cyr in vain represented to the Directory that it was the height of temerity to endeavour to maintain themselves in a mountainous region, already exhausted of its resources, and that the wiser course was to fall back, with the army yet entire, to the other side of the Alps, and there assemble it in a central position. How clear soever may have been the justice of this opinion, they had not strength of mind sufficient to admit the loss of Italy in a single campaign; and the French general set himself bravely about the difficult task of maintaining himself, with an inferior and dispirited army, on the Italian side of the mountains (3).

Measures to effect that object.

With this view, the divisions of Victor and Lemoine, forming the centre of the army, sixteen thousand strong, were directed to move upon Mondovi; while St.-Cyr, with the right, received orders to descend from the Bocchetta, and effect a diversion on the side of Novi. The movement commenced in the end of September. Vico was taken by a brigade of the Republicans; but, finding the Imperialists too strongly posted at Mondovi to be assailed with success, Championnet contented himself with placing his troops in observation on the adjacent heights; while St.-Cyr

(1) Jom. xii. 313, 317. Dum. ii. 262, 263. Arch. Ch. ii. 307, 308. St.-Cyr, ii. 10, 11.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 309, 310. Jom. xii. 318, 322. Dum. ii. 263, 264. St.-Cyr, ii. 12, 15.

(3) Dum. ii. 266, 267. St.-Cyr, ii. 15, 19.

gained a trifling advantage in the neighbourhood of Novî. But intelligence having at this time been received of the decisive victory of Masséna in Switzerland, more vigorous operations were undertaken. St-Cyr, abandoning the route of Novî, threw himself towards Bracco on the rear of the Austrians, and attacked them with such celerity, that he made twelve hundred prisoners, and spread consternation through their whole line. Melas, thus threatened, concentrated the forces under his immediate command, consisting of thirty thousand men, on the Stura; upon which a publican forces. There was an essential error in these measures on the part of Championnet; for the Imperialists, grouped around the fortress where they occupied a central position, could at pleasure accumulate masses sufficient to overwhelm any attack made by the Republicans, whose detached columns, issuing from the mountains, and separated by a wide distance, were unable to render any effectual assistance to each other. Nevertheless, the great abilities of St-Cyr on the right wing obtained some brilliant advantages. On the 23d of October, he put himself in motion, at the head of twelve thousand men, with only a few pieces of cannon and no cavalry, and defeated the Austrians at Pozzolo-Formigaro, and occupied Marengo, taking a thousand prisoners and three pic on his left, Melas withdrew where the possession of the St-Bernard, relieved him from all disquietude, and with that reinforcement

centro, he was repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. Having at length resolved on a decisive action, Championnet made his dispositions. One column was to descend from Mont-Cenis by the valley of Perouse, another to advance by the left of the Stura; and a third to assail the enemy in front. By this means the French general hoped that, while he engaged the attention of the Austrians in front he would, at the same time, turn both their flanks, forgetting that in such an attempt, with columns converging from such remote and divided quarters, the chances were that the Imperialists, from their central position, would be able to defeat one column before another could arrive to its assistance (2).

Perceiving that the plan of his adversary was to attack him on all sides, Melas wisely resolved to anticipate his movement, and with his concentrated masses assail one of the French divisions before the others could arrive to its assistance. By a rapid accumulation of force he could, in this way, bring above thirty thousand men, of whom six thousand were cavalry, to bear on the French centre, under Victor, who could not assemble above sixteen thousand to resist them. His dispositions were rapidly and ably made, and, on the morning of the 4th November, the Republicans were attacked at all points. Championnet was so far from anticipating any such event, that his troops were already in march to effect

(1) Dum 11 208, 273 Arch Ch 11 312, 313
Join 11 328, 335 St Cyr, li 25, 23

(2) Arch Ch 11 313 315 Join, 11 337, 341
Dum li 273 275 St Cyr li 39, 41

a junction with the right wing, under St.-Cyr, when they were compelled, by the sudden appearance of the Imperialists in battle array, to halt and look to their own defence. Assailed by greatly superior forces, Victor, notwithstanding, made a gallant defence; and such was the intrepidity of the French infantry, that for long the advantage seemed to lie on their side, until at noon, Melas, by bringing up fresh troops, succeeded in throwing them into confusion, and drove them back towards Valdigi. Hardly was this success gained when news arrived that General Duhesme, with the Republican left, had carried the village of Savigliano in his rear; but, wisely judging that this was of little importance, provided he followed up the advantage he had gained, the Austrian general merely detached a brigade to check their advance, and continued to press on the retiring centre of the enemy. Having continued the pursuit till it was dark, he resumed it at daybreak on the following morning. The enemy, discouraged by the check on the preceding day, did not make a very vigorous resistance. Grenier and Victor, driven from a post they had taken up near Murazza, were forced to seek safety in flight; a large part of their rearguard were made prisoners, and great numbers drowned in endeavouring to cross the Stura, and regain their intrenched camp. In this decisive battle the loss of the Republicans was seven thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the Imperialists did not exceed two thousand; and Championnet, with his army cut into two divisions, one of which retired towards Genoa, and the other to the Col di Tende, was obliged to seek safety in the mountains, leaving Coni to its fate (1).

Success of St.-Cyr near Nov. While Championnet was thus defeated in the centre by the superior skill and combinations of his opponent, the talents of St.-Cyr again gave him an advantage on the Bormida. The Imperialists being there restored to an equality with the Republicans, Kray attacked St.-Cyr near Novi, and drove him back to the plateau in the rear of that city, so lately the theatre of a bloody and desperate conflict; but all the efforts of the Austrians were shattered against the invincible resistance of the French infantry in that strong position, and, after a bloody conflict, they were forced to retire, leaving five pieces of artillery in the hands of the enemy. St.-Cyr upon this resumed his position in front of Novi, and Kray fell back towards Alexandria, to be nearer assistance from the centre of the army. But this success was more Nov. 10. than counterbalanced by fresh disasters in the centre and left. On the 10th, the division Ott attacked Richepanse at Borgo San-Dalmazzo, and, after a gallant resistance, drove him into the mountains; while the other division of the Republicans was assailed at Mondovi, and after an obstinate combat, which lasted the whole day, forced to take refuge in the recesses of the Apennines. The French were now thrown back, on the one side, to the foot of the Col di Tende, and in the valley of the Stura to their own frontiers; while on the other, Victor's division was perched on the summits of the Apennines at S.-Giacomo and S.-Bernardo. Nothing remained to interrupt the siege of Coni (2).

Siege and fall of Coni. The investment of this fortress was completed on the 18th November, and the trenches opened on the 27th. The governor made a brave defence; but the ignorance and inexperience of the garrison were soon conspicuous, and a tremendous fire on the 2d of December having destroyed great part of the town, and seriously injured the works, he at length yielded to the solicitations of the miserable inhabitants, and, to preserve the city

(1) Jom. xii. 340, 348. Dum, ii. 282, 285. Arch. Ch. ii. 314, 317.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 319, 321. Jom. xii. 348, 352. Dum, ii. 285, 287. St.-Cyr, ii. 42.

from total destruction, agreed to a surrender. The garrison, who had been left in the place, were

Gallant conduct of St. Cyr in the battle

of agitation, famine & death to the army encamped on the

even this miserable situation, they made an attack on their

on the bank which was

unlike Franco! In this extremity, St. Cyr presented himself to the city alone before the mutinous soldiery. "Whither do you fly, soldiers?"—"To France, to France!" exclaimed a thousand voices—"Be it so," exclaimed he, with a calm voice and serene air, "if a sense of duty no longer retains you, if you are deaf to the voice of honour, listen at least to that of reason, and attend to what your own interest requires. Your ruin is certain if you persist in your present course, the enemy who pursues you will destroy you during the confusion of a tumultuous retreat. Have you forgotten that you have made a desert between your present position and France? No, your sole safety is in your bayonets, and if you indeed desire to regain your country, unite with me in repelling far from the gates of this harbour the enemy, who would take advantage of your disorder to drive you from the walls where alone the necessary convoys or security can be found." Roused by these words to a sense of their duty, the soldiers fell back into their ranks, and loudly demanded to be led against the enemy (2).

It was high time that some steps should be taken to arrest the

quarters Cornic

that city, while upon it. A heavy for

the Austrians, assailed at once on their way to the Torriglio, and regained the banks of the Stura, leaving the hunc where they soon after went into a difficult task to perform in quieting the

(1) Dum. ii. 304, 305. Join. ii. 354. Arch. Ch. (3) Join. ii. 355, 356. Arch. Ch. ii. 324, 325.
Dum. ii. 300, 302. St. Cyr, ii. 76, 84, 89. Harl. vi. 321.

(2) Dum. ii. 287, 298. St. Cyr, ii. 68, 74. Harl.

privation had almost driven to desperation; but at length the long wished-for sails whitened its splendid bay, and the Republicans, as the reward of their heroic exertions, tasted the enjoyment of plenty and repose.

Fall of
Ancona.

While these great events were passing in the basin of Piedmont, operations of minor importance, but still conducive, upon the whole, to the expulsion of the French from the peninsula, took place in the south of Italy. The castle of St.-Angelo surrendered, in the end of October, to the Neapolitan forces, whom the retreat of Macdonald left at liberty to advance to the Eternal City; and the garrison of Ancona, after a gallant defence of six weeks, four of which were with open trenches, capitulated on the 15th November to the Russians, on condition of being sent to France, and not serving till regularly exchanged. By this success the Allies were made masters of 583 pieces of cannon, 7000 muskets, three ships of the line, and seven smaller vessels. The whole peninsula of Italy, with the exception of the intrenched camp at Genoa, and the mountain roads leading to it from France, was now wrested from the Republican arms (1).

Position of
the respec-
tive parties
at the con-
clusion of
the cam-
paign.

The fall of Ancona terminated this campaign in Italy, the most disastrous ever experienced by the French in that country. In the respective positions which they occupied might be seen the immense advantages gained by the Allied arms during its continuance. The Imperialists, whose headquarters were at Turin, occupied the whole plain of Lombardy and Piedmont, from the stream of the Trebbia to the torrent of the Ticino, the left, under Kray, being so cantoned as to cover the valleys of the Bormida and Scrivia; the right, under Haddick and Rohan, occupying the valleys of Domo d'Ossola and Aosta; and the centre, under Kaim, guarding the passes over the Alps and the important position of Mondovi. The Republicans, on the other hand, on the exterior of this immense circle, occupied the snowy summits of the mountains, which stood the native guardians of the plain; the left, consisting of the divisions Grenier and Duhesme, occupying the Little St.-Bernard, the Mont Cenis, and the passes of the higher Alps; the centre, under Lemoine and Victor, the Col de Fenestrelles, and Tende, and the passes of the Maritime Alps: while on the right, Labois-sière and Watrin held the Bocchetta and other passes leading into the Genoese states (2).

Contrast
between the
comforts of
the impe-
rialists and
privations
of the
French.

Wider still was the difference between the comforts and resources of the two armies. Cantoned in the rich plains of Italy, on the banks of the Po, the Imperialists were amply supplied with all the comforts and luxuries of life; while its navigable waters incessantly brought up to the army the stores and supplies necessary to restore the losses of so active a campaign. On the side of the Republicans, again, thirty-eight thousand men, without magazines, or stores of provisions, were stationed on the desolate summits of the Alps and the Apennines, shivering with cold, exhausted with fatigue, and almost destitute of clothing. For five months, they had received hardly any pay; the soldiers were without cloaks; their shoes were worn out, and wood was even wanting to warm their frigid bivouacs. Overwhelmed with the horrors of his situation, Cham-pionnet retired to Nice, where he died of an epidemic disorder, which soon broke out among the troops and swept off great multitudes; and his death dissolved the small remnants of discipline which remained in the army. The soldiers tumultuously broke up their cantonments; crowds of de-

Death of
Championnet.

(1) Jom. xii. 356, 361. Arch. Ch. ii. 326.

(2) Jom. xii. 363, 365. Arch. Ch. ii. 327, 329. Dum ii. 307, 311.

serters left their colours and covered the roads to France, and it was only by one of those nervous flights of eloquence which touch, even in the greatest calamities, every generous heart, that St-Cyr succeeded in stopping the return of a large body which had left Genoa, and was proceeding on the road to Provence. Alarmed at the representations which he drew of the disastrous state of the army, the government, which had now passed from the feeble hands of the Directory into the firm grasp of Napoleon, took the most active steps to administer relief, several convoys reached the troops, and Massena, sent to assume the supreme command, succeeded, in some degree, in stopping the torrent of desertion and restoring the confidence of the army (1)

Jalousy between the Russians and Austrians. At the same time, the campaign on the Rhine was drawing to a close. Notwithstanding the brilliant successes of the Republicans at Zurich, their forces in that quarter were not so numerous as to enable them, in the first instance, to derive any considerable fruit from their victory. But no sooner were they relieved, by the failure of the expedition in North Holland, from all apprehension in that quarter, than they resolved to concentrate all their disposable force on the Lower Rhine, of which the command was given to General Lecourbe, who had been so distinguished in the mountain warfare of Switzerland. But that which the strength of the Republicans could not effect, the dissensions of their enemies were not long in producing. The Russians and Austrians mutually threw upon each other the late disasters, the latter alleging that the catastrophe at Zurich was all owing to the want of vigilance and skill in Korsakow, and the former replying, that if Suwarrow had been supported by Hotze, as he had a right to expect, when he descended from the St. Gothard, all the misfortunes of the centre would have been repaired, and a brilliant victory on his right wing dispossessed Massena from his defensive position on the line of the Limmot. In this temper of mind on both sides, and with the jealousy unavoidable between cabinets of equal power and rival pretensions, little was wanting to blow up the combustion into a flame. A trivial incident soon produced this effect. Suwarrow, after he had rested and reorganized his army, proposed to the Archduke that they should resume offensive operations against the enemy, who had shown no disposition to follow up the successes at Zurich. His plan was to abandon the Grisons, blow up the works of Fort St. Lucie, and advance with all his forces to Winterthur, where he was to form a junction with Korsakow, and attack the enemy in concert with the Imperialists. The Archduke apprehended with too much reason that the assembling of all the Russian troops on the banks of the Thur, in the centre of the enemy's line, which extended from Sargans to the junction of the Aar and Rhine, would be both difficult and perilous, and therefore he proposed instead, that the corps of Korsakow should march by Stockach to join the marshal behind the lake of Constance, and that he himself should detach a strong Austrian column to second the operations of the Russians in Switzerland. Irritated at any alteration of his plans by a younger

Oct. 13

Suwarrow
re-embarked
Jan. 14

Oct. 14

Oct. 20

him for the projected operations in Switzerland (2). On the follow-

(1) Dumas 310 311 Jom. 1: 303 305 Arch.
Ch. 1: 327 329 St. Cyr 1: 98 100

(2) The letter Suwarrow transmitted with the
following expressions — I am a field marshal at

ing day, however, he changed his resolution; for, declaring that his troops absolutely required repose, and that they could find it only at a distance from the theatre of war, he directed them to winter quarters in Bavaria, between the Lech and the Iller, where they were soon after joined by the artillery which had come round by Verona and the Tyrol (1).

Which leads to a rupture between the cabinets of Vienna and St.-Petersburg. This secession of the Russian force was not produced merely by jealousy of the Austrians, or irritation at the ill success of the Allied arms in Switzerland. It had its origin also in motives of state policy, and as such was rapidly communicated from the field-marshal's headquarters to the Cabinet of St.-Petersburg. The alliance between Russia and Austria, even if it had not been dissolved by the mutual exasperation of their generals, must have speedily yielded to the inherent jealousy of two monarchies, equal in power and discordant in interest. The war was undertaken for objects which, at that time at least, appeared to be foreign to the immediate interests of Russia; the danger to the balance of power by the preponderance of France seemed to be removed by the conquest of Italy, and any further successes of Austria, it was said, were only likely to weaken a power too far removed to be of any serious detriment to its influence, in order to enrich one much nearer, and from whom serious resistance to its ambition might be expected. The efforts for the preceding campaign, moreover, had been extremely costly, and in a great degree, notwithstanding the English subsidies, had exhausted the Imperial treasury. In these circumstances, the exasperation of the generals speedily led to a rupture between the cabinets, and the Russian troops took no further share in the prosecution of the war (2).

Positions assumed by the Austrians when so abandoned. Oct. 10. Left to its own resources, however, the Austrian cabinet was far from being discouraged. The Archduke Charles had collected eighty thousand men between Offenburg and Feldkirch; but great as this force was, it hardly appeared adequate, after the departure of the Russians, to a renewal of active operations in the Alps, and therefore he kept his troops on the defensive. Masséna, on his side in Switzerland, was too much exhausted by his preceding exertions to make any offensive movement. On the other hand, Lecourbe, whose forces on the Lower Rhine had been raised by the efforts of the Directory to twenty thousand men, passed that river in three columns, at Worms, Oppenheim, and Mayence, and moved forward against Prince Schwarzenberg, who commanded the advanced guard of the right wing of the Austrians, which occupied the line of the Bergstrass from Frankfort to Darmstadt. As the French forces were greatly superior, the Austrian general was compelled to retire, and after evacuating Heidelberg and Mannheim, to concentrate his troops to cover Philipshurg, which, however, he was soon obliged to abandon to its own resources. The Archduke, though grievously embarrassed at the moment by the rupture with the Russians, turned his eyes to the menaced point, and, by rapidly causing reinforcements to defile in that direction, soon acquired a superiority over his assailant. The Republican advanced-guard was attacked and worsted at Erligheim; in consequence of which the blockade of Philipshurg was raised; but the French having again been reinforced,

Operations on the Lower Rhine. Oct. 31. well as you; commander, as well as you, of an Imperial army; old, while you are young; it is for you to come and seek me." He was so profoundly mortified with the defeat of the Russians at Zurich, that, when he reached his winter quarters, he took to bed, and became seriously ill; while the Emperor Paul gave vent to his indignation against the Aus-

trians in an angry article published in the Gazette of St.-Petersburg.—HARDY, vii. 297, 298.

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 272, 274, 284, 285. Jom. xii. 367, 379.

(2) Jom. xii. 370, 371. Arch. Ch. ii. 272, 274. Dum. ii. 317.

it was again invested. The Archduke, however, having at length terminated
 Nov 7 his correspondence with Suwarrow, turned his undivided attention
 to the menaced quarter, and directed a large part of the Imperial army to
 Dec 2 reinforce his right. These columns soon overthrew the Republicans,
 and Lecourbe was placed in a situation of such danger, that he had no means
 of extricating himself from it but by proposing an armistice to Starray, who
 commanded the Imperialists, on the ground of negotiations being on foot
 between the two powers for peace. Starray accepted it, under a reservation
 of the approbation of the Archduke, but his refusal to ratify it was of no
 avail; in the interval the stratagem had succeeded; three days had been
 gained, during which the Republicans had leisure to desile without molesta-
 tion over the Rhine (1).

Reflections on the vast success as gained by the Allies in the campaign. This closed the campaign of 1799, one of the most memorable of
 the whole revolutionary war. Notwithstanding the disasters by
 which its latter part had been chequered, it was evident that the
 Allies had gained immensely by the results of their operations.
 Italy had been regained as rapidly as it had been won, Germany, freed from
 the Republican forces, had rolled back to the Rhine the tide of foreign in-
 vasion, and the blood of two hundred thousand French soldiers had expiated
 the ambition and weakness of the Republican government. Not even in the
 glorious efforts of 1796, had the French achieved successes so important, or
 chained victory to their standards in such an unbroken succession of combats.
 The conquest of all Lombardy and Piedmont, the reduction of the great for-
 tresses which it contained, the liberation of Naples, Rome, and Tuscany, were
 the fruits of a single campaign. Instead of a cautious offensive on the Adige,
 the Imperialists now assumed a menacing offensive on the Maritime Alps,
 instead of trembling for the Tyrol and the Hereditary States, they threatened
 Switzerland and Alsace. The Republicans, weakened and disheartened, were
 every where thrown back upon their own frontiers, the oppressive system of
 making war maintain war could no longer be carried on, and a revolutionary
 state, exhausted by the sacrifices of nine years, was about to feel in its own
 territory a portion of the evils which it had so long inflicted upon others.

Explorable internal situation of the Republic. The internal situation of France was even more discouraging than
 might have been inferred from the external aspect of its affairs. In
 truth, it was there that the true secret of their reverses was to be
 found; the bravery and skill of the armies on the frontier had long concealed,
 but could no longer singly sustain, the internal weakness of the state. The
 prostration of strength which invariably succeeds the first burst of revolu-
 tionary convulsions, had now fallen upon France, and if an extraordinary
 combination of circumstances had not intervened to extricate her from the
 abyss, there can be no doubt she would have sunk for ever. The ardour of
 the people had succeeded
 of generous, had
 ys General Mathieu
 ardent; the courage
 and talents of the generals, the valour and intelligence of the soldiers, who,
 during this dreadful campaign, had sustained this monstrous species of
 authority, sapped by every species of abuse and the exhaustion arising from
 the excess of every passion, could no longer repair or conceal the faults of
 those at the head of affairs. Public spirit was extinguished; the resources of
 the interior exhausted, the forced requisitions could no longer furnish sup-

plies to assuage the misery of the soldiers; the veteran ranks had long since perished, and the young conscripts, destined to supply their place, deserted their standards in crowds, or concealed themselves to avoid being drawn; more than half the cavalry was dismounted; the state in greater danger than it had ever been since the commencement of the war (1).” The losses sustained by the French during the campaign had been prodigious; they amounted to above a hundred and seventy thousand men, exclusive of those who had been cut off by sickness and fatigue (2). In these circumstances, nothing was wanting to have enabled the coalition to triumph over the exhausted and discordant population of France, but union, decision, and a leader of paramount authority; nothing could have saved the Republicans from their grasp but their own divisions. These were not slow, however, in breaking out; and, amidst the ruinous jealousies of the Allies, that mighty conqueror arose, who was destined to stifle the democracy and tame the passions of France, and bring upon her guilty people a weight of moral retribution, which could never have been inflicted till the latent energies of Europe had been called forth by his ambition.

Causes of the rupture of the Alliance. “The alliance between Austria and Russia,” says the Archduke Charles, “blew up, like most coalitions formed between powers of equal pretensions. The idea of a common interest, the illusion of confidence based on the same general views, prepares the first advances; difference of opinion as to the means of attaining the desired objects, soon sows the seeds of misunderstanding; and that envenomed feeling increases in proportion as the events of the war alter the views of the coalesced powers, derange their plans, and undeceive their hopes. It seldom fails to break out openly when the armies are destined to undertake any operation in concert. The natural desire to obtain the lead in command, as in glory, excites the rival passions both of chiefs and nations. Pride and jealousy, tenacity and presumption, spring from the conflict of opinion and ambition; continual contradictions daily inflame the mutual exasperation, and nothing but a fortunate accident can prevent such a coalition from being dissolved before one of the parties is inclined to turn his arms against the other. In all the varieties of human events, there are but two in which the co-operation of such unwieldy and heterogeneous masses can produce great effects; the one is, when an imperious necessity, and an insupportable state of oppression, induces both sovereigns and their subjects to take up arms to emancipate themselves, and the struggle is not of sufficient duration to allow the ardour of their first enthusiasm to cool; the other, when a state, by an extraordinary increase of power, can arrogate to itself and sustain the right to rule the opinion of its allies, and make their jealousies bend to its determination. Experience has proved that these different kinds of coalitions produce different results: almost all oppressive conquerors have been overthrown by the first; the second has been the chief instrument in the enthralment of nations (3).” In these profound remarks is to be found the secret both of the long disasters attending the coalition against France, of the steady rise and irresistible power of the alliance headed by Napoléon, and of his rapid and irretrievable overthrow. They should never be absent from the contemplation of the statesman in future times, either in estimating the probable result of coalitions of which his own country forms a part, or in calculating on the chances of its resisting those which may be formed for its subjugation (4).

(1) Dum. ii. 335.

(3) Arch. Ch. ii. 273.

(2) See “*L’état des Pertes de l’Armée Française en 1799*,” HARR. vii. 473.

(4) With regret, the author to the Memoirs of the

n. died

* Comparison of the passage of the St.-Gotthard by Suwarrow, and the St. Bernard by Napoleon. The passage of the St.-Bernard by Napoleon, has been the subject of unmeasured eulogium by almost all the French historians; but nevertheless, in the firmness with which it was conducted, the difficulties with which it had to contend; and the resolution displayed in its execution, it must yield to the Alpine campaign of the Russian hero. In crossing from Martigny to Ivrea, the first consul had no

force; his way, sword in hand, through columns of the enemy, long trained to mountain warfare, intimately acquainted with the country, under a leader

overthrowing every thing in his course, he found his progress stopped by a lake, without roads on its sides, or a bark on its bosom, and received the intelligence of the total defeat of the army with which he came to co-operate under the walls of Zurich. Obligated to defile by the rugged paths of the Schächenenthal to the canton of Glarus, he found himself enveloped by the victorious columns of the enemy, and his front and rear assailed at the same time by superior forces, flushed by recent conquest. It was no ordinary resolution which in such circumstances could disdain to submit, and after fiercely turning on his pursuers, and routing their bravest troops, prepare to surmount the difficulties of a fresh mountain passage, and, amidst the horrors of the Alps of Glarus, brave alike the storms of winter and the pursuit of the enemy. The bulk of men in all ages are governed by the event; and to such persons the passage of the St. Bernard followed as it was by the triumph of Marston.

who know how to separate just combination from casual disaster, and can appreciate the heroism of valour when struggling with misfortune, will award a still higher place to the Russian hero, and follow the footsteps of Suwarrow over the snows of the St.-Gotthard and the valley of Engi with more interest than either the eagles of Napoleon over the St.-Bernard, or the standards of Hannibal from the shores of the Rhone to the banks of the Po.

The expedition to Holland was ably conceived, and failed only from the inadequacy of the force employed, and the inherent weakness incident to

Deplorable
insignifi-
cance of the
part which
England
took in the
continental
struggle.

an enterprise conducted by allied forces. It was the greatest armament which had been sent from Great Britain during the war, but yet obviously inadequate, both to the magnitude of the enterprise and the resources of the state mainly interested in its success. In truth, the annals of the earlier years of the war incessantly suggest regret at the parsimonious expenditure of British force, and the great results which, to all appearance, would have attended a more vigorous effort at the decisive moment. "Any person," says Mr. Burke, "who was of age to take a part in public affairs forty years ago, if the intermediate space were expunged from his memory, would hardly credit his senses when he should hear, from the highest authority, that an army of two hundred thousand men was kept up in this island, and that in Ireland there were at least eighty thousand more. But how much greater would be his surprise, if he were told again that this mighty force was kept up for the mere purpose of an inert and passive defence, and that, by its very constitution, the greater part was disabled from defending us against the enemy by one preventive stroke or one operation of active hostility! What must his reflections be on learning further, that a fleet of five hundred men-of-war, the best appointed that this country ever had upon the sea, was for the greater part employed in the same system of unenterprising defence? What must be the feelings of any one who remembers the former energy of England, when he is given to understand that these two islands, with their extensive sea-coast, should be considered as a garrisoned sea-town; that its garrison was so feebly commanded as never to make a sally; and that, contrary to all that has been hitherto seen in war, an inferior army, with the shattered relics of an almost annihilated navy, may with safety besiege this superior garrison, and, without hazarding the life of a man, ruin the place merely by the menaces and false appearances of an attack (1)?"

If this was true in 1797, when the indignant statesman wrote these cutting remarks, how much more was it applicable in 1799, when France was reduced to extremities by the forces of Austria and Russia, and the extraordinary energy of the Revolution had exhausted itself? The Archduke Charles, indeed, has justly observed, that modern history presents few examples of great military operations executed in pursuance of a descent on the sea-coast; and that the difficulties of the passage and the uncertainty of the elements, present the most formidable obstacles in the way of the employment of considerable forces in such an enterprise (2); but experience in all ages has demonstrated that they are not insurmountable, and that from a military force, thus supported, the greatest results may reasonably be expected, if sufficient energy is infused into the undertaking. The examples of the overthrow of Hannibal at Zama, of the English at Hastings, of the French at Cressy and Azincourt, and of Napoléon in Spain and at Waterloo, prove what can be effected, even by a maritime expedition, if followed up with the requisite vigour. And, unquestionably, there never was an occasion when greater results might have been anticipated from such an exertion than in this campaign. Had sixty thousand native English, constantly fed by fresh supplies from the parent state, been sent to Holland, they would have borne down all opposition, hoisted the Orange flag on all the fortresses of the United Provinces, liberated Flanders, prevented the accumulation of force which enabled Masséna to strike his redoubled blows at Zurich, hindered the formation of the army of reserve, and intercepted the thunder of Marengo and Hohenlingen.

(1) Burke on a Regicide Peace, Works, viii. 374.

(2) Arch. Ch. ii. 165.

*Cause of the
rapid fall of
the French
power in
1799*

The rapid fall of the French military power in 1799, was the natural result of the sudden extension of the frontiers of the Republic beyond its strength, and affords another example of the truth of the maxim, that the more the ambition of a nation in a state of fermentation leads to its extension, the more does it become difficult for it to preserve its conquests (1) Such a state as France then was, with a military power extending from the mouth of the Ems to the shores of Calabria, and no solid foundation for government but the gratification of ambition, has no chance of safety but in constantly advancing to fresh conquests. The least reverse, by destroying the charm of its invincibility, and compelling the separation of its armies to garrison its numerous fortresses, leaves it weak and powerless in the field, and speedily dissolves the splendid fabric. This truth was experienced by the Directory in 1799, it was evinced on a still greater scale, and after still more splendid triumphs, by Napoleon in 1815. It is power slowly acquired and wisely consolidated, authority which brings the blessings of civilisation and protection with its growth, victories which array the forces of the vanquished states in willing and organized multitudes under the standards of the victor, which alone are durable. Such were the conquests of Rome in the ancient world, such are the conquests of Russia in Europe, and England in India, in modern times. The whirlwinds of an Alexander, a Timour, or a Napoléon, are in general as short-lived as the genius which creates them. The triumphs flowing from the transient ebullition of popular enthusiasm,

(1) *John 21 336*

CHAPTER XXX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEÓN TO THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN OF MARENGO.

NOVEMBER, 1799—MAY, 1800.

ARGUMENT.

Napoléon's Letter, proposing Peace to the British Government—Lord Grenville's Answer—M. Talleyrand's Reply—Debates on this Proposal in Parliament—Arguments of the Opposition for an immediate Peace—And of Mr. Pitt and the Government for refusing to treat—Parliament resolve to continue the Contest—Reflections on this Decision of the Legislature—Supplies voted by the British Parliament—Land and Sea forces employed—Mr. Dundas's India Budget—The Union with Ireland passes the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland—Its leading Provisions—Views of the Leaders on both sides of Parliament on this great Change—Great Prosperity of the British Empire at this period—Vast Change of Prices—Statistical Details—Bad Harvest of 1799, and consequent Scarcity in 1800—Great efforts of Government to relieve it, and noble patience of the people—Measures of England and Austria for the Prosecution of the War—Treaties entered into for that purpose with Austria and Bavaria—Military Preparations of the Imperialists—Discontented state of the French affiliated Republics—Measures of Napoleon to restore Public Credit in France—Pacification of la Vendée—Iniquitous Execution of Count Louis Frotte—Napoléon effects a Reconciliation with the Emperor Paul—His energetic Military Measures—Revival of the Military Spirit in France—His steps to suppress the Revolutionary Fervour of the People—He totally extinguishes the Liberty of the Press—And fixes his Residence at the Tuileries—Commencement of the Etiquette and Splendour of the Court there—Recall of many Exiles banished since the 18th Fructidor—Establishment of the Secret Police—Napoleon's hypocritical *éloge* on Washington—Comparison of his system of government with that established by Constantine in the Byzantine empire—Commencement of his great designs for Architectural Embellishment at Paris—Suppression of the *fête* on 21st January, and elevation of Tronchet—Correspondence between Napoléon and Louis XVIII—General improvement in the Prospects of France.

The first step of Napoléon, upon arriving at the consular throne, was to make proposals of peace to the British government. The debate on that subject in Parliament is the most important that occurred during the war, and forms the true introduction to the political history of Europe during the nineteenth century.

Dec 25. The letter of Napoléon to the King of England, couched in his
1799. usual characteristic language, was in these terms: "Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first station in the Republic, I think it proper on entering into office to make a direct communication to your Majesty.

Napoléon's Letter proposing peace to the British government "The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, is it destined to be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their independence and safety requires, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, prosperity, and domestic happiness? How has it happened that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity as well as the truest glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reign over a free nation with the sole desire of rendering it happy. You will see in this overture only the effect of a sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, implying confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, however neces-

sary to disguise the dependence of feeble states, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other

"France and England may, by the abuse of their strength still for a time,

now M^r. the English minister of foreign affairs — The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend. Nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into a negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France, since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of a general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has been since protracted, and in more than one instance renewed. The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations.

"For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, his Majesty's ancient allies, have been successively sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged, and Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty himself has been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

"While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression, and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of security for property, personal liberty, social order, or religious freedom. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his Majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such dispositions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe, and whom the present rulers have declared to have been, from the beginning and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the rela-

stance is at an end, that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France, and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length

been finally relinquished. But the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his Majesty's wishes, can result only from experience and the evidence of facts.

"The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes, which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and consideration and respect abroad. Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations in Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means. But desirable as such an event must be, both to France and the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his Majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His Majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. He looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his Allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of the country from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end, his Majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his Allies the means of a general pacification (1). Unhappily no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability (2)."

These able state papers are not only valuable as exhibiting the arguments

(1) *Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 1799.

(2) To this it was replied by M. Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs:—"Very far from France having provoked the war, she had, it must be recollected, from the very commencement of the Revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination for conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking any part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations."

"But from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French Revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long before it was public; internal resistance was excited, its opponents were favourably received, their extravagant declamations were supported, the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents, and England set, particularly, this example, by the dismissal of the minister accredited by her; finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, and her honour, and in her safety, long before war was declared."

"Thus it is to the projects of dismemberment, subjection, and dissolution, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects for a long time, without example with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences. Assailed on all sides, the Republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence, and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed in her own strength and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw that her enemies obstinately refused to

recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance, but as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of conciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and if these have not always been efficacious; if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the Revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive power in France have not always shown as much moderation as the nation itself has shown courage, it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France."

"But if the wishes of his Britannic Majesty, in conformity with his assurances, are in unison with those of the French Republic for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be paid to the means of terminating it? The First Consul of the French Republic cannot doubt that his Britannic Majesty must recognise the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown; but he cannot comprehend how, after admitting this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, he could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are not less injurious to the French nation and its government, than it would be to England and his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that Republican form of government, of which England adopted the forms about the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a Revolution had compelled to descend from it. [*Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 1199, 1202.]

Jan 14
1790
M. Talley
rand reply

advanced by the opposite parties in this memorable contest, but as containing an explicit and important declaration of the object uniformly pursued by Great Britain throughout its continuance. The English ministry never claimed a right to interfere in the internal affairs of France, or dictate to her inhabitants the form of government or race of sovereigns they were to choose; the object of the war is there expressly declared to have been, what to impose a government on other nations, not to par barrier to the inundation of infidel and democratical principles, by which the Republic first shook the opinions of the multitude in all the adjoining states, and then having divided their inhabitants, overthrew their independence most likely to preliminary in any other the Batavian republics; n peace; afforded ample evidence, and it was one such as to dur the propagandists into an

Debates on
this and

The debates, however, which took place in the Houses of Parliament on this momentous subject, were still more important, as

On the part of the Opposition, it "that now was the first time when of the war, that, without annexing any epunt to it, of autum paralleled calamities, it could not be denied that a new era in any possible of modern was almost critical and aus-
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manifestations of the course, &c.

ken, pronounce that the a vindication of the war, an answer to a specific best interests of mankind. fact to war,

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Revolution was only to be driven by external war, unless it became impossible, from actual and not speculative aggression, to maintain the relations of peace. The question was not, whether the tendency of the Revolution was beneficial or injurious, but what was our own policy and duty as connected with its existence? In Mr. Burke's words,

applied to the American Revolution, the question is not, whether this condition of human affairs deserves praise or blame, but what, in God's name, are you to do with it?

“When war was first proclaimed by this country, after the death of Louis, it was rested on ‘the late atrocious act perpetrated at Paris.’ Then, as now, it was provoked, and peace rejected upon general and unjustifiable objections—speculative dangers to religion and government, which, supposing them to have existed, with all their possible consequences, were more likely to be increased than diminished by the bitterness of war. At that time, ministers were implored not to invite war upon principles which made peace dependent upon systems and forms of government, instead of the conduct of nations; upon theories which could not be changed, instead of aggressions which might be adjusted. France had then, and for a long time after, a strong interest in peace; she had not then extended her conquests; but Europe combined to extinguish France, and place her without the pale of the social community; and France, in her turn, acted towards Europe on the same principles. She desolated and ravaged whatever countries she occupied, and spread her conquests with unexampled rapidity. Could it be expected that so powerful a nation, so assailed, should act merely on the defensive, or that, in the midst of a revolution which the confederacy of surrounding nations had rendered terrible, the rights of nations would be respected? Ambitious projects, not perhaps originally contemplated, followed their steps; and the world was changed with portentous violence, because the government of Great Britain had resolved, that, if changed at all, it should revert to establishments which had reached their period and expired.

“In 1793, without any pacific proposition from France, when the government of France was not a month old, at a time when the alarm was at its height in England, and the probable contagion of French principles, by the intercourse of peace, was not only the favourite theme of ministers, but made the foundation of a system by which some of our most essential liberties were abridged—even these ministers invited the infant, democratic, Jacobin, regicide republic of France to propose a peace. On what principle, then, could peace now be refused when the danger was so much diminished, because the resistless fury of that popular spirit which had been the uniform topic of declamation had not only subsided, from time and expansion, but was curbed, or rather extinguished, by the forms of the new government which invited us to peace? If Bonaparte found that his interests were served by an arrangement with England, the same interests would lead him to continue it. Surrounded with perils, at the head of an untried government, menaced by a great confederacy, of which England was the head, compelled to press heavily upon the resources of an exhausted people, it was not less his interest to propose than it was ours to accept peace.

“It is impossible to look without the most bitter regret on the enormities which France has committed. In some of the worst of them, however, the Allies have joined her. Did not Austria receive Venice from Bonaparte? and is not the receiver as bad as the thief? Has not Russia attacked France? Did not the Emperor and the King of Prussia subscribe a declaration at Pillnitz which amounted to a hostile aggression? Did they not make a public declaration, that they were to employ their forces, in conjunction with the other kings of Europe, ‘to put the King of France in a situation to establish, in perfect liberty, the foundations of a monarchical government equally agreeable to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French?’ and whenever the other princes should co-operate with them, did they not then, and in the

case, declare their determination to act promptly, and by mutual consent to obtain the end proposed by all of them? Can gentlemen lay their hands on their hearts, and not admit that the fair construction of this is, that whenever the other powers should concur, they would attack France, then at peace

plained by M. Chauvelin, when he declared that it never was meant to proclaim

fied with this explanation; and where will be the end of wars, if idle and intemperate expressions are to be made the groundwork of bitter and never-ending hostilities?

"Where is the war, pregnant with so many horrors, next to be carried? Where is it to stop? Not till you establish the House of Bourbon!—and this you cherish the hope of doing, because you have had a successful campaign. But is the situation of the Allies, with all they have gained, to be compared with what it was after Valenciennes was taken? One campaign is successful to you; another may be so to them, and in this way, animated by the vindictive passions of revenge, hatred, rancour, which are infinitely more flagitious than those of ambition and the thirst of power, you may go on for ever, as, with such black incentives, no end can be foreseen to human misery. And all this without an intelligible motive, merely that you may gain a better peace a year or two hence. Is then peace so dangerous a state, war so enviable, that the latter is to be chosen as a state of probation, the former shunned as a positive evil (1)?"

And of Mr Pitt and the government for refusing to treat

On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, "that the same necessity which originally existed for the commencement and prosecution, still called for perseverance in the war. The same proneness to aggression, the same disregard to justice, still actuated the conduct of the men who rule in France. Peace with a nation by whom war was made against all order, religion, and morality, would rather be a cessation of resistance to wrong than a suspension of arms in the nature of an ordinary warfare. To negotiate with established governments was formerly not merely easy, but in most circumstances safe; but to negotiate with the government of France now would be to incur all the risks of an uncertain truce, without attaining the benefits even of a temporary peace. France still retains the sentiments, and is constant to the views which characterised the dawn of her Revolution. She was innovating, she is so still; she was Jacobin, she is so still; she declared war against all kings, and she continues to this hour to seek their destruction. Even the distant republic of America could not escape that ravaging power, and next to a state of active and inveterate war were the relations of those two commonwealths for a long time. The Republic, indeed, has frequently published her *manifesto*, but has she followed up that declaration by any not seen her armies march to them to her dominions? Have the wrongs of Switzerland recent and marked. Ever since 1793 she has carried her lust for dominion,

severed from the Porte, during a period of profound peace, a vast portion of its empire, and stimulated 'Citizen Tippoo' to engage in that contest which ultimately proved his ruin?

"The Republic has proclaimed her respect for the independence of all governments. How have her actions corresponded with this profession? Did not Jacobin France attempt the overthrow of every government? Did she not, whenever it suited her purpose, arm the governors against the governed, or the governed against the governors? How completely has she succeeded, during a period of profound peace which had been unbroken for centuries, in convulsing the population, and so subduing the independence of Switzerland? In Italy, the whole fabric of civil society has been changed, and the independence of every government violated. The Netherlands, too, exhibit to mankind monuments of the awful vengeance with which the Republic has regarded the independence of other states. The memorable decree of November 1792, has not slept a dead letter in their statute-book. No, it has ever since been the active energetic principle of their whole conduct, and every nation is interested in the extinction of that principle for ever.

"Every power with whom the Republic has treated, whether for the purpose of armistice or peace, could furnish melancholy instances of the perfidy of France, and of the ambition, injustice, and cruelty of her rulers. Switzerland concluded a truce with the Republic; her rulers immediately excited insurrections among her cantons, overthrew her institutions, seized her fortresses, robbed her treasures, the accumulation of ages, and, to give permanence to her usurpations, imposed on her a government new alike in form and substance. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was among the earliest sufferers by a treaty of peace with the Republic. In every thing he strove to conform to the views of France; her rulers repeated to him her assurances of attachment and disinclination to conquest; but at the very time that the honour of the Republic was pledged for the security of his states, he saw the troops of his ally enter his capital, and he himself was deposed and a democracy given to the Florentines. The King of Sardinia opened the gates of his capital to the Republican arms, and, confiding in the integrity of the French government, expected to be secured in his dominions by the treaty which guaranteed his title and his rights, and communicated to France equal advantages. He was, however, in a state of peace, invaded in his dominions, forced to fly to his insular possessions, and Turin treacherously taken possession of by the Republican troops. The change in the Papal government was another part of the same system. It was planned by Joseph Bonaparte in his palace. He excited the populace to an insurrection; and effected the revolution in the capital at the head of the Roman mob. To Venice their conduct was still more atrocious. After concluding an armistice with the Archduke Charles, Bonaparte declared that he took the Venetians under his protection, and overturned the old government by the movements excited among the people; but no sooner was the national independence in this way destroyed, than he sold them to the very Imperial government against whose alleged oppression he had prompted them to take up arms. Genoa received the French as friends; and the debt of gratitude was repaid by the government being revolutionized, and, under the authority of a mock constitution, the people plundered, and the public independence subverted.

"It is in vain to allege that these atrocities are the work of former governments, and that Bonaparte had no hand in them. The worst of acts, perfidy have been perpetrated by himself. If a treaty was broken with Sardinia, it was concluded and broken by Bo

was entered into and violated with Tuscany, it was entered into and violated by Bonaparte. If Venice was first seduced into revolutionary revolt, and then betrayed and sold to Austria, it was by Bonaparte that the treachery was consummated. If the Papal government was first terrified into submission, and then overturned by rebellion, it was Bonaparte who accomplished the work. If Genoa was convulsed in a state of profound peace, and then sacrificed, it was by Bonaparte that the perfidious invasion was committed. If Switzerland was first seduced into revolution, and then invaded and plundered, it was by the deceitful promises and arts of Bonaparte that the train was laid. Even the affiliated republics and his own country have not escaped the same perfidious ability. The constitution which he forced on his countrymen, at the cannon's mouth, on the 15th Vendemiaire, he delivered up to the bayonets of Augereau on the 18th Fructidor, and overturned with his grenadiers on the 18th Brumaire. The constitution of the Cisalpine republic, which he himself had established, was overthrown by his lieutenant Berthier. He gained possession of Malta by deceitful promises, and immediately handed it over to the Republic. He declared to the Porte that he had no intention to take possession of Egypt, and yet he avowed to his army that he conquered it for France, and instantly roused the Copts into rebellion against the Mamelukes. He declared to the Mussulmans that he was a believer in Mahomet (4), thus demonstrating that, even on the most sacred subjects, truth was set at naught when any object was to be gained by its violation. Nay, he has, in his official instructions, openly avowed this system, for, in his instructions to Kitcher, he declares, 'You may sign a treaty to evacuate Egypt, but do not execute the articles, and you may find a plausible excuse for the delay in the observation, that they must be sent home to be submitted to the Directory.' What reliance can be placed on a power which thus uniformly makes peace or truce a stepping-stone to farther aggressions, and systematically uses perfidy as an allowable weapon for circumventing its enemies? And what is especially worthy of observation, this system is not that of any one man, it has been the principle of all the statesmen, without exception, who have governed France during the Revolution; a clear proof that it arises from the force of the circumstances in which they are placed, and the ruinous ascendancy of irreligious principles in the people, and that the intentions of the present ruler of the country, even if they were widely different from what they are, could afford no sort of security against its continuance.

"France would now derive great advantages from a general peace. Her commerce would revive, her seamen be renewed, her sailors acquire experience, and the power which hitherto has been so victorious at land, would speedily become formidable on another element. What benefit could it bring to Great Britain? Are our dockyards empty? It is our preponderance on the world rapidly passing into the hands of our merchants? Bonaparte would acquire immense popularity by being the means of bringing about an accommodation with this country, if we wish to establish his power, and permanently enlist the energy of the Revolution under the banners of a military chieftain, we have only to fall into the snare which he has so artfully prepared. In turbulent republics, it has ever been an axiom to maintain in-

believer in any particular religion; but as to the idea of a God, look up to the heavens, and say who made that?—See *Traité sur le Consulat*, 133

by proposing to transfer into new hands, on the delusive notion of equality, and in breach of every principle of justice, the whole property of the country, the practical application of this principle was to devote the whole of that property to indiscriminate plunder, and make it the foundation of a revolutionary system of finance, productive in proportion to the misery and desolation which it created. It has been accompanied by an unwearied spirit of proselytism, diffusing itself over all the nations of the earth; a spirit which can apply itself to all circumstances and all situations, hold out a promise of redress equally to all nations; which enables the teachers of French liberty to recommend themselves to those who live under the feudal code of the German empire, the various states of Italy, the old republicans of Holland, the new republicans of America, the protestants of Switzerland, the Catholics of Ireland, the Mussulmans of Turkey, and the Hindoos of India; the natives of England, enjoying the perfection of practical freedom, and the Copts of Egypt, groaning under the last severity of Asiatic bondage. The last and distinguishing feature is a perfidy which nothing can bind; which no ties of treaty, no sense of the principles generally received among nations, no obligation, human or divine, can restrain. Thus qualified, thus armed for destruction, the genius of the French Revolution marched forth the terror and dismay of the world. Every nation has in its turn been the witness, many have been the victims, of its principles, and it is left now for us to decide whether we will compromise with such a danger, while we have yet resources to supply the sinews of war, while the heart and spirit of the country is yet unbroken, and while we have the means of calling forth and supporting a powerful co-operation in Europe. *Cur igitur pacem nolo—quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest (1)?*"

Feb 3 1800 The House, upon a division, supported the measures of Administration by a majority of two hundred and sixty-five to sixty-four.

Reflections
on this de-
cision of
Parliament

In judging of this decision of the British government, which formed the true commencement of the second period of the war, that in which it was waged with Napoléon, it is of importance to recollect the circumstances in which he was placed, and the nature of the government which he had assumed. France had not ceased to be revolutionary, but its energies were now, under a skilful and enterprising chief, turned to military objects. He was still, however, borne forward upon the movement, and the moment he attempted to stop, he would have been crushed by its wheels. First Consul. "The French government has no resemblance to those which surround it. It is not bound to restrain many different classes of malecontents within its bosom, it stands in need of action, of *éclat*, and, by consequence, of war, to maintain an imposing attitude against so many enemies."—"Your government," replied Thibeaudeau, "has no resemblance to one newly established. It assumed the *toga virilis* at Marengo; and, sus-

(1) Parl Hist xxvii 1206 1319
It is impossible in this abstract, to give any idea of the splendid and luminous speeches made on this memorable occasion in the British Parliament. They

are reported at large in Hansard, and throw more light on the motives and objects of the war than any other documents in existence.

or it will perish."—"And to obtain such a result, you see no other method than war?"—"None other, citizen (1)."—"His fixed opinion from the commencement," says Bourrienne, "was, that if stationary he would fall; that he was sustained only by continually advancing, and that it was not sufficient to advance, but he must advance rapidly and irresistibly."—"My power," said he, "depends on my glory, and my glory on the victories which I gain. My power would instantly fall, if it were not constantly based on fresh glory and victories. Conquest made me what I am: conquest alone can maintain me in it. A government newly established has need to dazzle and astonish; when its *éclat* ceases, it perishes. It is in vain to expect repose from a man who is the concentration of movement (2)."

Such were Napoleon's views; and that they were perfectly just, with reference to his own situation, is evident from the consideration that a revolutionary power, whether in civil or military affairs, has never yet maintained its ascendancy in any other way. But these being his principles, and the independence of England forming the great stumbling-block in his way, it is evident that no permanent peace with him was practicable; that every accommodation could have been only a truce; and that it never would be proposed, unless in circumstances when it was for his interest to gain a short breathing-time for fresh projects of ambition (3). The event completely proved the justice of these views, and forms the best commentary on the prophetic wisdom of Mr. Pitt. Every successive peace on the continent only paved the way for fresh aggressions; and at length he was precipitated upon the snows of Russia, by the same invincible necessity of dazzling his subjects by the lustre of additional victories which was felt in the commencement of his career. "His power, without and within," says Marshal St.-Cyr, "was founded solely on the *éclat* of his victories. By intrusting himself without reserve to fortune, he imposed upon himself the necessity of following it to the utmost verge whither it would lead him. Unheard-of success had attended enterprises, the temerity of which was continually increasing; but thence arose a necessity to keep for ever awake the terror and admiration of Europe, by new enterprises and more dazzling triumphs. The more colossal his power became, the more immeasurable his projects required to be, in order that their unexpected success should keep up the same stupor in the minds of the vulgar. Admiration, enthusiasm, ambition, the emotions on which his dominion was founded, are not durable in their nature; they must be incessantly fed with fresh stimulants; and, to effect that, extraordinary efforts are requisite. These principles were well known to Napoleon; and thence it is that he so often did evil, albeit knowing better than any one that it was evil, overruled by a superior power, from which he felt it was impossible to escape. The rapid movement which he imprinted on the affairs of Europe was of a kind which could not be arrested; a single retrograde step, a policy which indicated a stationary condition, would have been the signal of his fall. Far, therefore, from making it subject of reproach to Napoleon, that he conceived an enterprise so gigantic as the Russian expedition, he is

(1) Thihaudeau, *Consulat*, 393.

(2) Bourr. iii. 214.

(3) This accordingly was openly avowed by Napoleon himself. "England," said he in January 1800, "must be overturned. As long as my voice has any influence, it will never enjoy any respite. Yes! yes! war to the death with England for ever—ay, till its destruction." [D'Abr. ii. 179, 180.] He admits, in his own Memoirs, that when he made these proposals to Mr. Pitt, he had no serious intention of concluding peace. "I had then," said he,

"need of war: a treaty of peace which would have derogated from that of Campo Formio and annulled the creations of Italy, would have withered every imagination. Mr. Pitt's answer accordingly was impatiently expected. When it arrived, it filled me with a secret dissatisfaction. His answer could not have been more favourable. From that moment I foresaw that, with such impassioned antagonists, I would have no difficulty in reaching the highest destinies."

—NAP. in MONTH. 5. 33, 34.

rather to be pitied for being placed in a situation where he was overruled by necessity, and this furnishes the true answer to those who would ascribe to chance, the rigour of the elements, or an excess of temerity, what was in truth but the inevitable consequence of the false position in which for fifteen years France had been placed (1) "It is this law of the moral world which rendered durable peace with that country, when headed by a revolutionary power, impossible, and which was ultimately destined to inflict an awful retribution on its guilt and its ambition

Experience, therefore, has now proved that Mr Pitt's view of the character of the revolutionary war was well founded, and that the seizure of the consular throne by Napoléon, only gave a new and more dangerous direction to that restless and insatiable spirit which had arisen from the convulsions which the Revolution had produced. Justice requires that it should be declared, that, in espousing the cause of the enemy on this occasion, and uniformly neglecting the crimes of the popular party in that country, the Eng-

lish writer in expressing this opinion, because the ablest of the liberal party in France themselves admit that their partisans in this country fell into this enormous error. "Nothing," says Madame de Staël, "was more contrary to Bonaparte's nature, or his interest, than to have made peace in 1800. He could only live in agitation, and if any thing could plead his apology with those who reflect on the influence of external circumstances on the human mind, it is, that he could only breathe freely in a volcanic atmosphere. It was absolutely necessary for him to present, every three months, a new object of ambition to the French, in order to supply, by the grandeur and variety of external events, the vacuum occasioned by the removal of all objects of domestic interest. At that epoch, unhappily for the spirit of freedom in England, the English Opposition, with Mr Fox at their head, took an entirely false view of Napoléon, and thence it was that that party, previously so estimable, lost its ascendant in the nation. It was already too much to have defended France under the Reign of Terror, but it was, if possible, a still greater fault to have considered Bonaparte as identified with the principles of freedom, when in truth he was their deadliest enemy (2)."—"The eloquent declarations of Mr Fox," says General Mathieu Dumas, "cannot invalidate the facts brought forward by Mr Pitt and Lord Grenville as to the origin of the war. The Girondists alone were the cause of its commencement. The names of those impostors who, to overturn the monarchical throne of France, prevailed on the king to declare that fatal war, should be consigned to an execrable celebrity, they alone brought down on Europe and their country a deluge of calamities (3)."

War being thus resolved on, the most vigorous measures were taken, both by Parliament and the executive, to meet the dangers with which it might be attended. Parliament voted the sum of £500,000 to the crown, for the purpose of immediately aiding Austria in the armaments which she had in contemplation, and Mr Pitt stated that a loan of £2,500,000 to the Emperor would be advanced (4). The budget brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer exhibited a most flattering picture of the public credit, and proved that, notwithstanding the immense expenditure of the eight preceding campaigns, the national resources were still

(1) St-Cyr Hist Mil 4 34
(2) Madame de Staël Rev France ii 268 270

(3) Dumas iv 308 312
(4) Parl Hist 222iv 1139.

unimpaired (1). The extraordinary fact which he mentioned, that, in the eighth year of the war, a loan of eighteen millions and a half had been obtained at the rate of four and three-fourths per cent, proved the enduring credit of the government and the almost boundless extent of the wealth of England; but both that great financier and the British public, misled by the fallacious brilliancy of present appearances, overlooked the grievous burden which the contraction of debt in the three per cents, in other words, the imposition of a burden of L.100 for every L.60 advanced, was ultimately to produce upon the national resources.

The land forces of Great Britain in this year amounted to 168,000 men, exclusive of 80,000 militia; and for the service of the fleet, 120,000 seamen and marines were voted. The ships in commission were no less than 310, including 121 of the line. From a table laid before Parliament in this year, it appeared that the whole troops, exclusive of militia, which had been raised for the service of the state during the eight years from 1792 to 1800, had been only 208,000; a force not greater than might have been easily levied in a single year, out of a population then amounting to nearly sixteen millions, in the three kingdoms; and which, if ably conducted and thrown into the scale, when nearly balanced, between France and Austria, would unquestionably have terminated the war at the latest in two campaigns (2).

(1) The Budget stood thus:—

Receipt—Ways and Means.

Land and Malt Tax,	1,275,000
Lottery,	200,000
Duties on Exports and Imports,	1,250,000
Income Tax,	5,300,000
Surplus of Consolidated Fund,	5,512,000
Loan by Exchequer Bills,	3,000,000
Lent by Bank without interest,	3,000,000
Loan for Great Britain,	18,500,000
	<hr/>
	L.39,612,000

Expenditure.

Navy,	L.12,619,000
Army,	11,370,000
Miscellaneous,	750,000
Interest on Exchequer Bills,	810,000
Deficiencies of year 1799,	440,000
Deficiency of Malt Tax and Land do.	350,000
Exchequer Bills,	2,500,000
Do. for 1798,	1,075,000
Vote of credit,	3,000,000
Subsidies to Germans and Russians,	3,000,000
Annual grant for National Debt,	200,000
Unforeseen emergencies,	1,800,000
	<hr/>
	L.37,920,000

To provide for the interest of this loan, amounting in all to L.21,500,000, Mr. Pitt laid on some trifling taxes on spirits and tea, amounting in all to L.350,000, the interest on the bulk of the debt being laid as a charge on the income tax. The interest paid on the loan was only 4½ per cent; a fact which he justly stated as extraordinary in the eighth year of the war. The interest on the public debt at this time was L.19,700,000, and on Exchequer Bills, etc., L.1,983,000, in all.

	L. 21,683,000
Civil List,	898,000
Civil Expenses,	647,000
Charges of management,	1,779,000
Other charges on consolidated Fund,	239,000
	<hr/>
	25,246,000

Total National Expenditure in 1800. L.63,166,000

—See *Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 1515, and *Ann. Reg. App. to Chronicle for 1800*, pp. 151, 152.

(2) James, ii. App. No. 8. *Ann. Reg.* 1800, 160; The number of troops raised ,
and 144, App. to Chron. commencement of the war for the

Mr Dundas introduced a bill for the renewal of the charter of the Bank of England for twenty-one years, there being twelve years of the old charter still to run; in consideration of the advantages of which, the directors agreed to give the public a loan of £5,000,000 for six years without interest, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act was continued by a great majority in both houses of Parliament; and Mr Dundas brought forward a full account of the affairs of India (4). The union of Ireland with Great Britain was, after a stormy debate in both houses of Parliament in Dublin, carried by a large majority, chiefly through the powerful abilities, cool courage, and vigorous efforts of Lord CASTLEREAGH, who then gave the first specimen of that indomitable firmness and steady perseverance which were afterwards destined, on a greater stage, to lead the coalition against France to a glorious issue in the campaign of 1814. This great measure, however, was not carried without the most violent opposition, both in the Irish Peers and Commons, and it left the seeds of an animosity between the two islands, which, fostered by religious rancour and democratic passion, produced melancholy effects in after times upon the tranquillity and strength of the empire (2).

By the treaty of Union, the Peers for the united Imperial Parliament were limited, from Ireland, to twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers, the former elected for life by the Irish peerage, the latter by rotation, the commoners fixed at one hundred. The Churches of England and Ireland were united, and provision made for their union, preservation, and the continuance of their discipline, doctrine, and worship for ever. Commercial privileges were fairly communicated, the national debt of each was imposed as a burden on its own finances, and the general expenditure ordered to be defrayed, for twenty years after the Union, in the proportion of fifteen to Great Britain

as follows—a woful picture of the ignorance which then prevailed as to the means of combating a revolutionary power;—

1793	17 038	
1794	38 561	5 000 000
1795	40 160	
1796	16 336	
1797	16 096	
1798	21 457	
1799	41 316	
1800	17 121	

Total net gift years 208 383

at 1 558 000 yearly

Whereas the French with a population of 28 000 000 raised in 1792 700 000 and in 1793 1 500 000 soldiers—Russia with a population of

The revenue and expenditure were thus divided—

	Revenue	Charges
Bengal	£ 6 259 600	1 392 817
Madras	2 004 953	2 837 519
Bombay	346 110	990 693
	<u>£ 8 610 703</u>	<u>£ 7 807 065</u>
	7 807 065	
Surplus	£ 803 638	
Interest on debt	£ 7 58 135	
Other charges	117 180	
	<u>£ 7 695 315</u>	
Deficiency	£ 71 657	
Commercial Profits		1 629 657
Deduct territorial loss		71 657
		<u>£ 1 558 000</u>
Annual Surplus		

See *Parl Hist* xxxv 15

(2) *Ibid Hist* xxiv 1471 xxxv 14 15 Ann Reg 1801, 112 116

and two for Ireland. The laws and courts of both kingdoms were maintained on their present footing, subject to such alterations as the united Parliament might deem expedient. This important step was carried in the British House of Commons by a majority of 508 to 26, and in the Lords by 73 to 7 (1).

Views of the leaders of both sides of Parliament on this great change. The debates on this subject in the British Parliament, which, although highly important in English, are not of sufficient moment for quotation in European history, are chiefly remarkable for the complete blindness of all parties to the real and ultimate consequences of the measure which was adopted. Mr. Pitt was most desirous to show that the influence of the crown would not be unduly augmented by the Irish members in the House of Commons (2); while Mr. Grey contended that, "ultimately at least, the Irish members will afford a certain accession of force to the party of every administration, and therefore forty of the most decayed boroughs should be struck off before the Union takes place. He accordingly moved, that it should be an instruction to the House to guard against the increase of the influence of the crown in the approaching Union (3). To us, who know that by the aid of the Irish members, and their aid alone, even after the franchise had been raised from forty shillings to ten pounds by the Duke of Wellington, the great democratic change on the British constitution of 1852 was carried (4), these speculations as to the ultimate consequences of the Union are singular monuments of the difficulty which even the greatest intellects experience in prognosticating the consequences of any considerable change in the frame of government. In truth, the decisive addition which the Irish members furnished to the democratic party of the empire on the first great crisis which occurred, adds another to the numerous examples which history affords of the extreme peril of applying to one country the institutions or government of another, or of supposing that the system of representation which the habits of centuries have moulded to a conformity with the interests of one state, can be adopted without the utmost hazard by another in an inferior stage of civilization, inheriting from its forefathers a more ardent temperament, or under the influence of more vehement passions.

Great prosperity of the British empire at this period. Ever since the great financial crisis of 1797, and the limitation of cash payments by the act of that year, followed by the issue of two and one pound notes by the Bank of England, which immediately ensued, the prosperity of the British empire had been steadily and rapidly increasing. The expenditure of above sixty millions a-year by government, either in the current expenses or the payment of interest on debt, and the increase of the issues by the bank from eleven millions to above fifteen during that period (5), had produced a most extraordinary effect on the national industry. Prices of every species of produce had rapidly and steadily

(1) Parl. Hist. xxxv. 31. 150, 195.

(3) *Ibid.* 101.

(2) Parl. Hist. xxxv. 47.

(4) English and Scotch members for the Reform Bill on its first division, . . . 266
 Against it, . . . 251—15
 Ireland, against it, . . . 37
 For it, . . . 53—16

Thus it was the admission of the Irish members which effected that great alteration in the English constitution.

(5) Bank of England notes in circulation last quarter, of

	Five pounds.	Two and one pounds.	Total.
1797,	L.10,411,700	L.1,230,700	L.11,642,400
1798,	10,711,600	1,730,380	12,442,070
1799,	12,335,920	1,671,040	13,006,960
1800,	13,338,670	2,042,300	15,400,970

—See *Ann. Reg.* 1800, p. 148, *App. to Chronicle*.

risen, that of grain in 1800, exclusive of the effects of the scarcity of that year, was double what it had been in 1792, and every other article had advanced in a similar proportion (1). The consequence was, that the industrious classes were, generally speaking, in affluent circumstances, immense fortunes rewarded the efforts of commercial enterprise, the demand for labour, encouraged by the employment of nearly four hundred thousand soldiers and sailors in the public service, was unbounded, and even the increasing weight of taxation, and the alarming magnitude of the debt, were but little felt amidst the general rise of prices and incomes which resulted from the profuse expenditure and lavish issue of paper by government (2).

One class only, that of annuitants, and all others depending on a fixed income, underwent, during those years, a progressive decline of comfort, which was increased in many cases to the most poignant distress by the high prices and severe scarcity which followed the disastrous harvest of 1799. The attention of Parliament was early directed to the means of alleviating the famine of that year. Six reports were made by the Commons and two by the Lords on the dearth of provisions, but the government, although severely pressed by the public suffering, steadily resisted all those harsh or violent measures which procure a present relief at the expense of

—See MURRAY & TADDELL *et al* *Statement on of Great Britain* 53

(2) According to Mr P's statement in 1800 the British exports imports of population and revenue in the under mentioned years stood as follows —

Imports

On an average of six years ending 5th Jan 1793	L. 18 685 000
On an average of six years ending 5th Jan 1801	25 259 000

Exports

On an average of six years ending 5th Jan 1793	L. 14 771 000
Manufactures	5 468 000
Foreign goods	1 20 239 000

On an average of six years ending 5th Jan 1801	L. 20 085 000
Manufactures	12 567 000
Foreign goods	L. 20 832 000

Shipping etc

Shipping etc	Tonnage	Seamen
Shipping 1788	13 827	1 363 000
1792	16 079	1 510 145
1800	18 877	1 905 438

Permanent taxes exclusive of war taxes —

Year ending 5th Jan 1793	L. 14 784 000
Do do 1794	15 941 000
Do do 1795	13 835 000
Do do 1796	13 537 000
Do do 1797	14 292 000
Do do 1798	13 332 000
Do do 1799	14 275 000
Do do 1800	15 743 000

Gross receipt from taxes

1797	23 076 000
1798	30 175 000
1799	34 750 000
1800	53 535 000

—See Pugh *et al* *History* 1563

Great efforts
of govern-
ment to re-
lieve it, and
noble pa-
tience of the
people.

future confidence in the cultivators. An act was passed to lower the quality of all the bread baked in the kingdom; the importation of rice and maize encouraged by liberal bounties; distillation from grain stopped, and by these and other means an additional supply, to the enormous amount of 2,500,000 quarters, was procured for the use of the inhabitants (1). By these generous and patriotic efforts, joined to the admirable patience and forbearance of the people, this trying crisis was surmounted without any of those convulsions which might have been anticipated from so severe a calamity during a period of almost universal war; and in the latter part of the year, England, so far from being overwhelmed by its reverses, was enabled to present an undaunted front to the hostility of combined Europe.

Measures of
England and
Austria for
the prosecu-
tion of the
war.

Deprived by the secession of Russia of the power from whom they had derived such efficacious assistance in the preceding campaign, Austria and England made the utmost efforts to prosecute the war with vigour. By their united influence, the German empire was

prevailed upon to sign a treaty, binding the states who composed it to furnish a contingent of three hundred thousand men for the common cause; but very few of the electors obeyed the requisition, and the troops of the empire were of hardly any service in the succeeding campaign. To stimulate their languid dispositions, a vigorous circular was, in the beginning of December, sent by the Archduke Charles to the anterior circles of the empire, in which he strenuously urged the formation of new levies, and pointed out, in energetic terms, the futility of the idea that any durable peace was practicable with a country in such a state of revolutionary excitement as France, and the vanity of supposing that, by concentrating all the powers of government in the hands of a victorious chieftain, it was likely to be either less formidable or more pacific. But although that great general was indefatigable in his endeavours to put the Imperialists on a respectable footing, and make the most active preparations for war, he was far from feeling any confidence in the issue of the approaching contest, now that Russia was withdrawn on the one side and Napoléon was added on the other; and he earnestly counselled the Austrian cabinet to take advantage of the successes of the late campaign, and the recent changes of government in France, by concluding peace with the Republic. The cabinet of Vienna, however, deemed it inadvisable to stop short in the career of success; and not only refused to treat with Napoléon, who had proposed peace on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, but deprived the Archduke, who had so candidly stated his opinion, of the command of the army in Germany, and conferred it on General Kray. Notwithstanding the great abilities of the latter general, this change proved extremely prejudicial to the Imperial fortunes: the Archduke was adored by the soldiers, and his retirement not only shook their confidence in

(1) The resources obtained in this way are thus detailed in the sixth report of the Commons:—

	Quarters.
Importation of wheat from Jan. 1 to Oct. 1,	170,000
Do. of flour from America,	580,000
Do. of flour from Canada,	30,000
Do. of rice, equal to	630,000
Stoppage of starch, equal to	40,000
Do. of distilleries,	360,000
Use of Coarse Meal,	400,000
Retrenchment,	300,000
	<hr/> 2,510,000

the house of Orange produced 24,000,000 more; national domains to a great extent found purchasers from the increasing confidence in government; and, instead of the forced loans from the opulent classes, which had utterly annihilated credit, and by the flagrant injustice with which they were levied recalled the worst days of the Reign of Terror, a new tax of twenty-five per cent on real property, though a burden that would be deemed intolerable in any state which had tasted of the sweets of real freedom, gave general satisfaction, and soon produced a large increase to the revenue. At the same time the foundations of a sinking fund and a national bank were laid, the public forests put under a new and rigorous direction, monthly remittances from the collectors of taxes established, and the measures commenced which were calculated to revive public credit after a prostration of ten years (1).

Pacificat on of la Vendée The pacification of la Vendée was the next object of the First Consul. The law of hostages and the forced requisitions had revived the civil war in that country, and sixty thousand men were in the field, but it was a different contest from the terrible burst which, seven years before, had proved so disastrous to the Republican arms. The devastation of the country and destruction of the population by that bloody strife, had annihilated the elements of resistance on any considerable scale, and mere

leaders of the insurgents, and although they paid but little attention to the first proclamations of Napoleon, yet being soon convinced by the tenor of his administration, that a more equitable system than that of the Revolution was about to commence, they gradually listened to his proposals. At the same time, the approach of formidable forces from all quarters, convinced them that they had now a more difficult antagonist to deal with than the weak though tyrannical Directory. Chaillon and d'Authamps were the first to give the example of submission; and soon after Suzanet and the Abbé Bernier concluded, at Mount Luçon, a treaty highly honourable to themselves for the termination of hostilities. The able and heroic Count Louis de Frotte was not equally fortunate. He had written a letter to the Republican chief, proposing a general pacification of the Chouans, and was at the place of conference, when the negotiation was protracted beyond the time assigned for the acceptance of terms of peace by the Royalists. He was then perfidiously seized, along with all his followers, on the ground of a letter he had written to an aide-de-camp during the negotiation, and brought before a military tribunal, by which they were imme-

(1) Nap. i 107, 110. *Jour. xiii 28*

The injustice committed by these forced loans is one of the most striking instances of the monstrous effects of the democratic ascendancy which by the Revolution of 18th Fructidor had obtained in

all who paid 4000 francs and upwards at its whole amount. The arbitrary base was founded on the opinion of a jury, who were entitled to tax the relations of emigrants or any persons of noble birth at any sum they chose. The effects of an iniquitous system may be conceived. Property disappeared or was concealed as studiously as in the dynasties of the East. Every branch of the public revenue was drying up from the extinction of credit.—See Napoleon, i 107, note.

diately ordered to be executed. They underwent the sentence next day, and met death with the most heroic courage, standing erect, with their eyes unbandaged. One of the aides-de-camp was only wounded by the first fire; he coolly ordered the men to fire again, and fell pierced to the earth. The unhappy aide-de-camp whose unfortunate discovery of the letter had occasioned this catastrophe, was seized with such despair that he blew out his brains. This murder is a lasting stain on Napoléon's administration. Frotte was not taken in arms, but perfidiously seized by a company of Republicans, when under an escort of the national troops and engaged in a negotiation for a final pacification; but he was deemed too able to be permitted to survive, even in that age of returning clemency; and the intercepted letter, though imprudent, contained nothing which could warrant the captive's execution. It must be added, however, in justice to Napoléon, that it contained expressions extremely hostile to the First Consul, and that, at the earnest solicitation of his secretary Bourricnne, he had actually made out an order for his pardon, which, from some delay in the transmission, unfortunately arrived too late to save the hero's life. About the same time he generously pardoned M. Deseu, a brave emigrant officer taken in arms against the state, and doomed by the cruel laws of the Republic to instant death (1).

Georges, Bourmont, and some others, maintained for a few weeks longer in Brittany a gallant resistance; but, finding that the inhabitants were weary of civil war, and gladly embraced the opportunity of resuming their pacific occupations, they at length came into the measures of government, and were Feb. 23, 1801. treated with equal clemency and good faith by the First Consul, to whom they ever after yielded a willing and useful obedience. In the end of January, General Brune announced by proclamation that the pacification of la Vendée was complete, and on the 23d of the following month a general and unqualified amnesty was published. The Vendean chiefs were received with great distinction by Napoléon at Malmaison, and generally promoted to important situations (2). The curate Bernier was made Bishop of Orléans, and intrusted afterwards with the delicate task of conducting the negotiation concerning the concordat with the Papal government. The rapid and complete pacification of la Vendée by Napoléon, proves how much the long duration of its bloody and disastrous war had been owing to the cruelty and oppressions of the Republican authorities.

Napoléon effects a reconciliation with the Emperor Paul.

The next important step of Napoléon was to detach Russia completely from the alliance of Great Britain; an attempt which was much facilitated by the angry feelings excited in the mind of the Emperor Paul and his generals by the disastrous issue of the preceding campaign, and the rising jealousy of the maritime power of Great Britain, which had sprung up from fortuitous events in the minds of the Northern powers, and in the following year led to the most important results. Aware of the favourable turn which affairs in the Baltic had recently taken, Napoléon lost no opportunity of cultivating a good understanding with the Russian Emperor; and, by a series of adroit acts of courtesy, succeeded at length, not only in obliterating all feelings of hostility, but establishing the most perfect understanding between the two cabinets. Napoléon sent back all the Russian prisoners in France, seven thousand in number, who had been taken at Zurich and in Holland, not only without exchange, but equipped anew in the Russian uniform. This politic proceeding was not lost on

(1) Bour. iv. §. 10. Beauch. iv. 498, 504.

(2) Nap. i. 129, 133. Jom. xiii. 29, 31. Dum. iii. 19, 21. Ann. Reg. 1800, 186.

the Czar, who had been already dazzled by the lustre of Napoléon's victories in Italy and Egypt; a contest of civilities and courtesies ensued, which soon terminated in the dismissal of Lord Whitworth from St. Petersburg, and the arrival of Baron Springborton, the Russian ambassador, at Paris (1). The British vessels were soon after laid under embargo in the Russian harbours, and that angry correspondence began, which was shortly terminated by the

ring proclamations which were so well calculated to rouse the ardent spirit of the French people. He told them that the English minister had rejected his proposals of peace, that to command it he had need of money, of iron, and soldiers, and that he swore not to combat but for the happiness of France and the peace of the world. This animated address, coupled with the magic that encircled the name of Napoleon, produced an amazing effect. Victory seemed about again to attend the Republican standards, under the auspices of a leader to whom she had never yet proved faithless; the patriotic ardour of 1793 was in part revived, with all the addition which the national strength had since received from the experience of later times. The first class of the conscription for the year 1800 was put in requisition, without any exemption either from rank or fortune; this supply put at the disposal of government one hundred and twenty thousand men. Besides this, a still more efficient force for immediate service, was formed by a summons of all the veterans who had obtained furlough or leave of absence for the eight preceding years, and who, unless furnished with a valid excuse, were required again to serve; a measure which procured a supply of thirty thousand experienced soldiers. At the same time, the *gendarmérie* were put on a better footing, and various improvements effected, particularly in the artillery department, which greatly augmented the efficiency of that important arm of the public service. Twenty-five thousand horses, bought in the interior, were distributed among the artillery and cavalry on the frontier, and all the stores and equipments of the armies repaired with a celerity so extraordinary, that it would have appeared incredible, if long experience had not proved, that confidence in the vigour and stability of government operates as rapidly in increasing, as the vacillation and insecurity of democracy does in withering the national resources (2).

Far from experiencing the difficulty which had been so severely felt by the Directory in retaining the soldiers to their colours, the consular government was powerfully seconded by the patriotic efforts of all classes. Several brilliant corps of volunteers were formed; and the ranks rapidly filled up by veterans hastening to renew their toils under a leader to whom fortune had hitherto proved so propitious. In consequence, the government soon found itself at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men to commence hostilities in Italy and Germany, while above one hundred thousand conscripts were rapidly learning the rudiments of war at the depôts in the interior, and before six months might be expected to join the armies on the frontier (3).

But it was not merely in such praiseworthy efforts for the security and pacification of France, that the energies of the First Consul were employed. He already meditated the re-establishment of the monarchy, and early

(1) Journ xiii 13, 14 Jour iii 262, 270 Ann.
Reg 1800 234

(2) Journ iii 23 25 Journ xi 33, 35
(3) Journ xiii 35 Journ iii 24 25

commenced that system of misleading the people by false epithets, and dazzling them by splendid pageants, which was intended to prepare them for the lustre of the throne, and induce them to concur in the reconstruction of all the parts of the social edifice which it had been the object of the Revolution to destroy.

His measures to extinguish the revolutionary fervour of the people. To accomplish this object, he applied himself to what he was well aware is at all times, but especially during the decline of revolutionary fervour, the ruling principle of human nature, viz., self-interest. All the officers of state, all the members of the legislature were endowed with ample salaries; even the tribunate, which professed to be the barrier of the people against the encroachments of government, received above L.50,000 a-year among its eighty members, being at the rate of nearly L.700 a-year to each individual who composed it; a very large allowance in a country where the highest civil functionaries, the heads of the law and church, received only from L.500 to L.600 annually (1). From the very first he commenced the demolition of all those ensigns and expressions which recalled the idea of the liberty and equality, from the strife of which his redoubtable power had arisen. The image of the Republic, seated and holding a spear in her hand, which was at the top of all the official letters at the commencement of the consulship, was suppressed. Some doubt existed in the first instance as to which of the consuls should take the chair, and Sièyes openly asserted his pretensions to it, in virtue as well of his seniority as his great services in the cause of freedom; but Napoleon cut the matter short by stepping into the chair himself, and the jealousy of the elder consul was soon removed by the grant of the large property out of the park of Versailles which has been already mentioned. At the same time, the habiliments and ensigns of authority were changed; the Greek and Roman costumes, which recalled the ideas of equality lately so much in vogue, were abolished and replaced by the military dress; the First Consul appeared on all occasions in uniform, with boots and spurs, and all the inferior military functionaries followed his example. The levees, which he held almost daily, were crowded with officers in full dress; and the court of the first magistrate of the Republic was noways distinguishable from the headquarters of its greatest general. At the same time, the institution of sabres and fusils of merit, as a testimony of reward to military distinction, already shadowed out to the discerning eye the Legion of Honour, and the re-establishment of titles of rank and a hereditary nobility; while the daily reviews with all the pomp and splendour of war, in the Place du Carrousel, accustomed the people to those magnificent pageants which were destined to conceal from their gaze the chains of the empire (2).

Dec. 24,
1799.

These measures were all steps, and not unimportant ones, to the re-establishment of monarchical authority. But they were the

(1) The civil list under the First Consul was fixed at the following sums:—

Legislative Body,	2,400,000 francs.
Tribunate,	1,312,000
Archives,	75,000
Three Consuls,	1,800,000
Council of State,	675,000
Their Secretaries,	112,500
Six Ministers,	360,000
Minister of Foreign Affairs,	90,000

6,324,500 francs, or L. 275,000

See DOUBRIENNE, iii. 242.

(2) Thib. 2, 3; Bour. iii. 243, 255, 256. Nap. i, 243.

prelude only to more important changes. In December, 1799, an important *arrêt* was published, which, on the preamble—"That a part of the journals printed at Paris are instruments in the hands of the enemies of the Republic, and that it is the first duty of the government to watch over its security," decreed, "That the minister of police should not suffer to be printed, during the continuance of the war, any journals but the following." Then followed a list of thirteen journals, thus invested with the monopoly of Paris, and from it were only excluded "those exclusively devoted to science, the arts, literature, commerce, or advertisements." It was decreed, by a separate article, that "any journal among those retained which inserted any thing contrary to the sovereignty of the people, should be immediately suppressed." This clause, inserted to blind the people to the real tendency of the measure, received in the sequel, as was foreseen at the time, the most liberal interpretation, and was applied, contrary to its obvious meaning, to sanction the extinction of all journals contrary to the consular government. Thus early commenced the system of Napoleon for the coercion of the press, a system which received, during the remainder of his reign, such ample developement, and which, as Madame de Staël justly remarks, converted that great engine, generally considered as the palladium of liberty, into the most powerful instrument of bondage, by perpetually exhibiting a series of false and delusive pictures to the human mind, and excluding all others from the view (1).

The next step of Napoléon was to fix his residence in the Tuileries, and sleep in the ancient apartment of the kings of France. This great change, however, required considerable caution in its accomplishment, it was so palpable an approach towards royalty, that it might shock the feeling of the people, and endanger the newly established authority. Slowly, and with profound dissimulation, therefore, he proceeded in his advances. A fine statue of Brutus was first placed in one of the galleries of the palace, it was thought the most ardent Republicans could apprehend nothing from a change which commenced with honour done to the hero who had slain a tyrant. Orders were next given to repair and put in order the royal apartments in the Tuileries, and under the veil of these words great changes were effected. The *bonnets roages* were all effaced, the statues which were to adorn the great gallery chosen by Napoleon himself, he selected among the ancients, Démosthènes and Alexander, Brutus and Cæsar, among the moderns, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Condé, Prince Eugene, Marlborough, Marshal Saxe, Frédéric, Washington, Dugommier, Dampierre, and Joubert. At length, the translation of the Consuls from the Luxembourg to the Tuileries took place. the royal apart-

other Consuls, was drawn in a magnificent chariot by six white horses, the same which the Emperor of Austria had given him after the treaty of Campo Formio, he bore in his hand the splendid sabre presented to him by the same sovereign on that occasion. The cabinet ministers followed in their carriages, the only ones which were to be seen on the occasion, for to transport the council of state they were obliged to have recourse to hackney coaches, such was the miserable destitution in which the Revolution

had left the highest civil functionaries of France (1). The real luxury of that period consisted in the splendour of the troops, whose brilliant uniforms and prancing chargers formed a painful contrast to the meanness and simplicity of the civil authorities—last and sad effect of revolutionary convulsions, to cast to the earth every thing but the ensigns of military prowess.

Feb. 18, 1800. From the opening into the Carronsel, from the quay of the Tuileries to the gate of the palace, the procession passed through a double line of guards: a royal usage, which offered a singular contrast to the inscription on the guard-house by which it passed—"10th August, 1792—Royalty is abolished in France, and will never be re-established." No sooner had he arrived at the foot of the great stair, than Napoléon, allowing the other Consuls to ascend to the presence chamber, mounted on horseback, and, amidst incessant cries of "Vive le Premier Consul!" passed in review above twenty thousand men. Murat was on his right, Lannes on his left; the brilliant staff who surrounded him bore on their visages the marks of the sun of Italy or the sands of Egypt. When the banners of the ninetieth, the forty-third, and thirtieth demi-brigades, which exhibited only bare poles riddled with shot and surmounted by tatters black with powder, were carried past, he bowed with respect to the monuments of military valour. Enthusiastic acclamations rent the skies: and such was the universal transport, that when the review was concluded, and the First Consul ascended to the audience chamber and took his station in the centre of the room, his colleagues were reduced to the rank of pages following his train. On that day royalty was in truth re-established in France, somewhat less than eight years after it had been abolished by the revolt of the 10th August (2).

1800. No sooner was the First Consul established at the Tuileries, than the usages, dress, and ceremonial of a court were at once resumed. The antechambers were filled with chamberlains, pages, and esquires; footmen in brilliant liveries filled the lobbies and staircases; the levees were conducted with as much splendour as the dilapidated state of most fortunes would permit; and a drawing-room, composed chiefly of the wives of the young generals who had been the companions of Napoléon, and presided over by the grace and good-breeding of Josephine, already revived to a certain degree the lustre of a court. Napoléon was indefatigable in his attention to these matters. He deemed the colour of a livery, the cut of a court-dress not beneath his notice, endeavouring in every way to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, and efface all recollection of the Republic before it was formally abolished by the authority of government (3). For the same reason, he revived the use of silk stockings in dress, and re-established the balls of the opera, an event which was so great an innovation on the manners of the

(1) Bour. iii. 320, 321. Goh. ii. 15, 19. Thib. 2.

(2) 316, 323. Thib. 2, 3.

On the night of his entry into the Tuileries, Napoléon said to his secretary, "Bonricienne, it is not enough to be in the Tuileries, we must take measures to remain there. Who has not inhabited this palace? It has been the abode of robbers, of members of the Convention. Ah! there is your brother's house, from which, eight years ago, [see vol. i. 159] we saw the good Louis XVI besieged in the Tuileries and carried off into captivity. But you need not fear a repetition of the scene. Let them attempt it with me if they dare." [Bour. iv.]

(3) The King of Prussia was among the first to

renew the consular government, and Napoléon was highly gratified when an aide-de-camp, whom he dispatched to Berlin, was admitted to the honour of dining at the royal table. M. Lucchesini, in October, 1800, was charged with a special mission to the court of the Tuileries from the Prussian government. The First Consul received him at St. Cloud, and was at the balcony when he arrived. He was much struck with the decorations which he bore, and the rich livery of the servants who attended him: and he was heard to exclaim, "That is imposing; we must have things of that sort to dazzle the people."—See THIEBAUDRAU, 14—15.

Republic that it created quite a sensation at that period. But Napoleon, in pursuing these measures, knew well the character of the French. "While they are discussing these changes," said he, "they will cease to talk nonsense about my politics, and that is what I want. Let them amuse themselves, let

had enough of such novelties. I would rather have the balls of the opera than the saturnalia of the Goddess of Reason (1) "

Recall of
many em-
igrants ex-
iled since
18th Fructi-
dor

About the same time an *arret* was published, which took off the sentence of banishment against a great number of those who had been exiled by the result of the 18th Fructidor. It was only provided that they should be under the surveillance of the police, and reside at the places appointed for each respectively in the decree. Among the persons thus restored against an unjust sentence, were many of the most eminent citizens of the Republic. Carnot, Barthelemy, Boissy-d'Anglas, Portalis, Villoul, Joyeuse, and above forty others. He immediately made use of the most eminent of them in the service of the state. Carnot was appointed minister at war in the absence of Berthier, and contributed in a powerful manner to the glorious issue of the succeeding campaign. Barrère also was recalled, and was so desirous to receive employment, that he wrote a long letter justifying his conduct to the First Consul, but the latter never could be persuaded to take into his service that hardened Republican. Those proscribed by the Directory were thus early admitted into favour, at a subsequent period he received with equally open arms the Royalists and the victims of the Revolution, the only faction against which to the last he was inveterate was the remnant of the Jacobin party, who retained throughout all his reign the resolution of their character and the perversity of their opinion (2)

Establi-
shment of the
secret
police

At the time when Napoleon was placed on the consular throne he organized his *secret police*, intended to act as a check on the public one of Fouche. Duroc was at first at the head of this establishment, to which Junot, as governor of Paris, soon after succeeded. So early did this great leader avail himself of this miserable engine, unknown in constitutional monarchies, the resource of despots, inconsistent with any thing like freedom, but the sad legacy bequeathed to succeeding ages by the convulsions and devastation of the Revolution. The spies and agents of this police and counter-police soon filled every coffee-house and theatre in Paris, they overheard conversations, mingled in groups, encouraged seditious expressions, were to be found in saloons and palaces, and rendered every man insecure, from the monarch on the throne to the captive in the dungeon. Lately appointed governor of Paris, Junot had a multitude of inferior agents in his pay to watch the motions of Fouche, and he, in his turn, carried corruption into the bosom of the consular family, and, by liberally supplying funds for her extravagance, obtained secret information from Joséphine herself (3). This miserable system had survived all the changes to which it gave birth, the formidable engine, organized in the heart of Paris, with its arms extending over all France, is instantly seized upon by each successive faction which

risers to the head of affairs; the herd of informers and spies is perpetrated from generation to generation, and exercises its prostituted talents for behoof of any government which the armed force of the capital has elevated to supreme power; the people, habituated to this unseen authority, regard it as an indispensable part of regular government; and a system, which was the disgrace of Roman servitude in the corrupted days of the empire, is engrafted on a government which boasts of concentrating within itself all the lights of modern civilisation (1).

Napoléon's
hypocritical
eulogy on
Washington.

"Augustus knew well," says Gibbon, "that mankind are governed by names; and that they will in general submit to real slavery, if they are told that they are in the enjoyment of freedom." No man understood this principle better than Napoléon. While he was preparing, by fixing his residence in the royal palace, the appointments of the legislature by the executive, the suppression of the liberty of the press, and the establishment of a vigilant police for the overthrow of all the principles of the Revolution, he was careful to publish to the world proclamations which still breathed the spirit of democratic freedom. Shortly before his installation in the Tuileries, intelligence arrived of the death of Washington, the illustrious founder of American independence. He immediately published the following order of the day to the army:—"Washington is dead! That great man has struggled with tyranny; he consolidated the liberty of his country. His memory will be ever dear to the French people, as to all free men in both hemispheres, who, like him and the American soldiers, have fought for liberty and equality. As a mark of respect, the First Consul orders, that for ten days black crape shall be suspended from all the standards and banners of the Republic." Thus, by the skilful use of high-sounding names and heart-stirring recollections, did this

Comparison of his system of government with that established by Constantine in the Byzantine empire. (1) The circumstances of the Roman empire, as remodelled by Constantine, afford a striking analogy to those of France when Napoléon ascended the throne; and it is curious to observe how exactly the previous destruction of the nobility and higher classes in the two countries paved the way, by necessary consequence, for the same despotic institutions. "The Patrician families," says Gibbon, "whose original numbers were never recruited till the end of the commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary course of nature, or were extinguished in so many foreign or domestic wars. Few remained who could derive their genuine origin from the foundation of the city, when Cæsar and Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian, created a competent number of new Patrician families. But these artificial supplies, in which the reigning house was always included, were rapidly swept away by the rage of tyrants, by frequent revolutions, the change of manners, and the intermixture of nations. Little more was left, when Constantine ascended the throne, than a vague and imperfect tradition that the Patricians had once been the first among the Romans. To form a body of nobles whose influence may restrain, while it secures the authority of the monarch, would have been very inconsistent with the character and policy of Constantine; but had he seriously entertained such a design, it might have exceeded the measure of his power to ratify, by an arbitrary edict, an institution which must expect the sanction of time and opinion. He revived, indeed, the title of patricians; but he revived it as a personal, not an hereditary distinction. They yielded only to the transient authority of the annual consuls;

but they enjoyed the pre-eminence over all the great officers of state. This honourable rank was bestowed on them for life, and as they were usually favourites and ministers at the imperial court, the true etymology of the word was perverted by ignorance and flattery, and the patricians of Constantine were revered as the adopted fathers of the emperor and the republic.

"The police insensibly assumed the license of reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct, either of magistrates or private citizens, and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch and the scourge of the people. Under the weak influence of a feeble reign, they multiplied to the incredible number of 10,000, disdained the mild though frequent admonitions of the laws, and exercised in the profitable management of the posts a rapacious and insulgent oppression. These official spies, who corresponded with the palace, were encouraged with reward and favour anxiously to watch the progress of every treasonable design, from the faint and latent symptoms of disaffection, to the actual preparation of open revolt. Their careless or criminal violation of truth and justice was covered by the consecrated mask of zeal; and they might securely aim their poisoned arrows at the breast either of the innocent or the guilty, who had provoked their resentment or refused to purchase their silence. A faithful subject of Syria, perhaps, or Britain, was exposed to the danger, or at least to the dread, of being dragged in chains to the court of Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and fortune against the malicious charges of these privileged informers." This might pass for a description of the Conservative Senate and police of Napoléon.—See Gibbon, ch. xvii.

great master of the art of dissimulation veil his advances towards absolute power, and engraft an enthusiastic admiration for his despotic government on the turbulent passions which had been nourished by the Revolution (1)

Commence
ment of his
great designs
for archi-
tectural embel-

The mind of Napoleon was equally great in every thing which he undertook. He had early conceived an admiration for architectural decoration, which his residence among the stately monuments

his

room

n to

conceive those great designs for the embellishment of Paris and improvement of France, which have thrown such durable lustre over his reign. The inconceivable activity of his mind seemed to take a pleasure in discovering new objects for exertion, and at a time when he was conducting the diplomacy of Europe, and regulating all the armies of France, he was maturing plans for the construction of roads, bridges, and canals through all its wide extent, and setting on foot those great works which have given such splendour to its capital. He early selected M Fontaine and M Pérrier as the instruments of his designs, and, aided by the suggestions of these able architects, the embellishment of the metropolis proceeded at an accelerated pace. The formation of a quay on the banks of the Seine, opposite to the Tuileries,

forming a vast square between those two sumptuous edifices. At first it was proposed to construct a building across the vacant area, in order to conceal the oblique position in which they stood to each other, but this idea was soon abandoned, as Napoleon justly observed, that "no building, how majestic soever, could compensate for a vast open space between the Louvre and Tuileries." The construction of a fourth side, for the great square opposite to the picture gallery, was therefore commenced, and the demolition of the edifices in the interior soon after began; a great undertaking, which the subsequent disasters of his reign prevented him from completing, and which all the efforts of succeeding sovereigns have not been able as yet to bring to a conclusion. The Pont-des-Arts, between the Louvre and the Palace of the Institute, was commenced about the same time, and the demolition of the convents of the Feuillans and Capucines made way for the Rue de Rivoli, which now forms so noble a border to the gardens of the Tuileries. Malmaison at this time was the favourite country residence of the First Consul, but he already meditated the establishment of his court at St-Cloud, and the apartments of that palace began to be fitted up in that sumptuous style which has rendered them unequalled in all the palaces of France (2)

Suppression
of the fête
on 21st Ja-
nary and
elevation of
Toucheb

The First Consul did not as yet venture openly to break with the Republican party, but he lost no opportunity of showing in what estimation he held their principles. On occasion of the establishment of the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal of France, he

said to Bourrienne,—"I do not venture as yet to take any decided step against the regicides; but I will show what I think of them. To-morrow I shall be engaged with Abrial in the formation of the Tribunal of Cassation. Target, who is its president, declined to defend Louis XVI: Whom do you

suppose I am about to name in his place? Trouchet, who so nobly discharged that perilous duty. They may say what they choose; my mind is made up." Trouchet accordingly received the appointment so richly deserved by his heroic conduct. The commemoration of the murder of Louis XVI was at the same time suppressed, and concerts of sacred music were permitted on Sundays at the Opera. Thus, though the Republican calendar was still observed, an approach was made to the ancient mode of measuring time in the public amusements (1).

Correspondence between Napoleon and Louis XVIII. Louis XVIII at this time wrote several letters to Napoléon, in which he expressed the high esteem in which he held his character, and offered him any situation which he chose to fix on under the government, if he would aid in re-establishing the throne of the Bourbons. Napoléon replied in firm but courteous terms, declining to have any connexion with the exiled family (2). He clearly foresaw, with admirable sagacity, all the difficulties which would attend the restoration of that unfortunate family, and felt no inclination to make way for such an event. "The partisans of the Bourbons," said he, "are much mistaken if they imagine that I am the man to play the part of Monk. I am not insensible to the hazard to which France may be one day exposed from my decease without issue, as my brothers are evidently unfit for such a throne; but consider the absurdity of the propositions which they have made to me. How could we secure so many new interests and vested rights against the efforts of a family returning with eighty thousand emigrants, and all the prejudices of fanaticism? What would become of the holders of national domains, and all those who had taken an active part in the Revolution? The Bourbons would conceive they had conquered by force; all their professions and promises would give way before the possession of power. My part is taken; no one but a fool would place any reliance upon them (3)."

General impression produced in the minds of the people of France. Thus, on all sides, the prospects of France rapidly brightened under the auspices of Napoléon. To the insecurity, distrust, and terror which had paralysed all the efforts of patriotism under the Direc-

(1) Bour. iv. 68, 70.

(2) The letter of Louis XVIII was in these terms:—
Feb. 2. "For long, general, you must have known the esteem in which I hold you. If you doubt my gratitude, fix upon the place you desire for yourself; point out the situations which you wish for your friends. As to my principles, they are those of the French character. Clemency on principle accords with the dictates of reason."

"No—the victor of Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcola, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt can never prefer a vain celebrity in true glory. But you are losing the most precious moments. We could secure the happiness of France. I say we, for I require Bonaparte for such an attempt and he could not achieve it without me. General, Europe observes you—glory awaits you, and I am impatient to restore peace to my people."

Napoléon replied:—
Sept. 25, 1800. "I have received, sir, your letter. I thank you for the obliging expressions which it contains regarding myself."

"You should renounce all hope of returning to France. You could not do so, but over the bodies of one hundred thousand Frenchmen. Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France. History will duly appreciate your conduct in so doing."

"I am not insensible to the misfortunes of your

family, and shall learn with pleasure that you are surrounded with every thing which can secure the tranquillity of your retreat."

This answer was not dispatched for seven months after the receipt of the letter from Louis, and when the Congress of Luneville was about to open.—See BOURBONNAGE, iv. 77—79.

Not disconcerted with this repulse, the Bourbon family endeavoured to open a negotiation with Napoléon, through the Duchess of Guiche, a lady of great beauty and abilities, who found no difficulty in penetrating to Joséphine, and conveying to her the propositions of the exiled family, which were, that he should, on restoring them, be made Constable of France and receive the principality of Corsica. Napoléon no sooner heard of it than he ordered the fascinating duchess to leave Paris in twenty-four hours; an order which gave great satisfaction to Joséphine, who already had become somewhat uneasy at the proximity of so charming a personage. It had been proposed that a splendid pillar should be erected on the Place du Carrousel, surmounted by a statue of Napoléon crowning the Bourbons. "Nothing was wanting," said Napoléon, "to such a design except that the pillar should be founded on the dead body of the First Consul."—*LAS CAS*, i. 289, 290, and *CAPEFIGUE*, i. 140.

(3) Bour. iv. 72, 83. *CAPEFIGUE*, Hist. de la Restauration, i. 137, 141.

tory, succeeded confidence, energy, and hope; genius emerged from obscurity to take an active part in public affairs; corruption and profligacy ceased to poison every branch of administration. There is nothing more striking in European history than the sudden resurrection of France under the govern-

exertions can add to the sum of general felicity.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CAMPAIGN OF MARENGO.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN TO THE ARMISTICE OF ALEXANDRIA.

MARCH—JULY, 1800.

ARGUMENT.

Disposition of the French Armies at the Opening of the Campaign—Formation of the French Army of Reserve—Forces of the Imperialists—Plan of the Austrians for the Campaign—And of the First Consul—Position of Kray's Forces in Germany—And of Moreau's Troops—First Movements of the French General—Resolution of the Austrian Generals in consequence—Moreau advances against their Centre—Battle of Enzen—Victory of the French—Its great Results—Retreat of Kray—Battle of Moeckirch—It at length terminates in the Defeat of the Imperialists—Perilous Situation of St.-Cyr on the following day—Affair of Biberach—Kray retreats to the Intrenched Camp at Ulm—Advantages of that Position—Kray keeps the Field with part of his Force—Great Strength of the Intrenched Camp—Measures of Moreau to dislodge him from it—Vigorous stroke of the Austrian General against the Left Wing of the French—Increasing Perplexity of Moreau—He in vain moves round to Aursburg—He next advances on the Left Flank of the Danube—Imminent risk of the French Left—At length Moreau cuts off his Communications—The Passage of the Danube is effected by the French—Severe Action at Hochstedt—Kray is at length obliged to evacuate Ulm and reaches Nordlingen—Moreau occupies Munich—Kray crosses the Danube and descends the right bank to Landshut—And falls back behind the Inn—Operations against the Prince of Reuss in the Tyrol—Moeckirch is carried by the Republicans—Armistice of Parsdorf in Germany—Extreme suffering of the French on the Summit of the Maritime Alps—Masséna is appointed to the Command—Napoleon's Proclamation to these Troops—Energetic Measures taken to restore order—Positions of the Austrians—Description of Genoa—Measures taken for its Blockade by Land and Sea—Successful Attack of the Imperialists on the French Position—Suchet is separated from the main body and driven back towards France—Desperate and successful Sortie of Masséna—His disposition for re-opening his Communications with Suchet—Austrian Measures to prevent it, which prove successful—Continued Successes of the Imperialists—Masséna is finally driven into Genoa—Defeat of Suchet by Moltz—Who is driven over the Var into France—General Attack by Ott on the French Positions round Genoa—Which, at first successful, is finally repulsed by Masséna—Successful Sally of the French—Which leads to another, in which they are defeated and Soult made prisoner—Siege is converted into a Blockade—Extreme want of the Inhabitants—A fresh Sortie is defeated—Agonies endured by the Inhabitants—Masséna at length surrenders—Melas sets out to meet Napoléon—Allies advance to Nice—Description of Suchet's Position on the Var—Attack by the Austrians on it, which is repulsed—Fresh Attack, and final Repulse of them—Formation of the Army of Reserve by Napoléon—Skillful Measures taken to conceal its Strength—Description of the Passage of the St.-Bernard—Napoléon resolves to hazard the Passage—Measures taken for the crossing of the Artillery—Passage of the Mountains—Comparison of the Passage of the Alps by Hannibal, Napoléon, Suwarrow, and Macdonald—The Army is stopped in the Valley of Aosta by the Fort of Bard—Great Skill with which the Obstacle was evaded by the French Engineers—Passage of the St.-Gothard and Mount Cenis by the Wings of the Army of Reserve—Melas in haste concentrates his Army—Different Plans which lay open to Napoléon—He resolves to occupy Milan—His Advance into Lombardy, and Capture of that City—He spreads his Forces over Lombardy, and addresses a Proclamation to his Soldiers—Napoléon advances to meet Melas, who concentrates his forces at Alexandria—The French Vanguard comes up with the Austrians at Montebello—Desperate and Bloody Action there, in which the Austrians are worsted—Position of the French Army in the Pass at Stranella between the Apennines and the Po—Disastrous Retreat of Elmitz from the Var—Gallant Resolution of Melas to cut his way through Napoléon's Army—Arrival of Desaix from Egypt at Napoléon's Headquarters—Preparatory Movements of both parties—Forces assembled on both sides—Battle of Marengo—Early Success of the Austrians—The French Reserves are brought into action under Desaix—After a gallant Charge he, too, is defeated—Decisive Charge of Kellermann converts a Rout into a Victory—Final Defeat of the Aus-

trans—Loss sustained on both sides—Metas proposes a Suspension of Arms—Armistice of

Disposition of the French army at the opening of the campaign THE French forces were disposed, previous to the commencement of hostilities, in the following manner —The army of Italy, which occupied the crest of the Alps from the neighbourhood of Genoa to Mont Cenis, was thirty-six thousand strong, of which twenty-eight thousand were assembled in Liguria, from the Trebbia to the Col di Tende, to guard the passes of the Apennines and protect Genoa from the Imperial forces, which were grouped in the plain round the walls of Alexandria. These troops, however, were for the most part in the most miserable condition, their spirits were depressed by a campaign of unprecedented disaster, their clothing was worn out, their feet bare, their artillery broken down, their cavalry dismounted, and it required all the efforts of St. Cyr and their other officers during the winter to retain them at their colours (1)

Formation of the French army of reserve The army of Germany, which was afterwards called the army of the Danube, was 128,000 strong, including 16,000 cavalry, of which immense force 103,090 men, including 14,000 horse, could be relied on for active operations. An army of reserve of 50,000 men was at the same time formed, the head-quarters of which were nominally at Dijon, but the bulk of the force was in reality disposed at Geneva, Lausanne, and the other towns which lay between the Jura and the Alps. This reserve was destined either to support the army of Italy or that of Germany, as circumstances required, and it was formed of 20,000 veteran troops, brought from Holland, under Brune, to la Vendée, which the pacification of that district rendered disposable for offensive operations, and 30,000 conscripts, directed to that quarter from the central depôts. These troops traversed France, with drums beating and colours flying, in the finest order, and their splendid appearance contributed much to revive the martial ardour of the people, which the disasters of the preceding campaigns had so seriously impaired. Berthier received the command of this army, and gave up the portfolio of minister of war to Carnot, whom Napoleon sought out in exile to fill that important situation (2)

Forces of the Imperialists On the other hand, the Imperialists had collected 96,000 men in Piedmont and at the foot of the Maritime Alps, besides 20,000, who were dispersed in garrisons in the states of Venice, Lombardy, and Tuscany. Their forces in Germany were still more considerable, amounting to 92,000 men, including 18,000 superb cavalry, and they were followed by above 400 pieces of artillery. This was independent of the troops of Bavaria and the minor states in the English pay, which amounted to 20,000 more, making in all 112,000 men. This great force, however, was scattered over an immense line, 200 miles long, from the Alps to the Maine, insomuch that, in the valley of the Danube, which was the decisive point of the whole, as it at once led to the Hereditary States, Kray could only assemble 13,000 men to resist the 70,000 which Moreau could direct against that point. The great error of the Austrians in this campaign consisted in supposing that Italy was the quarter where the decisive attack was to be made, and collecting in consequence the

greater part of their reserves in that country; whereas the valley of the Danube was the place where danger was really to be apprehended, and where the principal forces of the Republicans were collected. But they were deceived by the great successes of the preceding campaign; they were ignorant or incredulous of the rapid change produced on the French armies by the seizure of supreme power by Napoléon; and were dreaming of conquests on the Var and in Provence, when their redoubtable adversary was already meditating strokes in the heart of Bavaria (1).

Plan of the Austrians. The plan of the Austrians was to resume the offensive vigorously in Italy, where the great numerical superiority of Melas, as well as the warlike and experienced quality of the troops he commanded, promised the most important results; to throw Masséna back into Genoa, and capture that important city; drive the French over the Maritime Alps, and carry the war into the heart of Provence. To co-operate with this design, an English expedition, having twelve thousand troops on board, was to proceed to the Mediterranean, and aid the Imperialists either in the south of France or the Maritime Alps. This being the quarter where active operations were to be undertaken, the war in Germany was intended to be merely defensive, and rather to occupy a considerable army of the enemy on the Rhine than to make any serious impression on his territories in that quarter (2).

And of the First Consul. On his side, Napoléon determined to prosecute the war vigorously where the Austrians proposed only to pursue defensive measures, and to liberate Italy by the blows struck at the Hereditary States in the heart of Germany. The possession of Switzerland, like a central fortress, gave the French the advantage of being able to take the line of the enemy's operations in rear, either in Italy or Swabia. Napoléon had intrusted the command of the army of Germany to Moreau, a generous proceeding towards so formidable a rival, but which his great military talents, and the unbounded confidence of the soldiers of the army of the Rhine in his capacity, as well as the important services which he had rendered to the First Consul on the 18th Brumaire, rendered indispensable. The plan which he proposed to his great lieutenant was to assemble all his forces in the neighbourhood of Schaffhausen, cross the Rhine by four bridges near that town, move directly in an imposing mass on Ulm, and thus turn the left of the Imperialists, and take in rear all the Austrians placed between the Rhine and the defiles of the Black Forest. By this means he hoped that the army, in a week after the opening of the campaign, would be at Ulm, and such of the Imperialists as escaped would have no alternative but to throw themselves into Bohemia, leaving Vienna and the Hereditary States to their fate. That these brilliant anticipations were not chimerical, is proved by the result of the campaigns of 1805 and 1809; and so strongly was Napoléon impressed with their importance, that he at one time entertained the project of putting himself at the head of the army of the Danube, and directing the army of reserve to its support, which would have brought a force of a hundred and eighty thousand men to bear upon the Austrian line in Germany. But Moreau would not submit to the indignity of acting as second in command to his former rival (3); and the disposition of his troops was too republican, and their attachment to their general too strong, to render it prudent to run the risk of revolt in so powerful an army, even for the sake of the greatest external advantages. An angry

(1) Arch. Ch. ii. 334. Nap. i. 185, 161. Jom. xiii. 52, 113. St. Cyr, ii. 103, 137.

(2) Nap. i. 162. Jom. xiii. 41, 42.

(3) He said, "I have no notion of seeing a little

Louis XIV at the head of my army. If the First Consul takes the command, I will send in my resignation."—St. Cyr, ii. 103. *Hist. Mil.*

discussion took place between the two generals, which terminated in the retention of the supreme command by Moreau, and the adoption of a modified plan for the campaign in Germany, in lieu of the brilliant but hazardous one projected by the First Consul, and in consequence Napoleon resolved to direct the army of reserve to Italy, and in person renew the struggle on the scene of his former triumphs on the plains of Piedmont (4)

At this period the army of the Rhine was far from cordially supporting the government of the First Consul. Independent of the republican principles with which, in common with all the other French troops, they were more or less imbued, they were in a peculiar manner jealous of the audacious general who had placed himself at the head of affairs, and seized the sceptre which they thought would have been more worthily held by his more disinterested rival. Any attempt to displace Moreau from the command of this great army would probably have led to a collision, which might have proved fatal to the infant authority of Napoleon (2)

Position of Field-marshal Kray had his headquarters at Donaueschingen, but Kray's forces in Germany his chief magazines were in the rear of his army, at Stockach, Engen, Moeskirch, and Biberach. The right wing, twenty-six thousand strong, under the command of Starray, rested on the Main, its headquarters were at Heidelberg, and it guarded the line of the Rhine from the Renchen to the Main. The left, under the orders of the Prince of Reuss, was in the Tyrol, it consisted of twenty-six thousand men, besides seven thousand militia, and occupied the Rheintal and the shores of the lake of Constance. The centre, forty-three thousand strong, under the command of Kray in person, was stationed behind the Black Forest in the environs of Villingen and Donaueschingen, its advanced posts occupied all the passes of that woody range, and observed the course of the Rhine from the lake of Constance to the neighbourhood of Kehl, while fifteen thousand men, under Keimayer, guarded the passes from the Renchen to the Valley of Ill, and formed the link which connected the centre and right wing (3). Thus, though the Imperialists were nearly one hundred and ten thousand strong, they were stationed at such a distance from each other as to be incapable of rendering any effectual aid in case of need, and were rather to be regarded as three separate armies, the largest of which could not bring above forty thousand men into the field at any one point.

Positions of The French army, at the opening of the campaign, was also divided in three corps. The right, thirty-two thousand strong, under Lecourbe, occupied the cantons of Switzerland from the St-Gothard to Basle, won at the expense of so much blood in the preceding campaign, from the Imperialists, the centre, under Gouvion St-Cyr, who was transferred to that command from the army of Genoa, consisted of twenty-nine thousand men, and occupied the left bank of the Rhine, from New Brisach to Plobsheim, the left, under Sainte-Suzanne, twenty-one thousand strong, extended from Kehl to Haguenau. Independent of these, Moreau himself was at the head of a reserve, consisting of twenty-eight thousand men, which was assembled in divisions of the enemy to the right and centre, bring nearly sixty thousand men to bear upon the Austrian force of forty thousand in the same quarter, an immense advantage, which was speedily

(1) Nap 1 163 164 St Cyr 11 103 101 Jom
x 36 37 Dum 11 81 85 Eul Kelleng Ma
reug 17 18

(2) St Cyr 11 102 Dum 11 81 85 86
(3) St Cyr 1 107, 108 Jom 21 112, 113
Nap 1 161 162

turned to the best account by that able commander. Besides these great forces, the French general had at his disposal the garrisons of the fortresses of Switzerland, Landau, and Spire; the division of Mayence, commanded by Laval, and the troops of the fifth and twenty-sixth military divisions, forming an aggregate of thirty-two thousand men additional, which might be termed the reserves of the army; while the possession of the bridges of Kehl, New Brisach (1), and Basle, gave him the means of crossing the Rhine when ever he deemed it most advisable.

First move-
ments of the
French
General. It was part of the plan of Napoléon to detach sixteen thousand men under Moncey, from Lecourbe's wing stationed in Switzerland, in order to take a share in the great operations which he meditated in the Italian plains; and therefore it was of importance that Moreau should early resume the offensive, both in order to take advantage of his numerical superiority before that detachment took place, and operate as a diversion to the army of Italy, which it was foreseen would soon be hard pressed by Melas in the mountains of Genoa. Orders, therefore, were transmitted to him to open the campaign without delay, and every thing was ready for a forward movement by the 24th April. The plan finally arranged between Moreau and the First Consul was to make a feint on the left against the corps of Keimayer and the enemy's right; and having thus drawn their attention to that quarter, accumulate all his disposable forces against the Imperial centre, and overwhelm it by a concentration of the French left wing, centre, and reserve. By this means he hoped to break through the Austrian line of defence with a preponderating force, and, after a single battle, cut off their communication with the Tyrol and Italy, and force them back, after losing their magazines at Moeskirch and Engen, to a disadvantageous defensive on the banks of the Danube (2).

The better to conceal this able design, Moreau, for some days before the army was put in motion, made the greatest demonstrations against the enemy's right. Every thing was prepared for the head-quarters at Colmar, and it was publicly announced that the reserve was to be directed against Keimayer and the Valley of Hell. Meanwhile, the columns moved to the different points assigned to them, and on the 23th, at daybreak, Sainte-Suzanne crossed the bridge of Kehl, at the head of sixteen thousand men, and drove in the advanced posts of Keimayer towards the entrance of the Black Forest. On the same day, the centre crossed at New Brisach, under the orders of St.-Cyr, and advanced towards Freyburg. Kray upon this moved a considerable part of his centre and reserves to the support of Keimayer; but Sainte-Suzanne having thus executed his feint, suddenly remeasured his steps, recrossed the Rhine at Kehl, and advanced by forced marches to New Brisach, where he crossed again and formed a second line in the rear of St.-Cyr. On the 25th, Moreau also crossed at Basle with the reserve, and moved in the direction of Lauffenburg (3).

Irresolution
of the Aus-
trian Gen-
erals in con-
sequence. These different and apparently contradictory movements, threw the Austrian generals into the greatest perplexity. Uncertain where the storm was likely really to burst, they adopted the ruinous resolution of guarding equally every point; and still inclining to the belief that the right and the Valley of Hell were really threatened, they retained thirty thousand men, under Starray and Keimayer, on the right, and twenty-five thousand on the left in the rocks of the Voralberg, while their centre and

(1) Jom. xiii. 110—111. St.-Cyr, ii. 109—110.

(3) St.-Cyr. ii. 120, 129, Dum. iii. 94, 99, Jom.

(2) Nap. i. 165. Jom. xiii. 116, 117. Dum. iii. xiii, 120, 125.

reserve, now reduced to forty thousand men, were menaced by an attack by Sainte-Suzanne, Moreau, and St-Cyr, at the head of seventy thousand combatants. The two following days were employed in concentrating

April 29

May 1 capitulated without firing a shot, and the left of Lecourbe entered into communication with Moreau and St-Cyr. Thus the whole French army, with the exception of two divisions of the left wing which observed Keimayer and Starray, were converging towards the Imperial magazines at Engen and Moeskirch, which it was evident could not be saved but by a battle fought against most unequal odds (1).

Moreau advanced against their centre. Ably profiting by the great advantages already gained, Moreau directed Lecourbe to move towards Stockach, in order to turn the centre of the enemy and cut off their communication with the left wing under the Prince of Reuss, while he himself, with the centre, reserve, and part of Sainte Suzanne's corps, moved directly upon the town of Engen,

May 2 which it was anticipated would not be abandoned without a struggle, on account of the valuable magazines which it contained. Kray, on his part, assembled all the disposable force he could command in front of Engen, where he resolved to give battle, to gain time for the evacuation of his magazines upon Moeskirch. But while he was concentrating his forces in that central position, the Prince of Lorraine, who formed the communication between the Austrian centre and left wing, and was retiring with inferior forces before Lecourbe, was suddenly assailed by the French advanced guard, under Mohr, and the cavalry of Kansoutz, and entirely routed. Three thousand prisoners and eight pieces of cannon were the immediate results of this brilliant affair, but it became still more important by the capture of Stockach, with all its magazines, directly in rear of the position of Kray in front of Engen (2).

Battle of Engen. On the same day on which this important success was gained on the right, the French centre, under Moreau in person, encountered the Austrian main body in the vast plain which lies before that town. Kray, with forty thousand men, was there in position, and the cavalry, above nine thousand strong, presented the most imposing spectacle, drawn up in echelon in front of the town. His design was to attack in front himself, at the head of the reserve and part of the centre, while St-Cyr, with his division, was directed to turn the left of the enemy. But that general being five leagues in the rear, could not come up until a late hour of the day; and Moreau, apprehensive lest, if the attack were delayed, the enemy would retreat, commenced the action himself at the head of thirty-two thousand men. The chief efforts of the French general were directed to gain possession of a plateau on the right of the Imperialists, which would both command their line of retreat and facilitate his own junction with St-Cyr, but he encountered the most stubborn resistance. Kray had skilfully availed himself of all the advantages

vine-
sur-
peak

(1) Nap. i 166. Jour. arm. 125, 129. Dum., iii 39, 101. St-Cyr, ii 131, 137.

(2) Nap. i 167. Jour. arm. 132, 133. Dum., iii 107, 109. St-Cyr, ii 137, 138.

of Hohenhowen, the most elevated point on the field of battle, and the Imperialists retired to the village of Ellingen. To restore the combat, the Austrian general strongly reinforced that important post, while Moreau brought up his reserve to expel the enemy from it. At first the Republicans were successful, and the village was carried; but Kray having charged in person at the head of the Hungarian grenadiers, they were driven out with great slaughter, and fled to the plain in the greatest confusion. Moreau instantly advancing to the spot, succeeded in restoring a certain degree of order, and in part regained the ground which had been lost, but the Hungarians continued to hold the village, and at nightfall all the avenues to it were still in their possession (1).

Victory of the French. Meanwhile the division of Richepanse, which had established itself on the peak of Hohenhowen, was exposed to a furious attack from the Austrian right; the summit of the mountain resembled a volcano, which vomited forth fire in every direction; and it was easy to see, from the intensity of the light, which, as the twilight approached, illuminated the heavens in that direction, that it was only by the greatest efforts that he could maintain his ground. At seven o'clock, however, the vanguard of the corps of St.-Cyr, which had met with the greatest difficulties in the course of its march, and had been compelled to fight his way against Nauendorf's division through strong defiles, arrived in the field, and soon after began to take a part in the action. The combat now became more equal, and though the fire of artillery on both sides continued extremely violent, it was evident that the enemy fought only to gain time to withdraw his stores and ammunition. In fact, at this hour the Austrian general received intelligence of the defeat of the Prince of Lorraine and the capture of Stockach, which threatened his line of communications (2). He therefore drew off his forces in the direction of Liptingen and Moeskirch, where he formed a junction with that prince, who had retreated with the remains of his division in the same direction.

Its great results. The loss of the Austrians in this battle was above seven thousand men, and that of the French was as great, but the moral consequences of the success with which it terminated to the Republicans, were incalculable. It at once raised the spirit of the army, and produced that confidence in themselves, which is the surest prelude to still greater success. Kray finding that the intentions of the enemy were now fully proclaimed, and that he had on his hands the whole strength of the French army, made the utmost efforts when too late to concentrate his forces. Keimayer was advancing with the greatest expedition by the Valley of Hell, while Starray had received orders to hasten to the decisive point, leaving only six thousand in the neighbourhood of Mannheim to observe the enemy's forces in that quarter. Moreau having received intelligence of this intended concentration of force, resolved to make the most of his present advantages, and attack the

Retreat of Kray. Austrians before they received any farther reinforcements. On the 4th, the Imperialists retired to a strong position in front of Moeskirch; the whole front of their line was covered by a great ravine, which descends from Hendorf to Moeskirch, and its left by the Ablach, a rocky stream which flows in a rapid course into the Danube; the cavalry, and a reserve of eight battalions of grenadiers, were stationed on the heights of Rohrdorf. Powerful batteries commanded the chaussée which approached the village, and by their concentric fire seemed to render all access impossible. In this

(1) Dum. iii. 110, 114. Jour. xiii. 134, 139.
St.-Cyr, ii. 156, 161.

(2) Dum. iii. 114, 116. Jour. xiii. 139, 141. St.-Cyr, ii. 158, 179.

formidable position were collected forty thousand foot soldiers, and twelve thousand splendid cavalry, besides above two hundred pieces of cannon (1).

Battle of Moeskirch Though Moreau had ordered Lecourbe to join him with all his disposable force, in order to take a part in the general action which was approaching, yet he had not contrived matters so as to bring all his forces into the field at the same time. The consequence was, that Lecourbe, with that portion of his corps which had not taken a part in the action of the preceding day, first commenced the attack. He advanced with the greatest intrepidity to the assault of his old antagonist the Prince of Lorraine; but he was received by so tremendous a fire from the cross batteries which Kray had established on the heights, that his artillery was instantly dismounted, and he himself compelled to take refuge in the neighbouring woods to avoid the merciless storm. Moreau, upon this, brought forward the division Lorges, and attacked the position by its left and the village of Hendorf; but the attacking columns having been assailed by the enemy's masses, who suddenly debouched from behind their batteries, were thrown into confusion and entirely routed. Encouraged by this success, Kray made a sally with his right wing, and advanced into the plain; but it was received in so resolute a manner by the French left, that he was not only compelled to retire, but the victorious Republicans recovered all the ground they had lost, and the village was carried by their pursuing columns, who entered pell-mell with the fugitives. At the same time, Vandamme, with the Republican right, advanced against the Imperial left, and attacked the village of Moeskirch, the Austrians defended it with the utmost resolution, and it was taken and retaken several times: at length Lecourbe formed his division into four columns, which advanced simultaneously to the attack (2). Nothing could resist their impetuosity; they rushed down the sides of the ravines, up the opposite banks, and chased the Imperialists from the plateau, while Molitor drove them out of Moeskirch, and their victorious columns met in the centre of the town.

It is length term notes in the defeat of the Imperialists Kray, seeing his left forced, skilfully executed a change of position in the very middle of the battle. He drew back his left from the plateau which had been so obstinately disputed, and took up a position parallel to the Danube, with his centre still resting on the plateau of Rohrdorf. This new position brought him on the flank of the division of Lorges, who was unsupported on that side. Kray instantly saw his advantage, and charged the exposed division, which was overthrown, and driven back in such confusion that nothing but the opportune arrival of Belmas with six fresh battalions prevented the French line being entirely broken through at that point. Both parties now made the utmost efforts; the Austrians to

Delmas was furiously assailed, but all the efforts of the Imperialists were unable to break his admirable infantry. Still, however, Kray redoubled his efforts, and charged himself at the head of his reserve against the division of Bastoul; Moreau also brought up reinforcements, and the combat continued

(1) *Join xiii* 141, 145 *Dum iii* 124, 125 (3) *St Cyr, ii* 195, 197 *Dum iii* 129, 131
(2) *Join xiii* 146 150 *Join iii* 126, 130 *St - Join xiii* 150, 155
Cyr, ii 190 191

tending parties was nearly equal, amounting to each to about six thousand men. The Austrians retained at the close of the day the plateau of Rohrdorf; the French slept on great part of the field of battle. But all the moral advantages of a victory were on their side; and as, on the following day, the Imperialists retired across the Danube—they in reality achieved the object for which they contended. The success was balanced chiefly in consequence of the non-arrival of St.-Cyr with his division, who lingered at Liptingen; had he come up and taken a part in the action, it would probably have terminated in a total defeat, the more disastrous to the Imperialists that they fought with their backs to the Danube. The cause of this inactivity in so able an officer, is to be found in the nature of the first instructions he had received from Moreau, and the intercepting of the couriers which conveyed the second orders to hasten to the decisive point (1).

Perilous situation of St.-Cyr on the following day.

Following out the only orders he had received, St.-Cyr, on the succeeding day, was leisurely moving parallel to the Danube, between that river and the Austrian army, when he came unawares upon their whole force drawn up in a small but strong position in front of the bridge of Sigmaringen. The ground they occupied would barely have sufficed for the deploying of a single division, being formed by a bend of the Danube, the base of which fronting the enemy, was covered by a formidable array of artillery, behind which the army was posted in seven lines almost forming a close column, and protecting in this manner the passage of their stores over the river. Upon the approach of the French the surprise was equal on both sides; Kray, much alarmed, and apprehending an immediate attack, drew up his rearguard in battle-array, and disposed the artillery which had crossed as well as that which remained in their front, in such a manner as to enfilade all the roads by which the position might be ap-

May 6. proached. St.-Cyr also paused; with the half of his division, which alone had come up, he did not venture to attack the whole Austrian army, but he insulted them by a battery of twelve pieces, which was pushed forward within cannon shot; and so weakened was the spirit of the Imperialists, that they replied to this fire only by a discharge from their numerous batteries, instead of issuing from their lines and sweeping the pieces off by a charge of their powerful cavalry. There can be little doubt that if Moreau, instead of lingering at Moeskireh on the field of battle, had followed the traces of the enemy, joined St.-Cyr, and attacked them when backed by the Danube in this extraordinary position, he would have succeeded in destroying a large part of their army; but that general, with all his great qualities, had not the vigour in following up a success, which formed the leading characteristic of his more enterprising rival (2).

Affairs of Biberach.

At Sigmaringen the Austrian general was joined by Keimayer with his whole division; and with this augmented force he recrossed the Danube and moved towards Biberach. He had resolved to retire to the shelter of the intrenched camp at Ulm; but his object in this movement was to cover the evacuation of the great magazines at Biberach upon that place. Thither he was followed by the French army, and on the morning of the 9th

May 9. May their advanced posts found eighteen thousand Austrians posted at the entrance of the remarkable defile which leads to that town. This rearguard was posted for the most part on a series of formidable heights behind Biberach, which could be approached only by passing through that town, and

(1) *Mémorial du Depoldi la Guerre*, v. 92. St.-Cyr, ii. 199, 201. Dum. iii. 129, 131. *Jour. xiii.* 203, 205. (2) *Nap.* i. 169, 170. *Dum.* iii. 131. St.-Cyr, ii. 154, 156.

to take advantage of the short period which remained to clear his extreme right of the Prince of Reuss, who from the mountains of Tyrol was now in a situation, from the advance of the French army into the heart of Germany, to threaten its communications. For this purpose Lecourbe was detached, with the right wing of the army, towards Feldkirch, the formidable position which covered the north-west of that rugged district, and against which all the efforts of Massena and Oudinot had failed in the preceding campaign. The troops who garrisoned their intrenchments, had been in great part drawn away to keep up the communication with the Prince of Condé, and the main body of the Imperialists on the eastern frontier of Tyrol, and those which remained, were so scattered over many different points, as to be incapable of rendering effectual resistance at any. After some trifling successes at Fussen and Immenstadt, Coire and Luciensteg were abandoned to the enemy, whose superiority of force rendered opposition impossible, and, although the Austrians, in the first instance, gained some successes before Feldkirch, they found themselves in the end unable to man sufficiently its extensive works, and on the following day that celebrated stronghold, which had lost much of its importance from the new theatre on which the war was carried on, was abandoned to the enemy (1).

While Lecourbe was thus clearing the right of the Republican position, Sainte Suzanne, who had been dispatched to the Lower Rhine to organize the French forces in that direction, was performing the same service on the banks of the Maine (2). He invested Philippsburg, and advanced to Aschaffenburg, where the Imperialists were repulsed, and the Lower Maine was speedily cleared of their troops.

Matters were in this situation, when the truce which had been concluded at Alexandria between France and Austria a month before, was extended to Germany, under the appellation of the armistice of Parsdorf. By this subsidiary treaty hostilities were terminated at all points in the empire, and were not to be resumed without a notice of twelve days. The French occupied all the country from Balzers in the Grisons, on the right bank of the Rhine, to the sources of the Inn, the whole valley of that river, from it by the reverse of the mountains to the sources of the Lech, and the whole intermediate country occupied by their troops along the Isar to its junction with the Danube, and from thence by Wessenburg and the Rednitz to the Maine. The fortresses included within this line, still in the hands of the Imperialists, particularly Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philippsburg, were to remain in their possession, on the condition, on the one hand, that their garrisons were not to be augmented, and on the other, that they were to be provisioned every ten days, at the sight of commissioners named by the belligerent powers (3). In the circumstances in which the Austrians then were, threatened with invasion in the Hereditary States in their most vulnerable quarter, the valley of the Danube, this armistice was a most fortunate event, and gave them a breathing-time, of which they stood much in need to repair their shattered forces, and prepare for the farther struggles which awaited the monarchy.

(1) Join xiii 357 367 Hum iv 71 82 Nap i

(2) Join xli 347
(3) Hum iv 81 90

Important as these events were, they were eclipsed by those which at the same period occurred to the south of the Alps.

Designs of
Napoleon
for the re-
conquest of
Italy.

An ordinary general, terrified at the dangers with which the southern departments were threatened, would have hastened with the army of reserve to the Var, in order to protect the menaced frontier of Piedmont. But Napoléon, who was well aware of the difficulties attending a front attack upon the Imperialists in that mountainous region, and appreciated with all the force of his genius the importance of the central position which he occupied in Switzerland, determined upon a more important and decisive operation. This was to cross the Alps by one of the central passes after the Austrians were far advanced in Piedmont, and thus interpose between them and their resources, cut them off from their communication with the Hereditary States, and compel them to fight under the most disadvantageous circumstances, with their front towards Lombardy, and their rear shut in by the Mediterranean sea and the inhospitable ridges of the Apennines (1). Defeat in such circumstances could not be other than ruin, while a disaster to the French would be of comparatively little importance, as their retreat, at least for the infantry and cavalry, was secure over the passes of the St.-Gothard or the Simplon into Switzerland, which was still in their hands, and where experience had proved they could resist the utmost efforts of the Imperialists.

Extreme
suffering of
the troops
on the sum-
mits of the
Maritime
Alps.

But before this great blow could be struck, the French had a desperate and hopeless struggle to maintain on the ridges of the Apennines. During the winter months, while the Austrians were reposing from their fatigues, and repairing their losses in men, horses, and equipments, in the fertile plains of Lombardy, the French army, perched on the rugged summits of the mountains, had to contend at once with the hardships incident to those sterile regions, and the contagious maladies which they brought with them from their disastrous campaign in the plains. No words can describe the sufferings they underwent during that afflicting period: a few regiments lost two thousand men in the hospitals of Genoa in four months: the wants of the troops, without shoes, blankets, or winter-clothing, produced universal insubordination, and the authority of the officers being generally lost by the common calamities, vast numbers openly abandoned their colours and returned into France. The French army was rapidly melting away under such accumulated disasters, and every thing announced an easy conquest of Genoa to the Imperialists, when the torrent was arrested by the energetic measures adopted by the First Consul, immediately after he assumed the reins of public affairs (2).

Masséna is
appointed to
the com-
mand. Na-
poleon's
proclama-
tion to these
troops.

His first care was to appoint Masséna, whose abilities in mountain warfare had been so fully tried, and who was so well acquainted, from the campaigns of 1795 and 1796, with that country, to the direction of the army; and upon assuming the command, that great general issued an energetic proclamation in Napoléon's name to the troops:—"The first quality of a soldier," said he, "is to bear with constancy the privations of war; valour is but a secondary consideration. Many corps have abandoned their colours; they have remained deaf to the voice of their officers. Are, then, the brave men of Castiglione, Rivoli, and Neumarkt no more? Rather than desert their colours, they would have perished at their feet. Your rations, you complain, have not been regularly distributed. What would you have done, if, like the 18th and 52d regiments,

(1) Jom. xiii. 39, 40. Nap. i. 252.

(2) Jom. xiii. 45, 46.

you had found yourselves in the midst of the desert, without either bread or water, having nothing but horse and camel flesh to subsist on?—'Victory will give us bread,' said they. And you desert your standards! Soldiers of Italy! a new general is to take the command of you, he was ever with the advanced guard in the days of your glory, place your confidence in him, he will again chain victory to your standards." These energetic words, and still more the magic of Napoleon's name, had a prodigious effect on the French soldiers, ever liable to pass with rapidity from one extreme to another. The desertion speedily diminished, and some severe examples which Masséna made immediately after his arrival, soon stopt it altogether. At the same time, the vigour of the First Consul provided more substantial additions to the comforts of the men: their rations were augmented, and distributed with regularity, a portion of their arrears was discharged, and by incredible exertions, conveyed to their frigid bivouacs, their freezing limbs. By these means the spirit of the soldiers was in a short time so restored, that an army, which a few weeks before seemed menaced with approaching dissolution, became capable of the most persevering exertions. A new organization was completed by Masséna, and four regiments, which he brought with him, in the highest state of equipment from the north of Switzerland, became the model on which the army was formed. The army, which amounted to twenty-eight thousand men, in Liguria, exclusive of eight thousand on the summits of the Alps, from Argentiere to Mont Cenis, was divided into three corps. The right, under the command of Soult, sixteen thousand strong, occupied Gavi, the Campo-Freddo, the Bocchetta, and the summit of the valleys leading from Piedmont to Genoa, the centre, consisting of twelve thousand, guarded the ridges extending westward, from thence through Cadebone, Vado, Savona, and the Col di Tende, towards France, while the left wing, under Thureau, perched on the summit of the Alps which form the western boundary of the plain of Piedmont, watched the important passes of Mont Cenis, the Little St-Bernard, and the Col di Genève (1).

The Austrians, cantoned in the plain below, and at the entrance of the numerous valleys which were occupied by the enemy, were estimated at six thousand men who composed their

on the Bormida and in the valley of Aosta. The object in view, which was the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, and at length the order from Vienna arrived, and active operations commenced on the 6th April (2).

The town of Genoa, against which all the efforts of the Imperialists were now directed, is situated in the centre of the gulf which bears its name, and from a very early period has occupied a distinguished place in the history of modern Europe. Placed on the southern slope of the Apennines, where they dip into the Mediterranean sea, it exhibits a succession of lofty buildings, terraces, gardens, and palaces, rising one above another in imposing masses from the water's edge to a very great eminence. The gay and glittering aspect of the buildings, ascending in succession from the harbour to the summit of the hills which screen it from the north, the splendour of the palaces which adorn its higher quarters, the picturesque air of the towers and fortifications by which it is surrounded, the contrast between the dazzling whiteness of the edifices, and the dark green of the firs and olives by

(1) *Est. i. 455 456 Nap. i. 201 Journ. 21 35* (2) *Journ. 21 33 34*

which they are shrouded; and the blue sea which washes the southern ramparts of the city, and reflects its innumerable domes and spires, form a spectacle at once so varied and gorgeous, as to have early captivated the imaginations of the Italians, and secured for it the appellation of *Genova la Superba*. A double circle of fortifications surrounds this splendid city; the outer or exterior walls consist of a triangle of nine thousand toises in circumference. On the south, bounded by the sea, this line extends from the point of the *Lanterne* at the mouth of the rivulet called the *Polcevera* to the mouth of the *Bisagno*; the eastern side runs along the banks of the *Bisagno* to the fort of *Eperon*, which forms the apex of the triangle, and the western descends from that elevated point to the *Lanterne* along the margin of the *Polcevera*. The batteries on the western side command the whole valley of the *Polcevera*, with the long and straggling faubourg of *St.-Pierro d'Arena*, which runs through its centre; those on the east, on the other hand, are themselves commanded by the heights of *Monte Ratti* and *Monte Faccio*, a circumstance which rendered it necessary to occupy them by detached outworks, which are called the forts of *Quizzi*, of *Richelieu*, and of *San Tecla*, on the *Madonne del Monte*. Higher up the *Apennines* than the fort *Eperon*, is the plateau of the *Two Brothers*, which is commanded in rear by the *Diamond Fort*, perched on a summit twelve hundred toises from fort *Eperon*. The peculiar situation of *Genoa*, lying on the rapid declivity where the *Apennines* descend into the sea, rendered it necessary to include these mountains in its rear in the exterior line of its fortifications, and to occupy so many points beyond their wide circuit by detached outworks, which give the ridges by which it is encircled the appearance of an immense castle. The interior line which surrounds the city properly so called, is insusceptible of some defence; but the possession of the outer works would render any protracted resistance impossible, as the batteries on the *Lanterne* and the fort of *Eperon* would expose the city to the horrors of a bombardment (1).

Measures taken for its blockade by land and sea. Early in March, Admiral Keith, who commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, established a close blockade of the harbour of *Genoa* and its dependencies, which promised to augment extremely the difficulties of the besieged; and in the beginning of April, General Mélas having completed his preparations, moved forward in three columns to the attack of the French defensive positions. Ott, with the left wing, fifteen thousand strong, was intrusted with the attack of the right, and the forts on *Monte Faccio*; Mélas with the centre, consisting of twenty-four thousand, was to ascend the valley of the *Bormida*, and separate the centre of the enemy from their left wing; while Elnitz with the right, amounting to eighteen thousand soldiers, was to assail their left, and to facilitate the important and decisive movements of Mélas in the centre. These attacks all proved successful. The Imperialists experienced every where the most vigorous resistance, and the courage and enterprise on both sides seemed exalted to the highest pitch by the great object for which they contended, and the lofty eminences, midway between the plain and the clouds, on which the struggle took place. But the resolution of the Austrians, aided by their great superiority of numbers, and the advantage which the initiative always gives in mountain warfare, at length overcame all the aid which the French derived from the possession of the heights and the fortifications by which they were strengthened. Soult, on the French right, driven from *Montenotte*, the first scene of Napoleon's triumphs, was thrown

Successful attack of the Imperialists on the French position.

Succhet is separated from the main body and drives back towards France April 6

back towards Genoa, while Savona, Cadebone, and Vado, were occupied by the Imperialists, and their extreme left, under Succhet, altogether detached from the centre, and thrown back towards France. Hohenzollern, who was intrusted with the attack of the Bocchetta, drove the French from the neighbourhood of Gavi far up that important pass, and with some difficulty succeeded in retaining the crest of the mountains, while on the extreme left, Klenau obtained the most important advantages. Breaking up from the valley of the Trebbia, he advanced, in three columns, up the narrow ravines which led to the eastern fortifications of Genoa, carried the summit of the mountains, drove the Republicans from the Monte Faccio and the Monte Ratti, and invested the forts of Quizzi, Richelieu, and San Tecla, within cannon-shot of the walls of Genoa. Its inhabitants were variously agitated with hopes and fears, as the firing of the musketry and cannon came nearer and nearer. At length the smoke was distinctly visible, even from the interior ramparts, and while the broken regiments of Soult were entering the city from the westward, by the gates of S. Lorenzo, the whole heavens to the north and west were illuminated by

the fire of the French (1).

re especially desired a

Masséna, attached to the cause of the republic, desired a deliverance from the democratic tyranny to which for four years they had been subjected. Their ardour, strongly excited by the sight of the Austrian watchfires, and the sound of the tocsin which incessantly rung to rouse the peasants on the neighbouring mountains, was with difficulty restrained even by the presence of a garrison, now increased, by the reflux from all quarters, to twenty thousand men. But Masséna was not a man to be easily

April 7 to the city. The Imperialists, who had been driven from the town, and attacked the Austrian division on the Monte Faccio with such vigour, that in a short time that important post was carried; the Imperialists were driven from the Monte Cornua, the Torriglio, and all the passes of the Apennines in that direction, and fifteen hundred men made prisoners, who were afterwards marched through the astonished crowds into the interior. The Imperialists took advantage of the confusion to attack the French on the left wing, and completing the separation of the French left wing from the centre of their army and the city of Genoa.

His disposition for re-opening the communication with Succhet. No sooner was the French general informed of this disaster, than he perceived that it was not by any transient success on the Monte Faccio, but a vigorous effort towards Savona, and the re-establishment of his communications with Succhet, that the torrent of disaster was to be arrested. With this view he divided his army into three parts, leaving Molins, being intrusted with the defence of the city and the sea-coast. Succhet at the same time was ordered to retreat from Voltri

(1) Dum. i. 47 51 Nap. i. 205 207 Jour. 21. (2) For. in 463 Jour. 21 56 57 Nap. i. 207 53 57 For. in 469, 462 Thib. 10, 45 brigade Jour. 21 51, 52. Thib. 20 110

treat, and co-operate in the general attack which, it was hoped, would lead to the capture of the Austrian division at Montenotte and Savona, and re-establish the important communication with Suchet and France. The execution of the combined attack was fixed for the 9th of April (1).

Austrian measures to prevent it, which prove successful. Meanwhile Melas, having so far strengthened Elnitz on the heights of Vado as to enable him to make head against Suchet, resolved to move with the bulk of his force against Masséna at Genoa, wisely judging that the principal efforts of his opponent would be directed to the opening a communication with France and the left wing of his army. With this view he moved forward Hohenzollern, on the evening of the 8th, who, after a sharp resistance, carried the Bocchetta by moonlight, which had been abandoned after the reverse on the Monte Faccio, and drove the French down the southern side to Campo Marone. This success so entirely disconcerted Soult, who directed Gazan's division, that though he had gained considerable advantages, he deemed it prudent to suspend the march of his troops. On the following night, however, he was strongly reinforced by the April 11. general-in-chief, and on the 11th he assailed with superior forces the division of St-Julien at La Vereira, and after a desperate conflict routed it with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners and seven standards. But this success was more than compensated by the disaster which on the same day befell the left of the French at Cogoletto, who were overwhelmed by Melas, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Masséna in person, and driven back, sword in hand, to the neighbourhood of Voltri. At the same time, Elnitz and Suchet combated with divided success on the Monte Giacomo. At first the Republicans were victorious, and an Austrian brigade commanded by April 12. general Ulm, separated from the main body, was surrounded and compelled to lay down its arms: but this success having led Suchet to attempt on the following day the attack of the Monte Giacomo itself, a lofty ridge of prodigious strength, he was repulsed with great slaughter, and, after leaving the slopes of the mountain and its snowy crest covered with the dead and the dying, driven back in confusion to Melogno and Sette Pani on the sea-coast (2).

Thus though the Republicans combated every where with rare intrepidity, and inflicted fully as great a loss on their adversaries as they received themselves, yet, on the whole, the object of their efforts was frustrated. Gigantic efforts had been made, blood had flowed in torrents, and the rival armies, amidst the rocks and clouds of the Apennines, had struggled with unheard-of obstinacy, but still the Austrians retained their advantage; their columns were still interposed in strength between the French centre and left, and the multitude of killed and wounded was weakening, in an alarming degree, an army now cut off from all external assistance. Both parties now made the utmost efforts to concentrate their forces, and bring this murderous warfare April 15. to a termination. On the 15th, Melas renewed the attack with the utmost vigour at Ponte Ivrea, and at the same time reinforced Hohenzollern on his left, and directed him to press down from the Bocchetta, and threaten the communication of the French with Genoa. Both armies, though Continued successes of the Imperialists. exhausted with fatigue, and almost destitute of provisions, fought with the utmost obstinacy on the following day; but at length Soult, finding that his rear was threatened by a detachment of Hohenzollern, fell back to Voltri, overthrowing in his course the Austrian brigade who

(1) *Jom.* xiii. 60. *Bot.* iii. 463, 464. *Nap.* i. 208, 209. *Thib.* 110, 135.

(2) *Bot.* iii. 463, 465. *Jom.* xiii. 61. 71. *Dum.* iii. 53, 65. *Nap.* i. 210, 211. *Thib.* 167, 180.

endeavoured to dispute the passage. On the same day, Masséna in person was repulsed by the Imperialists under Latterman, and finding his retreat also menaced by Hohenzollern, he also retreated to Voltri in the night, where the two French divisions were united on the following morning (1).

But the Imperialists, who now approached from all quarters, gave the wearied Republicans no rest in this position. From the heights of Monte Fayole, Melas beheld the confusion which prevailed in the army of his opponents, while the corps of Ott, whose right wing now began to take a part in the hostilities, already threatened Sestri, and the only line of retreat to Genoa which still remained to them. A general attack was immediately commenced. Melas descended the Monte Fayole, while Ott, whose troops were comparatively fresh, assailed it from the eastern side, and by a detachment menaced the important post of Sestri in their rear. Ott forced his way to Voltri, while Soult was still resolutely combating Melas on the heights of Madonna dell' Aequa, at the foot of Monte Fayole, and a scene of matchless horror and confusion immediately ensued. Soult, informed that his communications were threatened, instantly began his retreat; the victorious troops of Ott were assailed at once by the flying columns of that general, who fought with the courage of despair, and the troops they had displaced from Voltri, who rallied and returned to the rescue of their comrades.

Polevera, and found shelter within the walls of Genoa (2).

Thus, after a continued combat of fifteen days, maintained with matchless constancy on both sides, and in which the advantages of a fortified central position on the side of the Republicans long compensated their inferiority of force to the Imperialists, Masséna with his heroic troops was shut up in Genoa, and all hope of co-operating with Suchet, or receiving reinforcements from France, finally abandoned. In these desperate conflicts the loss of the French was seven thousand men, fully a third of the force which remained to their general after he was shut up in Genoa, but that of the Austrians was fully as great, and they were bereaved, in addition, of above four thousand prisoners (3), a success dearly purchased by the French in a city where the dearth of provisions already began to be severely felt.

Meanwhile Suchet, having been informed by Oudinot, who had made a perilous passage by sea in the midst of the English cruisers, of the desire of Masséna that he should co-operate in the general attack, instantly made preparations for a fresh assault on the blood-stained ridge of the Monte Giacomo, but in the interval, Melas, now relieved on his left by the retreat of Masséna into Genoa, had reinforced Flutiz by three brigades, and the position of the Imperialists, naturally strong, was thereby rendered impregnable. The consequence was, that the moment the Republicans made their appearance at the foot of the mountain, they were attacked and overthrown so completely, that it was only owing to an excess of caution on the part of the Imperialists that they were not wholly cut off and made prisoners. By this disastrous defeat Suchet lost all hope of regaining his communication with Genoa and was compelled to fall back, for his own security towards the Var and the frontier of Piedmont (4).

(1) Pot iii 461 465 Nap i 211 Jour iii 71 73 Jour i i 69 73 Thib 189 200
(2) Thib 200 217 Jour iii 71, 78 Jour xi 76 78 Bib iii 457

(3) Jour i 76 77 Jour x i 76 78, 83
(4) Jour iii 79 Jour xi 4 17 20

April 27. On the other hand, Melas, having completed the investment of Genoa, and left Ott with twenty-five thousand men to blockade that fortress, moved himself, with the bulk of his forces, to reinforce Elnitz on the Monte Giacomo, and pursue his successes against Suchet. To aid in the accomplishment of this object, he moved up part of the twenty-five thousand men, who, during this desperate struggle in the Apennines, had lain inactive in Piedmont under Kaim. Threatened by so many forces, Suchet retired with about ten thousand men to Albuega, in the rear of Loano, and took a position at Borghetto, where Kellermann, in 1793, had so successfully arrested the advance of General Divini. There, however, he was attacked a few days after by Melas with superior forces, and driven from the field with great loss : He endeavoured in vain to make a stand on the Monte di Torria and the Col de Tende; the columns of the Austrians turned his flanks and drove him across the frontier and over the Var, with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners, and an equal number killed and wounded. Thus the French, after a desperate struggle, were at length driven back into their own territories; and nothing remained to them of their vast conquests in Italy but the ground which was commanded by the cannon of Genoa (1).

May 2. Who is driven over the Var into France.
May 6. While Melas was thus chasing the Republican eagles from the Maritime Alps, Ott was preparing a general attack, by which he hoped to drive the French from the exterior line of defence, and render their position untenable in that important fortress. With this view, while the English fleet kept up a severe cannonade upon the town from the entrance of the harbour, a general assault was planned both against the defence of Masséna on the Bisagno, the Polcevera, and the fortified summits of Madonna del Monte and Monte Ratti. These attacks were all in the first instance successful. Bussy, supported by the fire of the English gunboats, made himself master of St.-Pierro d'Arena and the valley of the Polcevera; while Palfi, by a vigorous attack, carried the Monte Ratti, surrounded the fort Richelieu, surprised the fort Quizzi, and made himself master of all the southern slopes of the Monte Faccio and the Madonna del Monte. At the same time Hohenzollern stormed the important plateau of the Two Brothers, and summoned the commander of fort Diamond, now completely insulated (2), to surrender. The Imperialists even went so far as to make preparations for establishing mortar batteries on the commanding heights of Albaro, and bombarding the city over its whole extent, so as to render the French position untenable within its walls.

Which, at first successful, is finally repulsed by Masséna. Had the Austrians possessed a sufficient force to make good the advantages thus gained, they would have speedily brought the siege of Genoa to a conclusion, and by a concentration of all their forces on the Bormida, might have defeated the invasion by Napoléon over the Alps, and changed the fate of the campaign. But General Ott had only twenty-five thousand men at his disposal, while an equal number, under Kaim, lay inactive in the plains of Piedmont, and this imprudent distribution of force proved in the highest degree prejudicial to the Imperial interests through the whole campaign. Availing himself with skill of the immense advantage which the possession of a central position in an intrenched camp afforded, Masséna withdrew four battalions from the eastern side, where he judged the danger less pressing, and despatched them, under Soult, to re-

(1) Jom. xiii. 83, 86. Bot. iii. 467, 469. Dum. iii. 198, 200.

(2) Nap. i. 212. Bot. iii. 472, 473. Dum. iii. 234. Jom. xiii. 95, 96. 20

IV.

gain the heights of the Two Brothers, while he himself hastened, with four battalions more, to reinforce Mollis on the Monte Albaro. The Austrians, who had gained time to strengthen their acquisitions, received the attack with great resolution, the fury of the combatants was such that soon fire-arms became useless, and they fought hand to hand with the bayonet, for long the result was doubtful, and even some success was gained by the Imperialists, but at length the Republicans were victorious, and the Monte Ratti, with its forts and four hundred prisoners, fell into their hands. At the same time, Soult glided round by the ravines into the rear of the Two Brothers, and the Austrians, under Hohenzollern, assailed in front by the garrison of fort Diamond, and in the rear by these fresh troops, were thrown into confusion, and escaped in small parties only, by throwing themselves with desperate resolution on the battalions by which they were surrounded. By the result of this day the Austrians lost three thousand men, of whom eighteen hundred were made prisoners, and they were forced to abandon all the ground which they had gained from their opponents, excepting the Monte Faccio, while the spirits of the French were proportionally elevated by the unlooked for and glorious success which the sternation of the besieger and attacked the fortified he was repulsed with gro up in the walls of Genoa (2)

Nothing of moment occurred for the next ten days, but during that time Masséna, finding that famine was likely to prove even a more formidable enemy than the Austrian bayonets, and that it was necessary at all hazards to endeavour to procure a supply of provisions, resolved upon a sally. The Austrians had been celebrating, by a *sen do joie* along their whole lines, the success of Melas on the Var, when Masséna determined, by a vigorous effort, both to prove that the spirits of his own garrison were not sinking, and to facilitate the meditated descent of the First Consul into Piedmont. Mollis was charged with the attack of the Monte Faccio on the front of the Sturla, while Soult, ascending the bed of the torrent Bisagno, was to take it in flank. The attack of Mollis, commenced before Soult was at hand to second it, failed completely. He gained possession in the first instance of the front positions of the enemy on the slopes of the mountain, and was advancing over the ground, drenched with the blood of so many brave men of both nations, when his troops were charged by the Imperialists in close column with such vigour, that they were instantly thrown into confusion, and driven back in the utmost disorder to the glacis of the Roman gate of Genoa, where, by the opportune arrival of the general in chief with a reserve, some degree of order was at length restored. The expedition of Soult was more fortunate. The Imperialists, assailed in front by the Republicans whom Masséna had rallied on the Sturla, and in flank by the troops of Soult, were driven from the Monte Faccio, and were only able to force their way

(1) Num i 236 211 Jom x 7 97 98 Sep 1
212 Not. i i 472 473 Th b 210, 230

(2) A singular circumstance occurred at the assault of the Monte Faccio. The soldiers of two French regiments the 25th light infantry and the

had in consequence been carefully kept under from each other. But during the confusion of this bloody conflict their ranks became intermingled. The same dangers, the same thirst for glory animated both corps and these generous sentiments so far elevated their former jealousies that the soldiers embedded in the midst of the fire all in gladiators by side their brothers during the remainder of the day.—See Denon 11 215 216

May 28.
A fresh sor-
row is de-
clared

The cheering intelligence of the passage of the Alps by Napoleon, and the first successes of Moreau in Germany, revived the dying hopes of the French garrison. The spectres who wandered along the ramparts were animated with a passing ebullition of joy, and Massena, taking advantage of this momentary enthusiasm, commenced a general attack on the Monte Ratti and the Monte Faccio. But this effort was beyond the strength of his men. The soldiers marched out with all their wonted enthusiasm, and with a fierce countenance began the ascent of the heights; but the unusual exertion wore out their exhausted strength, and when they arrived at the foot of the redoubts, they were torn to pieces by a tremendous and well-sustained fire of grape and musketry, without the possibility of making any effort to avert their fate. Broken and dispirited, the enfeebled mass was driven back into the city, after having acquired, from sad experience, the mournful conviction that the Imperialists, whatever their reverses might have been in other situations, had abated nothing of their firm countenance in the neighbourhood of Genoa. Two days afterwards, the rolling of distant thunder in the Apennines was mistaken by General Gazan for the welcome note of their approaching deliverers. Massena himself hastened, with a palpitating heart, to the heights of Tinaille, but he was there witness to the im-

the masses
tens

railed sufferings. From the commencement of the siege the price of provisions had been extravagantly high, and in its latter days grain of any sort could not be had at any cost. The horrors of this prolonged famine, in a city containing above a hundred thousand souls, cannot be adequately described. All day the cries of the unhappy victims were heard in the streets, while the neighbouring rocks, within the walls, were covered with a famished crowd, seeking, in the vilest animals and the smallest traces of vegetation, the means of assuaging their intolerable . . . of the people were still more dreadful, . . . dure the agony by which they were surrounded, . . . to relieve them from their sufferings. In this extremity, the usual effect of long-endured calamity was conspicuous, in closing the fountains of mercy in the human heart, and rendering men insensible to every thing but their own disasters. Infants deserted in the streets by their parents, women who had sunk down from exhaustion on the public thoroughfares, were abandoned to their fate, and sought, with dying hands, in the sewers and other receptacles of filth, for the means of prolonging for a few hours a miserable existence. In the desperation produced by such prolonged torments, the more ardent and impetuous sought the means of destruction; they rushed out of the gates, and threw themselves on the Austrian bayonets, or precipitated themselves into the harbour, where they perished without either commiseration or assistance. In the general agony, not only leather and skins of every kind were consumed, but the horror at human flesh itself was so much abated, that numbers were supported on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens. Pestilence, as usual, came in the rear of famine, contagious fevers swept off multitudes, whom the strength of the survivors was unable to inter. Death in every form awaited the crowds whom common suffering had blended together in the hospitals, and the multitude of unburied corpses

which encumbered the streets threatened the city with depopulation (1), almost as certainly as the grim hand of famine under which they were melting away.

Masséna at
length sur-
renders.
May 31.

Such accumulated horrors at length shook the firm spirit of Masséna. The fermentation in the city had risen to an alarming height, and there was every probability that the extenuated French garrison would be overpowered by the multitudes whom despair had armed with unwonted courage. Matters were in this desperate state, when the French general received a letter from Melas, couched in the most flattering terms, in which he invited him, since resistance had now become hopeless, to conclude an arrangement for the evacuation of the city. Masséna at first suspected that this was merely a *ruse* to cover the approaching raising of the siege, and refused to accede to any terms; but a severe bombardment both by land and sea, on the night of the 31st, having convinced him that there was no intention on the part of the Allies of abandoning their enterprise, and provisions, even after the most rigid economy, existing only for two days more, the negotiation was resumed, and at length, on the 4th June, when they were totally exhausted, a capitulation was agreed to, in virtue of which the gates were surrendered to the Allies on the following day at noon. It was stipulated that the garrison should evacuate Genoa, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; they were conducted by the Allies, to the number of nine thousand, by land and sea, to Voltri and Antibes. The conditions of the treaty were faithfully observed towards the vanquished, and all the stipulations in favour of the democratic party at Genoa implemented by the Austrians with true German faith (2); a trait as honourable to them, as the opposite conduct of the English admiral at Naples a year before, was derogatory to the well-earned character of British integrity.

When the evacuation took place, the extent of suffering which the besieged had undergone appeared painfully conspicuous. "Upon entering the town," says the faithful annalist of this memorable siege, "all the figures we met bore the appearance of profound grief or sombre despair; the streets resounded with the most heart-rending cries; on all sides death was reaping its victims, and the rival furies of famine and pestilence were multiplying their devastation; in a word, the army and the inhabitants seemed approaching their dissolution (3)." The Allies acted generously to the heroic garrison, with their illustrious chief; while, upon the signal of a gun fired from the ramparts, innumerable barks, laden with provisions, entered the harbour, amidst the transports of the inhabitants. "Your defence," said Lord Keith to Masséna, "has been so heroic, that we can refuse you nothing; yet you alone are worth an army; how can we allow you to depart (4)?"

Melas sets
out to meet
Napoléon.

It was not without reason that the Imperialists urged forward the evacuation, and granted the most favourable terms to the besieged, in order to accelerate their departure. At the very time when the negotiations were going on, a messenger arrived from Melas, with intelligence of the entry of Napoléon into Milan, and an immediate order to raise the siege. The embarrassment of the Austrian general, between his reluctance to relinquish so important a conquest and his apprehensions at disobeying the orders of his superior officer, was extreme; and he deemed himself happy at being able to escape from so serious a dilemma, by granting the most favourable terms of

(1) Bot. iii. 476, 477. Dum. iii. 257. Jom. xiii. 224.

(2) Bot. iii. 478. Jom. xiii. 228, 231. Dum. iii. 260, 263.

(3) Thlb. 282.

(4) Jom. xiii. 229. Dum. iii. 263.

capitulation to his enemy. No sooner was the place surrendered, than he detached a division to Tortona, and a brigade to Placentia, and set out on the following day with his remaining forces in the same direction, leaving Hohen-zollern to occupy Genoa with sixteen battalions (1)

May 11
Advance of
the Austrians to
Nice

Meanwhile Suchet continued his retrograde movement towards the Var, and on the 11th May effected the passage of that river. He was closely followed by the Austrians under Melas, who, on the same day, entered into Nice, and took up their quarters in the territory of the Republic. The enthusiasm of the troops rose to the highest pitch, at length they found themselves on the soil of France, and that ambitious power, which had so long set forth its armies to devastate and oppress the adjoining states, began now to experience the evils it had inflicted on others (2)

Desc. rpt on
of Su. e s
pos. on on
the Va

The Var is a mountain river, in general fordable, but which, like all mountain streams in those latitudes, is readily swelled by rains in a few hours into an impetuous torrent. It has always been considered as a weak part of the French frontier, because, to give solidity to its left extremity, it would be necessary to carry the line of defence far into the French Alps, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the sea. The portion of this line, however, which was occupied by Suchet, was much more inconsiderable, and did not extend above half a mile in breadth between the sea and the first rugged eminences. It had been fortified with care during the years 1794 and 1795, and the long bridge which traverses the river was covered by a formidable *tête de pont*, mounted with a plentiful array of heavy artillery. In this position Suchet hoped to arrest the enemy until the army of reserve, under Napoleon, had descended into Italy and appeared in their rear. In effect, the alarming reports which he received of the appearance of a powerful French force in the valley of Aosta, induced Melas, soon after his arrival at Nice, to detach a large part of his troops in that direction, and at length, when there could not longer be any doubt of the fact, he set out in

May 14.

person for Piedmont, leaving Elmiz, with eighteen thousand men, to make himself master of the bridge of the Var. Suchet had but thirteen thousand, but they were covered by formidable works, and were daily receiving additions of strength from the conscripts and national guard in the interior. The Imperialists having at length got up their heavy artillery from Nice, unmasked their batteries on the 22d, and advanced with great intrepidity

May 22

At a h by
the Aus-
tians on the
which is re-
pulsed

to the attack. But when Suchet evacuated the territory of Nice, he left a garrison in Fort Montauban, perched on a rock in the rear, from whence every thing which passed to the Austrian lines was visible, and from which he received, by telegraph, hourly intelligence of what was preparing on the enemy's side. Thus warned, the Republicans were on their guard, the Austrian columns, when they arrived within pistol shot of the works, were received with a tremendous fire of grape and musketry, and after remaining long and bravely at the foot of the intrenchments, a prey to a murderous fire which swept off numbers by every discharge, they were compelled to retire, after sustaining a considerable loss (3)

Fresh at-
tack and
final repul-
se of them

Elmiz, however, was not discouraged. The accounts which he received from his rear rendered it more than ever necessary to carry this important post, in order to secure a barrier against the French, in the event of its being necessary to retire, and make head against

the invasion of the First Consul. Already accounts had arrived of the descent of Thureau upon Suza, and the capture of Ivrea by Lannes with the vanguard of Napoléon. Collecting, therefore, all his forces, he made a last effort. Twenty pieces of heavy cannon, placed in position within musket-shot, battered the Republican defences, while the English cruisers thundered on May 27. the right of the position. Under the cover of this imposing fire, the Hungarian grenadiers advanced to the assault, and the sappers succeeded in breaking through the first palisades; but the brave men who headed the column almost perished at the foot of the intrenchment, and, after sustaining a heavy loss, they were compelled to abandon their enterprise. After this check, all thoughts of carrying the *têtes-de-pont* on the Var were laid aside, and the Austrians broke up during the night, and retreated, with seventeen thousand men, in the direction of Piedmont (1).

Formation of the army of reserve by Napoléon. It is now time to resume the operations of Napoléon and the army of reserve, which rendered these retrograde movements of the Imperialists necessary, cut short their brilliant career of victories, and ultimately precipitated them into the most unheard-of reverses. This army, which had been in preparation ever since its formation had been decreed by the Consuls, on 7th January, 1800, had been intrusted, since the commencement of April, to Berthier, whose indefatigable activity was well calculated to create, out of the heterogeneous elements of which it was composed, a formidable and efficient force. Thirty thousand conscripts and twenty thousand veteran troops rendered disposable by the conclusion of the war in la Vendée, were directed to different points, between Dijon and the Alps, to form the basis of this armament. Napoléon, whose gigantic mind was equal alike to the most elevated conceptions and the superintendence of the minutest details, was indefatigable in his endeavours to complete the preparations, and from the interior of his cabinet directed the march, provisioning, and equipment of every regiment in the army. He was at first undecided whether to direct the great reserve upon Germany or Italy; but the angry correspondence which had passed between him and Moreau, joined to the reverses experienced by Masséna in the environs of Genoa, at length determined him to cross the Alps and move upon Piedmont. Reports were obtained from skilful engineers, on the state of all the principal passes, from Mount Cenis to the St.-Gothard. After full consideration, he determined to cross the Great St.-Bernard. The advantages of this passage were obvious. It was at once the shortest road across the mountains, being directly in front of Lausanne, Vevay, and Besançon where the greater part of the army was cantoned, and it led him in a few days into the rear of the army of Melas, so as to leave him no alternative but to abandon his magazines and reserves, or fight his way to them, with his face towards Milan and his back to the Maritime Alps. In such a situation, the loss of a considerable battle could hardly fail to be fatal to the Imperial army, and might reasonably be expected to lead to the conquest of all Italy; whereas a reverse to the Republicans, who could fall back upon the St.-Gothard and the Simplon, was not likely to be attended with any similar disaster (2).

Towards the success of this great design, however, it was indispensable that the real strength and destination of the army of reserve should be

(1) Dum. iii. 215, 216. Jom. xiii. 201.

(2) Nap. i. 252, 253. Jom. xiii. 172, 173. Dum. iii. 219.

carefully concealed, as the forces of the Austrians lay in the valley of Aosta, on the southern side of the St.-Bernard, and by occupying in strength the summit of the mountain, they might render the passage difficult, if not impossible. The device fallen upon by the First Consul for this purpose was to proclaim openly the place where the army was collected, and the service to which it was destined, but to assemble such inconsiderable forces there as might render it an object rather of ridicule than alarm to the enemy. With this view it was pompously announced, in various ways, that the army of reserve, destined to raise the siege of Genoa, was assembling at Dijon, and when the Austrians spies repaired thither, they found only a few battalions of conscripts and some companies of troops of the line, not amounting in all to eight thousand men, which entirely dissipated the fears which had been formed by its announcement. The army of reserve at Dijon in consequence became the object of general ridicule throughout Europe, and Melas, relieved of all fears, for his rear, continued to press forward with perseverance his attacks on the Var, and considered the account of this army as a mere feint, to serve as a diversion to the siege of Genoa (1).

See full mea-
sures taken
to conceal
its strength The St.-Bernard, which had been used for above two thousand years as the principal passage between Italy and France, lies between Martigny in the Valais, and Aosta in the beautiful valley of the same name on the southern side of the Alps. Though the direct communication between these countries, however, and perfectly passable for horsemen and foot-soldiers, it presented great difficulties for the transit of artillery and caissons. As far as St.-Pierre, indeed, on the side of the Valais, the passage is practicable for cannon, and from Aosta to the Italian plains the road is excellent, but in the interval between these places the track consists merely of a horse or bridlepath, following the sinuosities of the ravines through which it is conducted, or round the innumerable precipices which overhang the ascent. The summit of the ridge itself, which is little short of 8000 feet above the level of the sea (2), consists of a little plain or valley, shut in by snowy mountains of still greater elevation, about a mile in length, with features of such extraordinary gloom as to be indelibly imprinted in the recollection of every traveller who has witnessed it. At the northern extremity, where the path, emerging from the steep and rugged ascent of the Valley of Desolation, as it is emphatically called, first enters upon the level surface, is situated the convent of St.-Bernard, the highest inhabited ground in Europe, founded a thousand years ago by the humanity of the illustrious saint whose name it bears, and tenanted ever since that time by pious and intrepid monks, the worthy followers of such a leader, who there, amidst ice and granite, have fixed their abode, to rescue from destruction the travellers overwhelmed by snow, amidst the storms to which those elevated regions are at almost every season of the year exposed. At the southern end are still to be seen a few remains of the Temple of Jupiter Deopimus, which formerly stood at the summit of the Italian side of the pass,

to gauge their gratitude to Heaven for having surmounted the dangers of the passage. In the centre of the valley, midway between the remains of heathen

(1) *Journal de l'Empire*, 253, 254. *Dumortier*

(2) 7512 *Saussure and Lelut*, l. 178

review at Lausanne the vanguard of the real army of reserve, consisting of six regiments of veteran troops newly equipped, and in the finest possible order. Shortly after, he received a visit from Carnot, the minister of war, who brought accounts of the victory of Moeskirch, and the advance of Moreau in Germany, while the stores and artillery arrived from all quarters.

May 9
Measures
taken for
the cross ing
of the artil-
lery The preparations were rapidly completed. A hundred large fires were hollowed out so as to receive each a piece of artillery, the carriages were taken to pieces and put on the backs of mules, the ammunition dispersed among the peasants, who arrived from all quarters with their beasts of burden to share in the ample rewards which the French engineers held forth to stimulate their activity. Two companies of artillery workmen were stationed, the one at St-Pierre, on the north, the other at St-Remi, on the south of the mountains, to take to pieces the artillery and remount them on their carriages; the ammunition of the army was conveyed in little boxes, so constructed as to go on the backs of mules. With such admirable precision were these arrangements made, that the dismounting and replacing of the guns hardly retarded for an hour the march of the columns, and the soldiers, animated by the novelty and splendour of the enterprise, vied with each other in their efforts to second the activity of their officers. Berthier, when they reached the foot of the mountains, addressed them in the following proclamation: "The soldiers of the Rhine have signalled themselves by glorious triumphs, those of the army of Italy struggle with invincible perseverance against a superior enemy. Emulating their virtues, do you ascend and reconquer beyond the Alps the plains which were the first theatre of French glory. Conscripts! you behold the ensigns of victory, march, and emulate the veterans who have won so many triumphs, learn from them how to bear and overcome the fatigues inseparable from war. Bonaparte is with you, he has come to witness your first triumph. Prove to him that you are the same men whom he formerly led in these regions to immortal renown (1)." These words inflamed to the highest pitch the ardour of the soldiers, and there was but one feeling throughout the army, that of seconding to the uttermost the glorious enterprise in which they were engaged.

Passage of
the moun-
tain On the 16th May the First Consul slept at the convent of St.-Maurice, and on the following morning the army commenced the passage of the mountain. During the four following days the march continued, and from eight to ten thousand men passed daily. The first night they slept at St-Pierre, the second at St-Remi or Etroubles, the third at Aosta. Napoleon himself remained at St-Maurice till the 20th, when the whole had crossed. The march, though toilsome, presented no extraordinary difficulties till the leading column arrived at St-Pierre. But from that village to the summit, the ascent was painful and laborious in the highest degree. To each gun a hundred men were harnessed, and relieved by their comrades every half mile, the soldiers vied with each other in the fatiguing undertaking of dragging it up the toilsome and rugged track, and it soon became a point of honour for each column to prevent their cannon from falling behind the array. To support their efforts, the music of each regiment played at its head, and where the paths were peculiarly steep, the charge sounded to give additional vigour to their exertions. Toiling painfully up the ascent, hardly venturing to halt to draw breath lest the march of the column should be retarded, ready to sink under the weight of their arms and baggage, the

soldiers animated each other by warlike songs, and the solitudes of the St.-Bernard resounded with the strains of military music. From amidst the snows and the clouds, the glittering bands of armed men appeared; and the distant chamois on the mountains above, startled by the unwonted spectacle, bounded away to the regions of desolation, and paused on the summit of its inaccessible cliffs to gaze on the columns which wound around their feet (1).

After six hours of toilsome ascent, the head of the army reached the hospice at the summit; and the troops, forgetting their fatigues, traversed with joyful steps the snowy vale, or reposing beside the cool waters of the lake, rent the air with acclamations at the approaching termination of their labours. By the provident care of the monks, every soldier received a large ration of bread and cheese, and a draught of wine at the gate; a seasonable supply, which exhausted the ample stores of their establishment, but was fully repaid by the First Consul before the termination of the campaign. After an hour's rest, the columns wound along the margin of the lake, and began the steep and perilous descent to St.-Remi. The difficulties here were still greater than on the northern side. The snow, hard beneath, was beginning to melt on the surface, and great numbers both of men and horses lost their footing, and were precipitated down the rapid declivity. At length, however, they reached a more hospitable region; the sterile rocks and snow gave place to herbage, enamelled with the flowers of spring; a few firs next gave token of the descent into the woody region, gradually a thick forest overshadowed their march, and before they reached Etroubles, the soldiers, who had so recently shivered in the blasts of winter, were melting under the rays of an Italian sun (2).

Napoléon himself crossed on the 28th. He was mounted on a sure-footed mule, which he obtained from the Priory of St.-Maurice, and attended by a young and active guide, who confided to him, without knowing his quality, all his wishes, and was astonished to find them, some time after, all realized by the generous recollection of the First Consul. He rested an hour at the convent, and descended to St.-Remi, over the hard and slippery surface of the snow, chiefly on foot, often sliding down, and with considerable difficulty (5).

(1) Nap. i. 259. Dum. ii. 170. Bot. iv. 13.

(2) Dum. iii. 171, 172. Bot. iv. 14, 15. Nap. i. 261.

"Oh joy! the signs of life appear,
The first and single fir
That on the limits of the living world
Strikes in the ice its roots;
Another and another now,
And now the larch, that flings its arms
Down curving like the falling wave,
And now the aspen's glittering leaves
Grey glitter on the moveless twig,
The poplar's varying verdure now,
And now the birch so beautiful,
Light as a lady's plume."

(3) Nap. i. 261.

Compassion The passage of the St.-Bernard has been the subject of great exaggeration from those who are unacquainted with the ground. To speak of the French troops traversing paths known only to the smuggler or the chamois hunter, is ridiculous, when the road has been a beaten passage for two thousand years, and is traversed daily in summer by great numbers of travellers. One would suppose from these descriptions, it was over the Col du Geant between Chamouni and Aosta, or over the summit of the Col du Bonhomme, that the French army had passed. It will bear no comparison with the passage of Hannibal over the Little St.-

Bernard, opposed as it was by the mountain tribes, by paths comparatively unformed, and in the course of which the Carthaginian general lost nearly half his army. Having traversed on foot both the ground over which Napoléon's army passed at the Great St.-Bernard, that traversed by Suvarrow on the St.-Gothard, the Schachenthal, and the Engiberg, and that surmounted by Maedonald in the passage of the Splügen, the Monto Aprigal, and the Mont Tonal, the author is enabled to speak with perfect confidence as to the comparative merit of these different undertakings. From being commenced in the depth of winter, and over ridges comparatively unfrequented, the march of Maedonald was by far the most hazardous, so far as mere natural difficulties were concerned; that of Suvarrow was upon the whole the most worthy of admiration, from the vigorous resistance he experienced at every step, the total inexperience of his troops in mountain warfare, and the unparalleled hardships, both physical and moral, with which its later stages were involved. That of Napoléon over the St.-Bernard, during a fine season, without any opposition from the enemy, with every aid from the peasantry of the district, and the experience of his own officers, and by a road impracticable only for carriages and cannon, must, with every impartial observer acquainted with the ground, rank as the easiest of these memorable enterprises.

The army is stopped in the valley of Aosta by the fort of Bard. Lannes, who commanded the advanced guard, descended rapidly the beautiful valley of Aosta, occupied the town of the same name, and overthrew at Chatillon a body of fifteen hundred Croats who endeavoured to dispute his passage. The soldiers, finding themselves in a level and fertile valley, abounding with trees, vines, and pasture, deemed their difficulties past, and joyfully followed the hourly increasing waters of the Dora Baltea, when their advance was suddenly checked by the fort and the cannon of Bard. This inconsiderable fortification had wellnigh proved a more serious obstacle to the army than the whole perils of the St.-Bernard. Situated on a pyramidal rock midway between the opposite cliffs of the valley, which there approach very near to each other, and at the distance of not more than fifty yards from either side, it at once commands the narrow road which is conducted close under its ramparts, and is beyond the reach of any but regular approaches. The cannon of the ramparts, two-and-twenty in number, are so disposed upon its well-constructed bastions, as to command not only the great road which traverses the village at its feet, but every path on either side of the adjacent mountains by which it appears practicable for a single person to pass (1). No sooner was the advanced guard arrested by this formidable obstacle, than Lannes advanced to the front, and ordered an assault on the town, defended only by a single wall. It was quickly carried by the impetuosity of the French grenadiers, but the Austrians retired in good order into the fort on the rock above, and from its secure casements the garrison kept up an incessant fire upon every column that attempted the passage. Marescot, the chief of the engineers, reported, after a reconnoissance, that the fort could not be carried by a *coup-de-main*, while the rocky cliffs of the mountains on either side opposed the greatest difficulties to a regular siege. The advance of the army was instantly checked,

cross the mountains (2).

May 23 Napoleon, deeming all his difficulties surmounted, was advancing with joyful steps down the southern declivity of the St.-Bernard, when he received this alarming intelligence. Instantly advancing to the vanguard, he ascended the Monte Albaredo, which commanded the fort on the left bank of

tillery. In vain the Austrian commandant was summoned, and threatened with an instant assault in case of refusal to surrender; he replied as became a man of courage and honour, well aware of the importance of his position, and the means of defending it which were in his power. A few pieces of artillery were, by great efforts, hoisted up to an eminence on the Monte Albaredo which commanded the fort, but their fire produced little impression on the bomb-proof batteries and vaulted casements

Great skill with which the obstacle was carried.

pressed, however, and it was indispensable that the army should without

(1) Personal observation.

(2) Vop. I. 261, 262. Jom. and 112, 113. Dom. 176, 177. Bel. iv. 14.

lay continue its advance. Contrary to the advice of Marescot, Napoléon ordered an escalade, and Berthier formed three columns, each of three hundred grenadiers, who advanced with the utmost resolution at midnight to the assault. They climbed in silence up the rock, and reached the works without being discovered. The outer palisades were carried, and the Austrian videttes retired precipitately to the ramparts above, but at its foot all the efforts of the Republicans were frustrated. The garrison was instantly on the alert. A shower of balls spread death through their ranks, while vast numbers of shells and hand grenades thrown down amongst them (1), augmented the confusion and alarm inseparable from a nocturnal attack. After sustaining a heavy loss, they were compelled to abandon the attempt; the passage seemed hermetically closed; the army could not advance a step further in its progress.

In this extremity, the genius and intrepidity of the French engineers surmounted the difficulty. The infantry and cavalry of Lannes' division traversed one by one the path on the Monte Albaredo, and re-formed lower down the valley, while the artillerymen succeeded in drawing their cannon, in the dark, through the town, close under the guns of the fort, by spreading straw and dung upon the streets, and wrapping the wheels up, so as to prevent the slightest sound being heard. In this manner forty pieces and a hundred caissons were drawn through during the night, while the Austrians, in unconscious security, slumbered above, beside their loaded cannon, directed straight into the street where the passage was going forward. A few grenades and combustibles were merely thrown at random over the ramparts during the gloom, which killed a considerable number of the French engineers, and blew up several of their ammunition waggons, but without arresting for a moment the passage. Before daylight a sufficient number were passed to enable the advanced guard to continue its march, and an obstacle, which might have proved the ruin of the whole enterprise, was effectually overcome. During the succeeding night, the same hazardous operation was repeated, with equal success; and while the Austrian commander was writing to Melas that he had seen thirty-five thousand men and four thousand horse cross the path of the Albaredo, but that not one piece of artillery or caisson should pass beneath the guns of his fortress, the whole cannon and ammunition of the army were safely proceeding on the road to Ivrea. The fort of Bard itself held out till the 5th June; and we have the authority of Napoléon for the assertion, that if the passage of the artillery had been delayed till its fall, all hope of success in the campaign was at an end. The presence of an Austrian division seven thousand strong would have equally sufficed to destroy the French troops as they emerged without cannon from the perilous defile of the Albaredo. On such trivial incidents do the fate and the revolutions of nations in the last result often depend (2).

After a short skirmish at Ivrea, the French advance to Turin

Meanwhile Lannes, proceeding onward with the advanced guard, emerged from the mountains, and appeared before the walls of Ivrea. This place, once of considerable strength, and which in 1704 had withstood for ten days all the efforts of the Duke of Vendôme with a formidable train of artillery, had of late years fallen into decay, and its ruined walls, but partially armed, hardly offered an obstacle to an enterprising enemy. Lannes ordered an assault at once on the three gates of the city. He advanced himself with the column on the right, and with his

(1) Nap. i. 263. Jom. xiii. 185. Bour. iv. 102. Dum. iii. 176.

(2) Nap. i. 263, 265. Jom. xiii. 185, 188. Dum. iii. 176, 180. Bour. iv. 102, 103.

own hand directed the first strokes of the hatchet at the palisades. The defences were soon broken down, the chains of the drawbridges cut, the gates blown open, and the Republicans rushed, with loud shouts, on all sides into the town. A battalion which defended the walls was forced to fly, leaving three hundred prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and the Austrian troops drawn up behind the town retired precipitately towards Turin. They took post behind the Chinsella, spreading themselves out, according to custom, over a long line, to cover every approach to the capital of Piedmont. They were there attacked on the following day by Lannes, and a warm contest ensued. The Imperialists, confident in the numbers and prowess of their cavalry, vigorously charged the Republicans; but, though they led up their

May 26. horses to the very bayonnets of the infantry, they were in the end repulsed, and the bridge over the river was carried by the assailants. After this check the Austrians retired towards Turin, and Lannes, pursuing his
May 28 successes, pushed on to the banks of the Po, where he made himself master of a flotilla of boats, of the greater value to the invading army, as they did not possess the smallest bridge equipage. The whole army, thirty-six thousand strong, was assembled at Ivrea, with all its artillery, on the 28th, while the advanced guard pushed its patrols to the gates of Turin (1).

Passage of While the centre of the army of reserve was thus surmounting the

detached with sixteen thousand choice troops from the army of the Rhine, crossed the St-Gothard, and began to appear in the neighbourhood of the Lago Maggiore. At the same time General Bellicourt, with a brigade of Swiss troops, ascended the Simplon, and forcing the terrific defile of Gondo, appeared at Duomo d'Ossola, and opened up the communication with the left of the army. Thus, above sixty thousand men, converging from so many different quarters, were assembled in the plains of Piedmont, and threatened the rear of the Imperial army engaged in the defiles of the Apennines from Genoa to the mouth of the Var (2).

all the strength he could collect to the Bormida. The orders arrived at Genoa just at the time when the capitulation was going forward, so that the advance of the army of reserve was too late to raise the siege of that fortress, but still an important and decisive operation awaited the First Consul. To oppose him in the first instance, the Austrians had only the corps of Wukassowich, Laudon, and Haddick, who could hardly muster eighteen thousand men in all, and not above six thousand in any one point, so widely were their immense forces scattered over the countries they had conquered, while the concentration of their troops from the Var and the coast of Genoa would require a considerable time (3).

Different In these circumstances the French commander had the choice of
plans wh ch three different plans, each of which promised to be attended with
lay open to important results. The first was to incline to the right, form a
Napoleon.

(1) *Nap. i* 256, 257. *Dum. iiii* 133, 137. *Jom.*
xiii, 193, 194.

(2) *Jom. xiii*, 120, 122. *Dum. iiii*, 137, 139.
(3) *Jom. Vie de Nap. i*, 131.

junction with Thureau, and, in concert with Suchet, attack the Austrian army under Melas; the second, to cross the Po by means of the barks so opportunely thrown into his power, and advance to the relief of Masséna, who yet held out; the third, to move to the left, pass the Ticino, form a junction with Moncey, and capture Milan with the stores and reserve parks of the Imperialists. Of these different plans the first appeared unadvisable, as the forces of Melas were superior to those of the First Consul without the addition of Moncey, and it was extremely hazardous to run the risk of a defeat while the fort of Bard still held out and interrupted the retreat of the army.

He resolves
to occupy
Milan.

The second was equally perilous, as it plunged the invading army, without any line of communication, into the centre of the Imperial forces, and it was doubtful whether Genoa could hold out till the Republican eagles approached the Bocchetta. The third had the disadvantage of abandoning Masséna to his fate, but to counterbalance that, it offered the most brilliant result. The possession of Milan could not fail to produce a great moral impression, both on the Imperialists and the Italians, and to renew, in general estimation, the halo of glory which was wont to encircle the brows of the First Consul. The junction with Moncey would raise the army to fifty thousand effective men, and secure for it a safe retreat in case of disaster by the St.-Gothard and the Simplon; the magazines and parks of reserve collected by the Austrians, lay exposed to immediate capture in the unprotected towns of Lombardy; while, by intercepting their communications with Germany, and compelling them to flight with their rear towards France and the Maritime Alps, the inestimable advantage was gained of rendering any considerable disaster the forerunner of irreparable ruin (1).

May 31.

Advance into
Lombardy, and capture
of that
city.

Moved by these considerations, Napoléon directed his troops rapidly towards the Ticino, and arrived on the banks of that river on the 31st May. The arrival of so great a force, in a quarter where they were totally unexpected, threw the Austrians into the utmost embarrassment. All their disposable infantry was occupied at Belinzona to oppose the advance of Moncey, or had retired behind the Lago Maggiore, before Bethencourt. The only troops which they could collect to oppose the passage were the cavalry of Festenberg, with a few regiments of Laudon, a force under five thousand men, and totally inadequate to maintain the line of the Ticino from Sesto-Calende, where it flows out of the Lago Maggiore, to Pavia, where it joins the Po, against an enemy thirty thousand strong. Unable to guard the line of the river, the cavalry of Festenberg was drawn up in front of Turbigo, when Gérard, with the advanced guard, crossed the river under cover of the French artillery, advantageously posted on the heights behind, and instantly made himself master of the bridge of Naviglio, by which the infantry of the division began to defile to his assistance. He was immediately and warmly attacked by the Imperial cavalry, but though they at first had some success, yet the French having retired into a woody position deeply intersected by canals, they succeeded in maintaining their ground, until the Republicans had crossed over in such numbers as to enable them to carry Turbigo with the bayonet, and effectually establish themselves on the left bank of the river. At the same time Murat effected a passage at Buffalora, on the great road from Turin to Milan, with hardly any opposition; the Austrians retired on all sides, and Napoléon, with the advanced guard, made his triumphant entry into Milan on the 2d June, where he was received with transports of joy by the democratic party, and the same applause

June 2.

by the inconstant populace which they had lavished the year before on
Swarrow (1)

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the Milanese at this sudden apparition of the republican hero. Some believed he had died near the Red Sea, and that it was one of his brothers who commanded the army, none were aware that he had so recently crossed the Alps, and revisited the scenes of his former glory. He instantly dismissed the Austrian authorities, re-established, with more show than sincerity, the republican magistrates, but, foreseeing that the chances of war might expose his partisans to severe reprisals, wisely forbade any harsh measures against the dethroned party. Taking advantage of the public enthusiasm which his unexpected arrival occasioned, he procured, by contributions and levies, large supplies for his troops, and augmented their numbers by the regiments of Moncey, which slowly made their appearance from the St-Gothard. On the 6th and 7th June these troops were reviewed, and the French outposts extended in all directions. They were pushed to Placentia and the Po, the principal towns in Lombardy being abandoned, without resistance, by the Austrians. Pavia fell into their hands, with 200 pieces of cannon, 8,000 muskets, and stores in proportion. At the same time the following animated proclamation was addressed to the troops, and electrified all Europe, long accustomed only to the reverses of the Republicans — "Soldiers! when we began our march, one of our departments was in the possession of the enemy: consternation reigned through all the south of France. The greatest part of the Ligurian republic, the most faithful ally of our country, was invaded. The Cisalpine republic, annihilated in the last campaign, groaned under the feudal yoke. You advanced, and already the French territory is delivered: joy and hope have succeeded in our country to consternation and fear. You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa: you already are in the capital of the Cisalpine. The enemy, terror-struck, seeks only to regain his frontiers: you have taken from him his hospitals, his magazines, his reserve parks. The first act of the campaign is finished, millions of men address you in strains of praise. But shall we allow our audacious enemies to violate with impunity the territory of the republic? Will you permit the army to escape which has carried terror into your families? You will not. March, then, to meet him, tear from his brows the laurels he has won, teach the world that a malediction attends those who violate the territory of the great people. The result of our efforts will be unclouded glory and a durable peace (2)."

While these important operations were going forward in Lombardy, Melas conceived the project of threatening his adversary's communications by a movement on Verceili. But when on the point of executing this design, he received intelligence of the simultaneous disasters which in so many different quarters were accumulating on the Austrian monarchy, the repeated defeats of Kray in Germany, and his concentration in the intrenched camp at Linz, the arrival of Moncey at Bellinzona, and the retreat of Wukassowich towards the Adige. In these circumstances more cautious measures seemed necessary, and he resolved to concentrate his army under the cannon of Alexandria. But while the French soldiers were abandoning themselves to the flattering illusions which this extraordinary and rapid success suggested, they received the disastrous

(1) Nap. 1 271 272. Dalm. 11 2-5, 2-8. Jour. 21 L 205 210.

(2) Nap. 1 272 273. Jour. 2 209 210 211. Dalm. 12 269 271 273. Bul. 110. 117.

intelligence of the surrender of Genoa; and Napoléon had the mortification of finding, from the point to which the troops who capitulated were to be conveyed, that they could be of no service to him in the decisive operations that were fast approaching. It was evident, therefore, that he would have the whole Austrian army on his hands at once, and therefore no time was to be lost in striking a decisive blow. The fort of Bard capitulated on the 5th June, which both disengaged the troops of Chabran employed in its reduction, and opened the St.-Bernard as a secure line of retreat in case of disaster. The rapid marches and countermarches of the Republicans through the plain of Lombardy, had made the enemy fall back to Mantua and the line of the Mincio, and the French troops already occupied Lodi and blockaded Pizzighitone, and other fortresses on the Po; but from this dispersion of force, and eccentric direction given to a large portion of the army, arose a most serious inconvenience; it reduced to one-half the mass that could be collected to make head against Melas in Piedmont. In effect, out of the sixty thousand men which he commanded in Lombardy, Napoléon could only collect thirty thousand in one body to meet the main army of the enemy; but, confident in his own abilities and the spirit of his troops, he resolved with this inconsiderable force to cut Melas off from his line of retreat, and for this purpose moved upon Stradella, on the right bank of the Po, which brought him on the great road from Alexandria to Mantua (1).

The French
vanguard
comes up
with the
Austrians at
Montebello.

The French army began its march towards the Po on the 6th June, and Lannes, commanding the advanced guard, crossed that river at St.-Cipriano. At the same time, Murat, who had broken up from Lodi, attacked the *tête-de-pont* at Placentia, and drove the Austrians out of that town on the road towards Tortona, while Duhesme, not less fortunate, assailed Cremona, and expelled the garrison, with the loss of eight hundred men. The line of the Po being thus broken through at three points, the Imperialists every where fell back, and abandoning all hope of maintaining their communication with Mantua and their reserves in the east of Italy, concentrated their forces towards Casteggio and Montebello. Ott joined them with the forces rendered disposable by the surrender of Genoa, and stationed his troops, on a chain of gentle eminences, in two lines, so disposed as to be able to support one another in case of need. Fifteen thousand chosen troops were there drawn up in the most advantageous position; their right resting on the heights which formed the roots of the Apennines, and commanding the great road to Tortona which wound round their feet; their left extending into the plain, where their splendid cavalry could act with effect. At the sight of such an array, Lannes was a moment startled, but instantly perceiving the disastrous effect which the smallest retrograde movement might have on a corps with its rear resting on the Po, he resolved forthwith to attack the enemy. His forces did not exceed nine thousand men, while those of the enemy were fifteen thousand strong; but the division of Victor, of nearly equal strength, was only two leagues in the rear, and might be expected to take a part in the combat before its termination (2).

Desperate
and bloody
action there,
in which the
Austrians
are worsted.

The French infantry, with great gallantry, advanced in echelon, under a shower of grape-shot and musketry, to storm the hills on the right of the Austrian position, where strong batteries were placed, which commanded the whole field of battle; and succeeded in carrying the heights of Revetta: but they were there assailed, while disor-

(1) Napoléon, i. 275, 277. Dum. iii. 276, 279. Jom. xiii. 212, 220. Bul. 124, 127.

(2) Bol. iv. 23. Nap. i. 279. Dum. iii. 288, 290. Jom. xiii. 257, 258.

dered by success, by six fresh regiments; and driven with great slaughter down into the plain. In the centre, on the great road, Watrin with difficulty maintained himself against the vehement attacks of the Imperialists; and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Lannes, defeat appeared inevitable, when the battle was restored by the arrival of a division of Victor's corps, which enabled the Republicans to rally their troops and prepare a fresh attack. New columns were immediately formed to assail the heights on the left, while Watrin commenced a furious onset in the centre, the Austrians were every where driven back, and the triumph of the French appeared certain, when Ott brought up his reserves from the second line, and victory again inclined to the other side. The Republicans, attacked in their turn by fresh troops, gave way, and the loud shouts of the Imperialists announced a total overthrow, when the arrival of the remainder of Victor's corps not only restored the balance, but turned it against the Austrians. Their troops, however, were too experienced, and their confidence in themselves too great, to yield without a desperate heart-stirring recollections

won in the first Italian campaign, reaped in so many later triumphs, and both parties felt that the fate of the war, in a great degree, depended on their exertions; for the Austrians struggled to gain time for the concentration of their forces to meet this new enemy, the Republicans to avoid being driven back with ruinous loss into the Po. The last reserves on both sides were soon engaged, and the contending parties fought long hand to hand with the most heroic resolution. At length the arrival of Napoleon with the division Gardanne, decided the victory (1). Ott, who now saw his right turned, while the centre and left were on the point of giving way, reluctantly gave the signal of retreat, and the Imperialists, in good order, and with measured steps, retired towards S-Juliano, after throwing a garrison of a thousand men into the fortress of Tortona (2).

Position of the French in the Pass of Stradella between the Apennines and Po In this bloody combat, the Austrians lost three thousand killed and wounded, and fifteen hundred prisoners. The French had to lament nearly an equal number slain or disabled; but the moral effect of the victory was immense, and more than counterbalanced all their losses. It restored at once the spirit of their troops, which the continued disasters of the preceding campaign had severely weakened; and when Napoleon trav-

diars lying on their ancient

formed by the advance of a lower ridge of the Apennines towards the Po, where the intersected and broken nature of the ground promised to render unserviceable the numerous squadrons of the enemy. In this position he remained the three following days, concentrating and organizing his troops for

Disastrous retreat of Elms from the war Melas in front, and occupied, at Stradella, the sole line by which the Austrian general could re-establish his communications with the plain of Lombardy, disasters of the most formidable kind were accumu-

(1) Nap. i 278 280. But iv 23, 24. Jour. au 256 260. Dum. iii 293 297. But 131, 145.

(2) This was one of the most desperate actions which had yet occurred in the war. "The house,"

said Lannes, "cracked in my division like glass in a hot storm." — *Essai sur la guerre*, iv 112.

(3) Nap. i 210. Dum. iii 272, 273. Jour. 226, 227.

*Gallant re-
solution of
Melas to cut
his way
through
Napoleon's
army* of reserve, amounting in all to sixty thousand men; while in his rear, Suchet occupied all the mountain passes, and was driving before him the scattered Imperialists like chaff before the wind. On his left, the awful barrier of the Alps, leading only into a hostile country, precluded all hopes of retreat; while on his right, the ridges of the Apennines, backed by the sea, rendered it impossible to regain by a circuitous route the Hereditary States. Nothing could be more perilous than his situation, but the Austrian veteran was not discouraged, and concentrating all his disposable forces, he resolved to give battle, and open a communication, sword in hand, with the eastern provinces of the empire. Nor was it without reason that he ventured on this step, albeit hazardous at all times, and doubly so when retreat was impossible and communication with the base of operations cut off. He could collect above thirty thousand veteran troops,

admirably adapted for his numerous and magnificent cavalry. Having taken his resolution, he dispatched troops in all directions to concentrate his forces; Elnitz, with the broken remains of his corps, was recalled from Ceva, Hohenzollern from Genoa, the defence of which was intrusted to the extenuated prisoners, liberated from captivity by its fall (1); while a courier was dispatched, in haste, to Admiral Keith, to accelerate the arrival of a corps of twelve thousand English, who at this decisive crisis lay inactive at Minorca.

of the First Consul. The right rested on impracticable morasses, extending to the Po; the centre was strengthened by several large villages; the left, commanding the great road, extended over heights, the commencement of the Apennines, crowned with a numerous artillery. Napoleon remained there, awaiting the attack, for three days, but the Austrian general had scarcely completed his operations, and he judged it not advisable to abandon the open plain, so favourable for his cavalry, for the broken ground selected by the enemy. On the 11th, Desaix, who had returned from Egypt, and performed quarantine at Toulon, arrived at headquarters with his aides-de-camp, Savary and Rapp. They sat up all night conversing on the changes of France, and the state of Egypt since they had parted on the banks of the Nile; and the First Consul, who really loved his lieutenant, and appreciated his military talents, immediately gave him the command of the division of Boudet. Finding that the Austrians were resolved not to attack him where he was, and remained grouped under the cannon of Alexandria, and fearful that they might recoil upon Suchet, or incline to the right towards Genoa, or the left to the Ticino, and threaten in turn his

armed with cannon.

Melas learned on the 10th, at Alexandria, the disastrous issue of the combat at Montebello, and the immense extent of the losses sustained by Flatt. Far from being stunned by so many reverses, he only rose in firmness as the

(1) *Ann.* iii. 293, 299. *Join.* xiii. 214, 219. *Eucl.* 200, 209.

(2) *Nap.* i. 241, 243. *Eucl.* iv. 21. *Dum.* i. 229. *Join.* xiii. 250, 252.

left in front, and the right at half a day's march in the rear, in marching order, not more than twenty-two thousand men, under Lannes and Victor, could be brought till noon into the field to withstand the shock of the whole Austrian army. The vehemence of the cannonade soon convinced him that a general battle was at hand, and he instantly dispatched orders to Desaix to remeasure his steps, and hasten to the scene of action. But before he could do this, events of the utmost importance had taken place. At eight o'clock, the Austrian infantry, under Haddick and Kaim, preceded by a numerous and splendid array of artillery, which covered the deploying of their columns, commenced the attack. They speedily overthrew Gardanne, who, with six battalions, was stationed in front of Marengo, and drove him back in disorder towards that village. They were there received by the bulk of Victor's corps, which was by this time drawn up, with its centre in the village, and its wings along the hollow of Fontanone, which separated the two armies; that of Lannes was still in the rear. For two hours, Victor withstood all the efforts of Haddick and Kaim with heroic resolution, and at length the corps of Lannes came up, and the forces on both sides became more equal. The battle now raged with the utmost fury, the opposing columns stood, with invincible firmness, within pistol-shot of each other, and all the chasms, produced by the dreadful discharges of artillery, were rapidly filled up by a regular movement to the centre of the brave men who formed the ranks. While this desperate conflict was going on, intelligence was received that the advanced guard of Suchet had reached Acqui in the rear. Melas, uneasy for his communications, detached two thousand five hundred horse to arrest his progress, an unnecessary precaution, as he was too far off to effect any thing on the field of battle, and which, perhaps, decided the fate of the day. At length the perseverance of the Austrians prevailed over the heroic devotion of the French. Marengo was carried, the stream of the Fontanone forced, and the Republicans were driven back to the second line they had formed in the rear.

Great success of the Austrians.

Here they made a desperate stand, and Haddick's division, disorderd by success, was repulsed across the stream by Watrin with the right of Lannes' division, but the Republicans could not follow up their advantage, as Victor's corps, exhausted with fatigue, and severely weakened

... .. support any offensive move-
... .. redoubled their efforts; a

... .. which Victor's corps, weakened by four hours' incessant fighting, was at length broken. The Imperialists pressed forward with redoubled vigour, when their adversaries gave way, their regiments were rapidly pursued, and frequently surrounded, and no resource remained but to traverse for two leagues the open plain as far as S.-Juliano, where the reserve under Lannes might be expected to arrive for their support. The Imperialists rapidly followed, preceded by fifty pieces of

... ..
... ..
... ..

however, the retreat became more disorderly; in vain Kellermann and Champagne, by repeated charges, arrested the Imperial cavalry, which swept round the retreating columns. He could not check the Hungarian infantry, which advanced steadily in pursuit, halting at every fifty yards, and pouring in destructive volleys, while the intervals between the regiments were filled up by a powerful artillery, which incessantly sent a storm of grape-shot through the retreating masses. No firmness could long endure such a trial;

gradually the squares broke; the immense plain of Marengo was covered with fugitives; the alarm spread even to the rear of the army, and the fatal cry, "*Tout est perdu, sauve qui peut*," was already heard in the ranks (1).

Matters were in this disastrous state when Napoléon, at eleven o'clock, arrived on the field of battle with his guard. The sight of his staff, surrounded by two hundred mounted grenadiers, revived the spirits of the fugitives; the well-known plumes recalled to the veterans the hopes of success. The fugitives rallied at S.-Juliano, in the rear of those squares of Lannes which still kept their ranks, and Napoléon detached eight hundred grenadiers of his guard to the right of the army, to make head against Ott, who there threatened to turn its flank. At the same time, he himself advanced with a demi-brigade to the support of Lannes, in the centre, and detached five battalions, under Monnier, the vanguard of Desaix's division, to Castel Ceriolo, on the extreme right, to hold in check the light infantry of the enemy, which was there making serious progress. The grenadiers first advanced in square into the midst of the plain, clearing their way equally through the fugitives and the enemy; from their sides, as from a flaming castle, issued incessant volleys of musketry, and all the efforts of the Imperialists were long unable to force back this intrepid band. At length, however, they were shaken by the steady fire of the Imperial artillery, and being charged in front by the Hungarian infantry, and in flank by the Austrian hussars, were broken and driven back in disorder. Their destruction appeared certain, when the leading battalions of Desaix's division, under Monnier, arrived, disengaged this band of heroes from the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded, and advancing rapidly forward, made themselves masters of the village of Castel Ceriolo. Here, however, they were charged with fury by Vogelsang with part of Ott's division, who retook Castel Ceriolo, and separated Monnier from the grenadiers of the guard; it was soon, however, retaken by the French, and Cara St.-Cyr, barricading himself in the houses, succeeded in maintaining that important post during the remainder of the day (2).

The French reserve are brought into action under Desaix.

While the reserves of Napoléon were thus directed to the French right, with a view to arrest the advance of the Austrians in that quarter, the left was a scene of the most frightful disorder.

Then was felt the irreparable loss to the Austrians which the detachment of so large a portion of their cavalry to the rear had occasioned; had the squadrons detached to observe Suchet poured in upon the broken fugitives in that quarter, the defeat of the left and centre would have been complete; and Desaix, assailed both in front and flank, would have come up only in time to share in the general ruin. But nothing of the kind was attempted; Melas, deeming the victory gained, after having had two horses shot under him, and being exhausted with fatigue, retired at two o'clock to Alexandria, leaving to his chief of the staff, Zach, the duty of following up his success; and the broken centre and left of the Republicans retired to S.-Juliano, leisurely followed by the Austrian army. Zach put himself at the head of the advanced guard, and at the distance of half a mile behind him came up Kaim with three brigades, and at an equal distance in his rear the reserve, composed of Hungarian grenadiers. Napoléon on his part had resolved to abandon the great road to Tortona, and effect his retreat by the shorter line of Sale or Castel Nuova (3).

(1) Nap. i. 289, 290. Bot. iv. 27, 28. Dum. iii. iv. 29, 30. Join. xiii. 279, 282. Sav. i. 176. Bul. 310, 317. Join. xiii. 272, 279. Sav. i. 171, 175. 249, 250.

(2) Nap. i. 291, 292. Join. xiii. 282, 283. Bot. Bul. 232, 245.

(3) Nap. i. 290, 291. Dum. iii. 313, 321. Bot. iv. 29, 30. Pomm. iii. 320. Sav. i. 177. Bul. 260, 261.

Matters were in this desperate state, when, at four o'clock, the main body of Desaix at length made its appearance at S-Juliano. "What think you of the day?" said Napoleon to his lieutenant, when he arrived with his division. "The battle," said Desaix, "is completely lost. But it is only four o'clock, there is time to gain another one (1)." Napoleon and he alone were of this opinion, all the others counselled a retreat. In pursuance of this resolution, the remains of Victor and Lannes' corps were re-formed, under cover of the cavalry, which was massed in front of S-Juliano, a masked battery prepared under the direction of Marmont, and Desaix advanced at the head of his corps, consisting of little more than four thousand men, to arrest the progress of the enemy. Napoleon, advancing to the front, rode along the line, exclaiming, "Soldiers! we have retired far enough. You know it is always my custom to sleep on the field of battle." The troops replied by enthusiastic shouts, and immediately advanced to the charge. Zach, little anticipating such an onset, was advancing at the head of his column, five thousand strong, when he was received by a discharge from twelve pieces, suddenly unmasked by Marmont, while at the same time Desaix debouched from the village at the head of his division. The Imperialists, astonished at the appearance, expected to find only fugitives a snare, paused and fell back, into the front, and checked the advance of the enemy. At this moment Desaix was struck by a ball in the breast, and soon after expired. His last words were, "Tell the First Consul that my only regret in dying is, to have perished before having done enough to live in the recollection of posterity." This cata-

nadiers advanced to the charge; the French in their turn hesitated and broke, and victory was more doubtful than ever (2).

At this critical moment, a happy inspiration seized Kellermann, which decided the fate of the day. The advance of Zach's column had, without their being aware of it, brought their flank right before his mass of cavalry, eight hundred strong, which was concealed from their view by a vineyard, where the festoons, conducted from tree to tree, rose above the horses' heads, and effectually intercepted the sight. Kellermann instantly charged, with his whole force, upon the flank of the Austrians, as they advanced in open column, and the result must be given in

Zach himself, with two thousand men, were made prisoners, the remainder, routed and dispersed, fled in the utmost disorder to the rear, overthrowing in their course the other divisions which were advancing to their support (3).

success, on all the disorder and security of the day. I see it, I am to the in fact of the day; they lay down their arms. The whole did not occur in so much time as it took me to write these lines. (Marmont's Memoirs, p. 351) The Duchess of Abrantes states also that she requested to be present at the battle of Marengo, and that she saw Victor and the other generals engaged, at her own table, and that they all contributed to the victory by Kellermann's charge. (Marmont's Memoirs, in 46-47)

(1) See p. 176, 177. Vol. 271, 275. N.p. 1 272.

concocted by the Austrians; a battle took place; our line wavered, broke, and fled; the Austrians rapidly advanced to follow up their

Final defeat
of the Aus-
trians.

This great achievement was decisive of the fate of the battle. The remains of Victor and Lannes' corps no sooner beheld this success, than they regained their former spirit, and turned fiercely upon their pursuers. The infantry of Kaim, overwhelmed by the tide of fugitives, gave way; the cavalry, which already inundated the field, was seized with a sudden panic, and, instead of striving to restore the day, galloped off to the rear, trampling down in their progress the unfortunate fugitives who were flying before them. A general cry arose, "To the bridges—to the bridges!" and the whole army disbanding, rushed in confusion towards the Bormida. In the general consternation, Marengo was carried, after a gallant defence, by the Republicans; the cannoniers, finding the bridges choked up by the fugitives plunged with their horses and guns into the stream, where twenty pieces stuck fast, and fell into the hands of the enemy. At length Melas, who hastened to the spot, rallied the rearguard in front of the bridges, and by its heroic resistance, gained time for the army to pass the river; the troops, regaining their ranks, re-formed upon the ground they had occupied at the commencement of the day; and after twelve hours' incessant fighting, the sun set upon this field of carnage (1).

Loss sus-
tained on
both sides.

Such was the memorable battle of Marengo; one of the most obstinately contested which had yet occurred during the war, in which both parties performed prodigies of valour, and which was attended with greater results perhaps than any conflict that had yet occurred in modern Europe. The Imperialists had to lament the loss of seven thousand men killed and wounded, besides three thousand prisoners, eight standards, and twenty pieces of cannon. The French sustained an equal loss in killed and wounded, besides one thousand prisoners taken in the early part of the day. But although the disproportion was not so great in the trophies of victory, the difference was prodigious in the effect it produced on the respective armies, and the ultimate issue of the campaign. The Austrians had fought for life or death, with their faces towards Vienna, to cut their way sword in hand through the French army. Defeat in these circumstances was irreparable ruin. By retiring either to Genoa or the Maritime Alps, they ran the risk of being cooped up in a corner of a hostile territory, without any chance of regaining their own country, and the certainty of depriving the empire of the only army capable of defending its Italian possessions. The French, on the other hand, had now firmly established themselves in the plains of Piedmont; and could, by merely retaining their present position, effectually cut off the Imperialists, and hinder their rendering any assistance to the Hereditary States. In these circumstances, the victory gave the Republicans, as that under the walls of Turin had given the Imperialists a century before, the entire command of Italy. Such a result was in itself of vast importance; but coming as it did, in the outset of Napoléon's career as First Consul, its consequences were incalculable. It fixed him on the throne, revived the

293. Dum. iii. 324, 325. Jom. xiii. 288, 289. Bot. iv. 30, 31. Mém. du Dépôt de la Guerre, iv. 272.

(1) Bul. 275, 280. Sav. i. 179. Nap. i. 293, 294. Jom. xiii. 290, 291. Dum. iii. 325, 326. Bot. iv. 31. Saalfeld, iv. 230, 231. Gaz. Mil. d'Autriche, Ann. 1823.

There is a most extraordinary similarity between the crisis of Marengo and that of Waterloo, with this difference, that the rout of the French was complete before the arrival of Desaix, while not an English square was broken before the final charge of the old guard. But the defeat of the last attacks in both battles was accomplished in the same way.

The rout of Zach's columns, by the fire of Desaix's division in front, aided by the charge of Kellermann in flank, was precisely similar to the defeat of the old guard at Mount St. John by the English guards, aided by the happy flank attack of Major Gawler with the 52d and 71st regiments, and the gallant charge of Sir Hussey Vivian with the 10th and 18th lussars. In both cases the overthrow of the last columns of attack drew after it the total defeat of the army.—See "*Crisis of Waterloo*." By MAJOR GAWLER and SIR H. VIVIAN. *United Service Journal*, July, 1833.

military spirit of the French people, and precipitated the nation into that career of conquest which led them to Cadiz and the Kremlin (1)

United with the great qualities of Napoleon's character was a selfish thirst for glory, and consequent jealousy of any one who had either effectually thwarted his designs, or rendered him such services as might diminish the lustre of his own exploits. His undying jealousy of Wellington was an indication of the

an instance

sence of the.

charge this evening," and immediately turning to Bessieres, added, "The guard has covered itself with glory"—"I am glad you are pleased," replied Kellermann, "for it has placed the crown on your head." He repeated the same expression in a letter, which was opened at the post-office and brought to Napoleon. The obligation was too great to be forgiven. Kellermann was not promoted like the other generals, and never afterwards enjoyed the favour of the chief on whose brow he had placed the diadem (2)

Melas pro-
posed a sus-
pension of
arms.

While nothing but congratulation and triumph were heard in the French lines, the Austrian camp exhibited the utmost consternation. The night was spent in re-forming the regiments, repairing the losses of the artillery, and replenishing the exhausted stores of ammunition. A council of war was summoned, the majority, thunderstruck by the magnitude of the disaster and the hopeless nature of their situation, inclined for a treaty to evacuate the Piedmontese territory. "If we cut our way through," said they, "supposing us to be successful, we must sacrifice ten thousand men left in Genoa, and as many in the fortresses of Piedmont, and shall not be the less compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Mantua. It is better to save these twenty thousand men than to preserve towns for the king of Sardinia." In conformity with these views, a flag of truce was dispatched on the following morning to the French headquarters, to propose

terms of capitulation. He arrived at their outposts just at the time when an attack on the *fortes-de-pont* on the Bormida was preparing, and, after some difficulty, the terms of the treaty were agreed upon between the two generals (3)

Armistice of
Alexandria

By this convention it was provided that "there should be an armistice between the two armies till an answer was obtained from the Court of Vienna. That in the mean time the Imperial army should occupy the country between the Mincio and the Po, that is, Peschiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and from it the left bank of the Po, and on its right bank, Ferrara, Ancona, and Tuscany, that the French should occupy the district between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po, and the space between the Chiesa and the Mincio should not be occupied by either army. That the fortresses of Tortona, Milan, Turin, Pizzighittone, Arona, Piacenza, Ceva, Savona, Urbino, Coni, Alexandria, and Genoa, should be surrendered to the French, with all their

(1) Nap. i. 294. Join. xi. 295. 296. Dum. i. 328. 329. Join. iv. 32. 34. Austrian Office at Account. Gaz. N. l. d. Autriche. 1823. Minor. du. Deput. de

indebted to the kindness of his esteemed friend, C. in Rev. i. 1811

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artillery and stores, the Austrians taking with them only their own cannon." The evacuation of all these places, and the final retreat of the Austrian army, were to be completed by the 24th June (1).

Its importance
results. Thus the complete reconquest of Piedmont and the Milanese, the cession of twelve fortresses, armed with fifteen hundred pieces of cannon, and the advance of the Republican eagles to the Mincio, were the immediate effect of the stubborn resistance of Desaix and the happy charge of Kellermann. A few battalions and eight hundred horse changed the face of the world. But Napoleon must not be deprived of his share in these glorious results. These incidents were but the last steps in a chain of causes which his genius had prepared, and his skill brought to bear upon the final issue of the campaign. He had thrown himself upon his adversary's communications without compromising his own, and thence its astonishing consequences. Defeated at Marengo, Napoleon could still have retired upon an equal force detached in his rear, and, in the worst event, have retired over the St.-Gothard and the Simplon, with no other sacrifice but his artillery. To have achieved such results, at so inconsiderable a risk, is the greatest triumph of genius in the science of war (2).

It was faithfully
observed by
the Austrians. The convention of Alexandria was religiously observed by the Austrian commanders. The English expedition under Abercromby, with twelve thousand men, arrived in the bay of Genoa just in time to see that important city surrendered to the Republican commanders; but, notwithstanding that important succour, German integrity swerved nothing from its good faith. Had this important reinforcement, instead of lying inactive at Minorca, arrived a fortnight sooner with the troops which so soon afterwards conquered in Egypt, what important effects might it have had upon the fortune of the war! But the English at that period were ignorant of the importance of time in military operations, and but novices in the art of war. The time was yet to come when they were to appear in it as masters (3).

Napoleon
returns to
Milan— Napoleon, after this great victory, appointed Jourdan regent in the continental dominions of the King of Sardinia until their destiny was determined by a general peace, and returned to Milan to enjoy his triumph. He was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy by the inconstant populace, and Italian adulation lavished on him those splendid epithets which, during three centuries of servitude, they have learned to bestow upon their rulers. He discoursed there much on peace, religion, literature, and the sciences. The Ligurian republic was immediately re-organized, and regained its nominal independence. He shortly after returned by Mont Cenis and Lyon to Paris. When passing through that town, he laid, with extraordinary pomp, amidst an immense concourse of spectators, the first stone of the new Place Bellecour, erected on the site of that which had been destroyed by the barbarity of the Convention. Napoleon was in high spirits during the remainder of the journey; but his triumphs, great as they were, appeared to him but as nothing in comparison of those which he yet desired to achieve. "Well," said he, "a few more great events like those of this campaign, and I may really descend to posterity: but still it is little enough; I have conquered, it is true, in less than two years, Cairo, Paris, Milan; but were I to die to-morrow, half a page of general history would, after ten centuries, be all that would be devoted to my ex-

(1) Nap. i. 295, 296. *Jom.* xiii. 300.

(2) *Jom.* xiii. 301, 302.

(3) *Jom.* xiii. 304, 305.

Italy and Germany; from the 9th Thermidor to the 18th Brumaire, a period of above five years, the fortunes of the Republic were singly sustained by the sword of Napoléon and the lustre of his Italian campaigns. When he seized the helm in November, 1799, he found the armies defeated and ruined; the frontier invaded, both on the sides of Italy and Germany, the arsenals empty, the soldiers in despair deserting their colours, the royalists revolting against the government, general anarchy in the interior, the treasury empty, the energies of the Republic apparently exhausted. Instantly, as if by enchantment, every thing was changed; order re-appeared out of chaos, talent emerged from obscurity, vigour arose out of the elements of weakness. The arsenals were filled, the veterans crowded to their eagles, the conscripts joyfully repaired to the frontier, la Vendée was pacified, the exchequer began to overflow. In little more than six months after Napoléon's accession, the Austrians were forced to seek refuge under the cannon of Ulm, Italy was regained, unanimity and enthusiasm prevailed among the people, and the revived energy of the nation was finally launched into the career of conquest. Changes so extraordinary cannot be explained by the influence of any one man. Great as the abilities of Napoléon undoubtedly were, they could not be equal to the Herculean task of reanimating a whole nation. It was the transition from anarchy to order, from the tyranny of demagogues to the ascendant of talent, from the weakness of popular to the vigour of military government, which was the real cause of the change. The virtuous, the able, the brave, felt that they no longer required to remain in obscurity; that democratic jealousy would not now be permitted to extinguish rising ability; financial imbecility crush patriotic exertion; private cupidity exhaust public resources; civil weakness paralyse military valour. The universal conviction that the reign of the multitude was at an end, produced the astonishing burst of talent which led to the glories of Marengo and Hohenlinden.

Causes of the disasters of the campaign to the Imperialists. III. The disastrous issue of the German campaign to the Imperialists, is not to be entirely ascribed either to the genius of Moreau, or the magnitude of the force which the first consul placed at his command. It was chiefly owing to the ruinous dispersion of the Austrian army and their obstinate adherence to the system of a cordon, when, by the concentration of their enemy's troops, it had become indispensably necessary to accumulate adequate forces on the menaced points. Kray, at the opening of the campaign, had nearly one hundred and ten thousand men at his command; but this immense force, irresistible when kept together, was so dispersed over a line above two hundred miles in length, from the Alps to the Maine, that he could not collect forty-five thousand men to resist the shock of the French centre, of nearly double that strength, at Engen or Biberach. The loss of these battles, by piercing the Allied line, compelled the whole body to fall back, and thus seventy thousand men abandoned Swabia and Franconia without firing a shot, while half their number, added to the Austrian centre, would have prevented the Republicans ever crossing the Black Forest. The brief campaign of 1813 afforded another example of the same truth; the Allied forces, quartered over all Flanders, though greatly superior, upon the whole to the army of Napoléon were inferior to their assailants, both at Ligny and Waterloo; and the intrepid daring of Wellington, joined to the devoted heroism of his troops, alone prevented in that struggle the continued disasters of Biberach and Moeskirch. The successful stand, on the other hand, made by the Austrian army when concentrated under the cannon of Ulm and the effec-

tual covering which, in that confined spot, they gave to the whole Hereditary States, affords the clearest proof of the superior efficacy of such an assembled force to any cordon, however skilfully disposed, in arresting an invading enemy. No army will ever advance into an enemy's country, leaving sixty or eighty thousand men together in their rear, for, in such a case, they are exposed to the danger of losing their communications, and being compelled, as at Marengo, to peril all upon the issue of a single battle; but nothing is easier than to make double that force, dispersed over a long line, abandon a whole frontier, by striking decisive blows with a superior force at a part of its extent. In fifteen days, the Imperial cordon was driven back, by attacks on its centre, from the Rhine to the Danube, for six weeks its concentrated force in position at Ulm, not only arrested the victor, but covered the Imperial frontier, and gained time for the revival of the spirit of the monarchy.

IV. The successful stand which Kray, with a defeated army, made against the vast forces of Moreau for six weeks, under the cannon of Ulm, demonstrates the wisdom and foresight of the Archduke Charles in fortifying, at

check which this single fortress gave to the powerful and victorious army of Moreau, suggests a doubt, whether central are not more serviceable than frontier fortifications, or, at least, whether a nation, in contemplation of invasion by a powerful and ambitious enemy, should not always be provided with some strongholds in the interior, to the shelter of which a defeated army may retire, and where it may both recruit its losses and recover its spirit. Certain it is, that it is the want of some such *points d'appui* that the sudden prostration of Austria, after the defeats of Ulm and Eckmühl, of Prussia, after that of Jena; and of France, after the disasters of 1814 and 1815, are mainly to be ascribed. But for the fortifications of Vienna, Austria, before the arrival of John Sobieski, would have been overwhelmed by the arms of Soliman; without those of Genoa, the conquest of Italy would have been complete, and the victorious Austrians grouped in irresistible strength in the plains of Piedmont before the Republican eagles appeared on the St-Bernard, and but for those of Torres Vedras, the arms of England, instead of striking down the power of France on the field of Waterloo, would have sunk, with lustre for ever tarnished into the waters of the Tagus. A mere fortified position, like that of the Drisa, to which Barclay de Tolly retired in 1812, is not sufficient; it is so intrenched camp, connected with a strong fortress, which forms the real formidable obstacle. The defeat of the Prussians, in the first attack on Warsaw in 1794, and the astonishing stand made by Shlynecki, with forty thousand regular troops, against the whole forces of the Russian empire in 1831, prove the inestimable effect of central fortresses, such as Warsaw and Modlin, in forming a nucleus to the national strength, and enabling an inconsiderable to withstand the forces of a powerful monarchy. The difference between central and frontier fortresses in this respect is great and important. The former constitute so many secure asylums, round which the national strength is agglomerated, in the last struggle for national independence, and the retreating army finds itself strengthened in the heart of the empire by the garrisons of the interior fortresses and the new levies who are disciplined within their

walls, while their fortifications form an imposing stronghold, to the siege of which the largest armies are hardly adequate: the latter prove an impassable barrier only to armies of inconsiderable magnitude; and if, by an overwhelming force, the protecting army is compelled to retire, it too often finds itself severely weakened by the great detachments doomed thereafter to useless inactivity in the frontier fortresses. When Napoléon was struck to the earth in 1814, he still held the fortresses on the Elbe and the Rhine: above a hundred thousand veteran troops were there immured, when he maintained an unequal conflict with fifty thousand in the plains of Champagne; and that which her boasted triple line of fortresses could not do for France, would have been certainly effected by an intrenched camp, like that at Ulm, on Montmartre and Belleville. The conclusion to be drawn from that is, not that frontier fortresses are totally useless and central ones are alone to be relied on, but that the combination of the two is requisite to lasting security; the former to cover the provinces and impede an inconsiderable enemy, the latter to repel those desperate strokes which are directed by a gigantic foe at the vitals of the state.

Merits of
Napoléon in
the cam-
paign.

V. The march of Napoléon across the St.-Bernard, and his consequent seizure of the Austrian line of communication, is one of the greatest conceptions of military genius, and was deservedly

crowned by the triumph of Marengo; but, in the execution of this design, he incurred unnecessary hazard (1), and all but lost his crown by the dispersion of his troops before the final struggle. The forces at his command, after he debouched on the plains of Piedmont, were, including Moncey's division, sixty thousand men; while the Imperialists by no exertions could have brought forty thousand into the field to meet them, so widely were their forces dispersed over the vast theatre of their conquests (2); whereas, when the die came to be cast on the field of Marengo, the Austrians had thirty-one thousand, and the French only twenty-nine thousand in line. This but ill accords with the principle which he himself has laid down, that the essence of good generalship consists, with equal or inferior forces, in being always superior at the point of attack. The march to Milan was the cause of this weakness; while Lannes and Victor, with twenty thousand men, struggled with an overwhelming enemy on the banks of the Bormida, twenty-nine thousand were in position or observation on the Mincio and the Po. So great a dispersion of force to secure the rear was altogether unnecessary; for, in case of disaster, the French army, after the fort of Bard had capitulated on the 1st June, could have retreated as well by the St.-Bernard and Mont Cenis, as the Simplon and St.-Gothard. A forward movement, in conjunction with Thureau, after the army, numbering forty thousand combatants, was concentrated at Ivrea on the 24th May, would have delivered Masséna, who did not capitulate till the 4th June, and added his troops, ten thousand strong, to the invading army, while Moncey, with sixteen thousand would have adequately protected the rear; and the retreat of Melas, then far advanced in the defiles of the Maritime Alps, would have been equally cut off. The astonishing consequences which followed the battle of Marengo, afford no proof that the campaign in this particular was not based on wrong principles; the same results might have been gained without the same risk; and it is not the part of a prudent general to commit to chance what may be gained by combination. Had the torrent of the Scrivia not swollen, and stopped the march of the French army on the evening of June 15; had Desaix advanced an hour

(1) Nap. i. 280.

(2) Rapport Officiel d'Autriche, Gaz. Mil. 1823.

later on the 14th, had Kellerman not opportunely charged an unsuspecting foe when concealed by luxuriant vines, had Melas not detached his cavalry to the rear to observe Suchet, the fate of the action would probably have been reversed, and Marengo been Pavia. No scruple need be felt at making these observations, even in reference to so great a commander. The military art, like every other branch of knowledge, is progressive, the achievements of one age illuminate that which succeeds it, and mediocrity can, in the end, judge of what genius only could at first conceive. A school-boy can now solve a problem, to which the minds of Thales and Archimedes alone were adequate in the commencement of geometry.

And of the Austrian commander VI If the conduct of the Austrian commander is examined, it will be found to be not less open to exception, previous to the battle of Marengo, than that of the First Consul. The desire to retain every thing, to guard at once all the points which had been gained, was the cause of a dispersion, on his part so much the more reprehensible than that of Napoleon, as, being in a conquered country, with all the fortresses in his possession, it was the less necessary. Two thousand men would have sufficed for the garrison of Tortona, as many for that of Com. The surplus troops thus acquired, with the cavalry detached to observe Suchet, would have formed a force considerably superior to the reserve of Desaix, which would have ensured the victory. Of what avail were the four thousand men in either of these fortresses the next morning, when all the strong places of Piedmont were surrendered to the enemy? Thrown into the scale when the beam quivered after the repulse of Desaix, they would have hurled Napoleon from the consular throne (1).

Prop. & y of the conven- tion of Alex- andria con- sidered. VII The conduct of the Austrian commander, during and after the battle, has been the subject of much severe animadversion from the German writers. Bulow, in particular, has charged him with having unnecessarily surrendered the fortresses of Piedmont on the following day, when he had still at command a force capable of breaking through the enemy, and regaining his communications with Mantua (2). Certain it is that Melas, whose conduct in the outset of the action is worthy of the highest praise, did not follow up his first successes so vigorously as seems to have been possible, that his detachment of cavalry to the rear was unnecessary and eminently hurtful, and it is more than probable that, if Napoleon had been in his place, Marengo would have been the theatre of as great a reverse to the Republicans as Salamanca or Vittoria. But, in agreeing to the armistice on the following day, his conduct appears less liable to exception. He had then only twenty thousand men on whom he could rely in the field, and these, with the garrisons in the Piedmontese fortresses, formed the chief defence of the Austrian possessions in Italy. His chief duty was to preserve this nucleus of veteran troops for the monarchy, and transport them from a situation where they were cut off from their communications and could be of little service to their country, to one in which they were restored to both. Perched on the Apennines, or shut up in the walls of Genoa, they would have been exposed to the whole weight of the army of reserve, which might thus have been raised, by the concentration of its forces from the rear, to forty five thousand men, besides the victorious troops of Suchet, with the garrisons of Genoa nearly twenty-five thousand more. It is doubtful whether

concentration of seventy thousand combatants, flushed with victory, and headed by Napoléon; and if they failed, disasters tenfold greater awaited the monarchy. Thirty thousand men might have been made prisoners at once, and the walls of Genoa witnessed as great a catastrophe as the heights of Ulm (1).

Inexperience of receiving battle in the oblique order. VIII. The oblique *attack*, or the attack by column coming up after column by echelon, has frequently achieved the most decisive success in war; and the victories of Leuthen by Frederic, and Salamanca by Wellington, were chiefly owing to the skilful use of that method of action. But to *receive* battle in that position is a very different matter. To do so is to expose the successive columns to be overwhelmed by a superior enemy, who, by the defeat of the first, acquires a superiority which it becomes afterwards a matter of extreme difficulty to counterbalance. The action of Montebello was an instance of the successful application and great effect of an attack in this order; the narrow escape from a catastrophe at Marengo; an example of the peril to which troops themselves attacked in such a situation are exposed. The difference between the two is important and obvious. When the attacking army advances in echelon, if it can overthrow the first column of the enemy, it throws it back upon the one in rear, which soon finds itself overpowered by a torrent of fugitives, or shaken by the sight of its comrades in disorder; while, if it is stubbornly resisted, it is soon supported by fresh troops advancing on its flank, in perfect order, to the attack. But when the troops in echelon stand still, all these advantages are reversed; the disorder created in front speedily spreads to the rear, and the successive columns, instead of coming up to the aid of an advancing, too often find themselves overwhelmed by the confusion of a retreating army (2). Napoléon was perfectly aware of these principles; he never intentionally received an attack in echelon; at Marengo, as at Eylau, he was assailed unawares in that position by the enemy, and his ultimate extrication from destruction in both battles was owing to the opportune arrival of troops, whom his first orders had removed far from the scene of action, or upon events on which no human foresight could have calculated at the commencement of the struggle.

IX. When it is recollected that Abercromby's corps, twelve thousand strong; lay inactive at port Mahon in Minorca during this interesting and important crisis, big as the event proved with the fate not only of the campaign but of the war, it is impossible not to feel the most poignant regret at its absence from the scene of action; or to avoid the reflection, that England at that period partook too much of the tardiness of her Saxon ancestors; and that, like Athelstane the Unready, she was never ready to strike till the period for successful action had passed. What would have been the result if this gallant force had been added to the Imperialists during their desperate strife around Genoa, or thrown into the scale, when victory was so doubtful, to meet the troops of Kellermann and Desaix at Marengo! When it is recollected what these very men accomplished in the following year, when opposed to an equal force of Napoléon's veterans on the sands of Alexandria, it is impossible to doubt that their addition to the Allied forces in Italy at this juncture would in all probability have been attended with decisive effects. But, notwithstanding all this, it is impossible to say that the British government were to blame for this apparently inexcusable inactivity of so important a

(1) Rap. Off. d'Autriche, 1823, Mém. du Dép. de la Guerre, iv. 337, 339.

(2) Jom. Niii. 271, 272.

reserve. The equality of force at Marengo, it must always be recollected, was not only unforeseen, but could not have been calculated upon by any degree of foresight. At the outset of the campaign the Imperialists were not only victorious, but greatly superior to their antagonists in Italy; and even after Napoleon and the formidable army of reserve were thrown into the balance, their advantage was so marked, that, but for a ruinous and unnecessary dispersion of force, they must have crushed him on that well-contested field. In these circumstances, no crisis in which their co-operation was likely to be attended with important consequences was to be anticipated in the north of Italy; there was no apparent call upon them to alter the direction of a force destined for important operations either on the shores of Provence or on the banks of the Nile; and the British historian must therefore absolve the English government from any serious blame in this matter, however much he may lament the absence of a band of veterans stationed so near the scene of action, which was adequate, as the event proved, to have turned the scales of fortune and altered the destinies of the world.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CAMPAIGN OF HOHENLINDEN.

FROM THE ARMISTICE OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE PEACE OF LUNEVILLE.

JUNE, 1800—FEB. 1801.

ARGUMENT.

Universal joy in France at the victory of Marengo—Treaty previously signed between Austria and England—Good faith of the Imperial Government in adhering to it—Count St.-Julien arrives at Paris and signs preliminaries, which are disavowed by the Imperial Cabinet—Negotiations with England for an armistice, which fail from the unreasonable demands of France—Conspiracy to assassinate Napoleon—Preparations of France for a renewal of hostilities—And of Austria—But Russia and Prussia keep aloof from the contest—English expedition under Sir James Pulteney fails at Ferrol—And from dread of the plague declines to attack Cadiz—Surrender of Malta to the British blockading squadron—Affairs of Italy—Election of Pope Pius VII at Venice—Hostility of Naples and insurrection of Piedmont against France—The French crush the insurrection in the Tuscan States with great cruelty—Leghorn is seized and the English merchandise confiscated—Last remnant of Swiss independence is destroyed—Capture of Surinam and Demerara by the English squadrons—Permanent incorporation of the Netherlands with France—Description of the hue of the Inn—Project of the Imperialists—Hostilities on the Lower Rhine—The Austrians advance into Pavia—Movements of Moreau—Great success of the Austrians in the outset—French retire to Hohenlinden—Description of the field of battle—Able plans of Moreau—Battle of Hohenlinden—Dreadful struggle at the entrance of the Forest—Decisive charge of Richempanse—The Austrian line of communication is intercepted—Great victory gained by the French—Its prodigious consequences—Merit of Moreau in gaining it—The Austrians retire behind the Inn—Skillful manœuvre by which the passage of that river was effected by Moreau—Rapid advance of the French towards Salzburg—They are defeated by the Austrian Cavalry in front of that town—But the Imperialists are nevertheless obliged to retire—Moreau pushes on towards Vienna—Great successes gained by his advanced guard—The Archduke joins the army, but cannot arrest the disaster—An armistice is agreed to—Operations of the army on the Main—And in the Grisons—Designs of Napoleon there—Description of the ridges to be surmounted—Napoleon's design for the passage of that mountain—Preparations of Macdonald for crossing it—Description of the passage of the Splügen—Extreme difficulties experienced by the French troops in the passage—Hervism of Macdonald in persisting notwithstanding—He arrives at Chiavenna, on the Lake of Como—Unworthy jealousy of this passage displayed by Napoleon—He is placed under the orders of Fune—Difficult passage of the Col Apriga—Attack on the Mont Tonol—In which the French are repulsed—Positions and forces of the French and Austrians in Italy—First operations of Brune—Passage of the Mincio—Desperate conflict of the troops who had passed over—Brune at length relieves them, and the passage is completed—Great losses of the Imperialists—Bellegarde retires to Caldiero—Advance of the Republicans in the valley of the Adige—Alarming situation of Laudon on the Upper Adige—Macdonald makes his way into the Italian Tyrol—Laudon is surrounded at Trent—He escapes by a lateral path to Bassano—Bellegarde retires to Bassano and Treviso—Armistice concluded at the latter place—Insurrection breaks out in Piedmont—Neapolitans invade the Roman states, and are totally defeated—Queen of Naples flies to St.-Petersburg to implore the aid of Paul—Napoleon willingly yields to his intercession—Peace between France and Naples at Foligno—Its conditions—French take possession of the whole Neapolitan territories—Siege of Elba—Its gallant defence by the English garrison—Treaty of Lunéville—The Emperor subscribes for the empire as well as Austria—Extravagant joy excited by this peace at Paris—Important consequences of this treaty on the internal situation of Germany—Reflections on this campaign—The real object of the war was already gained by the Allies—Evidence of Napoleon's implacable hostility to England—Increasing and systematic pillage of the people by the Republican armies—Symptoms of patriotic and general resistance spring up.

FRANCE soon experienced the beneficial results of the triumphs in Italy and the successes in Germany. More passionately desirous than any other

Universal joy in France at the victory of Marengo
 people in Europe of military glory, its citizens received with the utmost enthusiasm the accounts of their victories, and the angry passions of the Revolution, worn out by suffering, willingly turned into joyful comparison of their present triumphs with the disasters which had preceded the return of the first consul. The battle of Marengo fixed Napoleon on the consular throne. The Jacobins of Paris, the Royalists of the west, were alike overwhelmed by that auspicious event, and two English expeditions, which appeared, as usual too late, on the coast of Brittany and la Vendée, under Sir Edward Pellew and Sir James Pulteney (1), were unable to rouse the inhabitants to resistance against the triumphant authority of the capital.

Two days before intelligence was received of the battle of Marengo, a treaty for the further prosecution of the war had been signed at Vienna, between Austria and Great Britain. By this convention it was provided, that within three months England was to pay to Austria a loan of £2,000,000 sterling, to bear no interest during the continuance of the war, and that neither of the high contracting parties should make any separate peace with the enemy, during the period of one year from its date (2).

The disastrous intelligence of the defeat at Marengo, and the armistice of Alexandria, followed up as it soon was by similar and still more pressing calamities in Germany, could not shake the firmness or good faith of the Austrian cabinet. The inflexible Thugut, who then presided over its councils, opposed to all the representations with which he was assailed, as to the perils of the monarchy, the treaty recently concluded with Great Britain, and the disgrace which would attach to the Imperial government if, on the first appearance of danger, engagements of such long endurance and so solemnly entered into were to be abandoned. Nor did the situation of affairs justify any such desponding measures. If the battle of Marengo had lost Piedmont to the allied powers, the strength of the Imperial army was still unbroken, it had exchanged a disadvantageous offensive position in the Ligurian mountains for an advantageous defensive one on the frontiers of Lombardy, the canon of Mantua, so formidable to France in 1796, still remained to arrest the progress of the victor, and the English forces of Abercromby, joined to the Neapolitan troops and the Imperial divisions in Ancona and Tuscany, would prove too formidable a body on the right flank of the Republicans to permit any considerable advance towards the Hereditary States. Nor were affairs by any means desperate in Germany. The advance of Moreau into Bavaria, while Ulm and Ingolstadt were unreduced, was a perilous measure, the line of the Inn furnished a defensive frontier not surpassed by any in Europe, flanked on one side by the mountains of Tyrol, and on the other by the provinces of Bohemia, both in the possession of the Imperial forces, the strength of the monarchy would be more strongly felt, and reinforcements more readily obtained, when the enemy approached its frontiers, and the ancient patriotism of the inhabitants were called forth by the near approach of danger, and the disastrous issue of the campaign of 1796 to the Republican forces proved how easy was the transition from an unsupported advance to a ruinous retreat. Finally, the treaty of Campo Formio had only been signed after a whole campaign of disasters, and when the standards of France were almost within sight of Vienna, and it would be disgraceful to

(1) Ann. Reg. 1800, 212, 213. See also 1800, 213.

(2) Ann. Reg. 1800, 211. State Papers.

subscribe the same conditions when the Imperial banners were still on the Mincio, or lose the fruits of a long series of triumphs in the terror produced by a single misfortune (1).

Count St.-Julien arrives at Paris, and signs preliminaries.

Influenced by these considerations, the Austrian cabinet resolved to gain time; and if they could not obtain tolerable terms of peace, run all the hazards of a renewal of the war. Count St.-Julien arrived at Paris on the 21st July, as plenipotentiary on the part of Austria, bearing a letter from the Emperor, in which he stated: "You will give credit to every thing which Count St.-Julien shall say on my part, and I will ratify whatever he shall do." In virtue of these powers, preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris in a few days by the French and Austrian ministers. The "treaty of Campo Formio was taken as the basis of the definitive pacification, unless where changes had become necessary; it was provided that the frontier of the Rhine should belong to France, and the indemnities stipulated for Austria by the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio were to be given in Italy instead of Germany (2)."

Which are disavowed by the Imperial cabinet.

As this treaty was signed by Count St.-Julien in virtue of the letter from the Emperor only, and without an exchange of full powers, it was provided that "these preliminary articles shall be ratified, and that they shall not bind their respective governments till after the ratification." The cabinet of Vienna availed themselves of this clause to avoid the ratification of these preliminary articles, in subscribing which their plenipotentiary had not entered into the views of his government. He was accordingly recalled, and the refusal to ratify notified on the 15th August, the appointed time, by Count Lehrbach, accompanied, however, by an intimation of the wish of the Imperial cabinet to make peace, of the treaty which bound them not to do so without the concurrence of Great Britain, and of the readiness of the latter power to enter into negotiations, on authority of a letter from Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Vienna, to Baron Thugut (3).

Negotiations with England for an armistice.

Napoléon either was, or affected to be, highly indignant at the refusal by Austria to ratify the preliminaries, and he immediately gave notice of the termination of the armistice on the 10th September, and sent orders for the second army of reserve, which was organizing at Dijon, to enter Switzerland on the 5th of that month, and ordered Augereau, with eighteen thousand men from Holland, to take a position on the Lahn, in order to co-operate with the extreme left of Moreau's army. But he soon returned to more moderate sentiments, and dispatched full powers to M. Otto, who resided at London as agent for the exchange of prisoners, to conclude a *naval armistice* with Great Britain. The object of this proposal, hitherto unknown in European diplomacy, was to obtain the means, during the negotiations, of throwing supplies into Egypt and Malta, the first of which stood greatly in need of assistance, while the latter was at the last extremity from the vigilant blockade maintained for nearly two years by the British cruisers (4).

No sooner was this proposal received by the English government, than they proceeded to signify their anxious desire to be included in the general pacification, and proposed, for this purpose, that passports should be forwarded for Lord Grenville's brother to proceed, in the character of plenipotentiary of Great Britain, to the congress at Lunéville; but they declined

(1) Jom. xiv, 7, 8.

(2) 28th July, 1800. State Papers, Ann. Reg. 180, 278.

(3) Dum. v. 8, 9. Nap. ii. 2, 3.

(4) Parl. iii. xxv, 510, 542. Jom. xiv. 3, 4. Dum. 9, 10. Ann. Reg. 1800, 211.

to agree to a naval armistice, as a thing totally unknown, till the preliminaries of peace had been signed. Napoleon, however, resolutely bent on saving Malta and Egypt, continued to insist on the immediate adoption of a naval armistice as a *sine qua non*, and signified that, unless it was agreed to before the 11th September, he would recommence hostilities both in Italy and Germany (1).

The urgency of the case, and the imminent danger which Austria would run, if the war were renewed on the continent at so early a period, induced the cabinet of London to forego the advantages which a declination of the proposals of the First Consul promised to afford to the maritime interests of Great Britain. On the 7th September, therefore, they presented to M. Otto a counter project for the general suspension of hostilities between the belligerent powers. By this it was proposed that an armistice should take place by sea and land, during which the ocean was to be open to the navigation of trading vessels of both nations, Malta and the harbours of Egypt were to be put on the same footing as Ulm, Philipsburgh, and Ingolstadt, by the armistice of Parsdorf, that is to say, they were to be provisioned for fourteen days, from time to time, during the dependence of the negotiation. The blockade of Brest and the maritime ports was to be raised, but the British squadrons were to remain on their stations off their mouths, and ships of war were not to be permitted to sail. Nothing could be more equitable towards France, or generous towards Austria, than these propositions. They compensated the recent disasters of the Imperialists by land with concessions by the British at sea, where they had constantly been victorious, and had nothing to fear, they placed the blockaded fortresses which the French retained on the ocean, on the same footing with those which the Imperialists still held in the centre of Germany, and abandoned to the vanquished on one element those advantages of a free navigation, which they could not obtain by force of arms, in consideration of the benefits accruing from a prolongation of the armistice to their allies on another (2).

Napoleon, however, insisted upon a condition which ultimately proved fatal to the negotiation. This was, that the French ships of the line only should be confined to their ports, but that frigates should have free liberty of egress, and that six vessels of that description should be allowed to go from Toulon to Alexandria without being visited by the English cruisers. He has told us in his "Memoirs" what he intended to have done with these frigates. They were to be armed *en flûte*, and to have carried out three thousand six hundred troops, besides great military stores, to Alexandria. What rendered this condition peculiarly unreasonable was, that at the moment (20th September) when M. Otto declared to the British Government that the condition as to these frigates was a *sine qua non* for the continuation of the negotiation, he addressed to Moreau

20th Sept.
Which fail
from the
unreason-
able de-
mands of
France

made a condition for the preservation of the maritime blockaded fortresses a *sine qua non* with the British Government, he made the immediate cessation of the corresponding blockaded ones on the continent an indispensable condition of a continuation of the armistice with the Austrian Cabinet. In these simultaneous propositions is to be seen little of that spirit of moderation

(1) Parl. Hist. xxv. 545, 546. Hans. v. 19. 11
Ann. Reg. 1800

(2) Earl D. xxv. p. 331, 332. Hans. v. 11. 12.
Ann. Reg. 1800. 215

which he so loudly professed, but much of that inflexible desire for aggrandisement, which so long was attended with success, but ultimately occasioned his ruin (1).

The Imperialists, with the dagger at their throats, were in no condition to resist the demands of the victor. A new convention was therefore concluded ^{28th Sept.} at Hohenlinden, on the 28th September, by which the cession of the three German fortresses was agreed to, and the armistice was prolonged for forty-five days. A similar convention, signed at Castiglione a few days afterwards, extended the armistice for the same period to the Italian peninsula (2).

The English Government, however, was under no such necessity; and as ^{9th Oct.} Napoléon peremptorily refused to abandon his condition as to despatching six frigates to Egypt, the negotiation was broken off, the Cabinet of the Tuileries having declared that they would treat only with each of the two courts separately. This was equivalent to its total abandonment, as both the allied powers had intimated to France, that they were bound by the recent convention to treat only in concert with each other (3).

^{8th Oct.} No sooner was it evident that Great Britain would not consent to the demands of the first consul, than he resolved to prosecute the war with vigour against Austria. On the 8th October, accordingly, the portfolio of the war office was put into the hands of Carnot, with instructions to redouble his exertions to put all the armies immediately on a footing to resume hostilities. On the same day on which this took place, a plot to assassinate Napoléon at the opera was discovered by the police; Ceracchi and Demerville, the leaders of the conspiracy, and both determined Jacobins, were arrested and executed. It originated in the remains of the democratic faction, and served to increase the already formed exasperation of the first consul at that party (4).

^{Preparations of France for a renewal of hostilities.} During the interval of hostilities, both parties made the most indefatigable efforts to put their armies on a respectable footing, and prepare for a vigorous prosecution of the war. A corps of fifteen thousand men was formed at Dijon, under the name of the second army of reserve, the command of which was intrusted to General Macdonald, already well known by his campaigns in Naples, and the battle of the Trebbia. The official reports gave out that it was to consist of thirty thousand, and even Macdonald himself was led to believe it amounted to that force; the object in spreading this delusion was to augment the troops, which the Austrians, recollecting what the first army of reserve had effected, would deem it necessary to watch his operations. It was destined to penetrate through the Grisons into the Tyrol, and threaten the flank of the Imperialists either in Italy or Germany, as circumstances might render advisable. Another army, 20,000 strong, was assembled, under Augereau, on the Maine; it was intended to advance along the course of that river to Wurtzburg, and threaten Bohemia, so as to prevent the troops in that province from undertaking any thing against the flanks or rear of the grand army under Moreau in Bavaria. That army was raised to above 110,000 men, all in the highest state of discipline and equipment; the soldiers were all newly clothed, the artillery and cavalry remounted, and all the *matériel* in the finest possible state; the Republic had never, since the commencement of the war, had on foot an army so perfect in its composition, so admirably organized, and so completely furnished with all the appointments requisite for carrying on a campaign. The army of Italy

(1) Parl. His. xxxv. 566, 583. Nap. ii. 8, 9. Dum.
v. 12, 14. Ann. Reg. 1800, 215.

(2) Jom. xiv. 15.

(3) Dum. v. 13, 14. Nap. ii. 9.

(4) Jom. xiv. 24.

was reinforced to 80,000 men; its cavalry and artillery were in an especial manner augmented, and, besides these great forces, a reserve of 10,000 chosen troops was formed at Amiens, to watch the movements of the English expeditions, and which, as soon as they proceeded to the coast of Spain, was moved to the south to support the army of Italy or the Grisons. In all, the Republic had 240,000 men in the field, ready for active operations (1); and besides this, there was nearly an equal force in Egypt, Malta, in the depôts of the interior, or stationed along the coasts.

And of Austria,
 of England. Never on any former occasion, and
 habitants shone forth with more lustre, nor all ranks co-operated with more enthusiastic zeal, in the measures for the common defence. No sooner was it announced, by the refusal of Napoleon to treat with either court separately, that peace was no longer to be hoped for, than the generous flame, like an

 himself at the head of the army, and actually repaired to the lun for that purpose. His presence excited to the highest degree the spirit of the people

 to that accomplished prince a helmet set with magnificent jewels. These warlike measures excited the utmost enthusiasm among all classes; the peasantry every where flew to arms; the nobles vied with each other in the equipment of *regiments* of horse, or the contribution of large sums of money; every town and village resounded with the note of military preparation. But unfortunately the jealousy, or erroneous views of the Aulic Council, were but ill calculated to turn to the best account this general burst of patriotic spirit; the Archduke
 wishes of the army,
 head the forces on t
 the government of Bohemia. Aray, whose talents at Ulm had so long arrested the progress of disaster, was dismissed to his estates in Hungary, while the command of his army was given to the Archduke John, a young man of great promise and thorough military education, but whose inexperience, even

obtained from Bavaria, the cession of Philippsburgh, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, had rendered disposable 18,000 more; and the recruits from the interior amounted to 13,000 men. These additions had so far counterbalanced the heavy losses sustained during the campaign by sickness, fatigue, and the sword, that the Imperialists could reckon upon 110,000 effective men on the lun, to defend the frontiers of the Hereditary States. But this great force, after the usual system of the Austrians, was weakened by the vast extent of country over which it was spread. The right, 27,000 strong, occupied Ratisbon and the

(1) Sep. xi. 20, 21 Dec. v [6, 17. Jan. xiv. (2) Dec. v 21, 27, 30, 31 Jan. xiv. 13, 11
 63, 65

Palatinate; the left, consisting of 18,000 men, under Hiller, was stationed in the German Tyrol: so that not more than 60,000 combatants could be relied on to maintain the important line of the Inn. In Italy, Field-marshal Bellegarde had 100,000 under his command, but they too were weakened by the immense line they had to defend; 15,000 were in the Italian Tyrol, under Davidowich; 10,000 in Ancona and Tuscany; 20,000 were formed of the Neapolitan troops, who could be little relied on: so that, for the decisive shock on the Mincio, not more than 60,000 effective men could be assembled (1).

But Russia and Prussia kept aloof. Nor was the Imperial Cabinet less active in its endeavours to awaken the northern powers to a sense of the dangers which menaced them, from the great abilities and evident ambition of the first consul. Special envoys were despatched to St.-Petersburg and Berlin to endeavour to rouse the Russian and Prussian cabinets into activity, but in vain. Frederick William persisted in the system of neutrality which he had so long pursued, and was destined so bitterly to expiate; and the Emperor Paul, intent upon his newly-acquired ideas of the freedom of the seas, refused to embroil himself with France, and in the pursuit of the imaginary vision of maritime independence, fixed upon Europe the real evils of territorial slavery. He retained a hundred and twenty thousand men inactive, under Katusorff and Count Pahlen, on the frontiers of Lithuania, who, if thrown into the scale at this critical moment, might have righted the balance when it was beginning to decline, and saved Russia from the rout of Austerlitz and the conflagration of Moscow (2).

It is painful to be obliged to add, that the military efforts of England, though intended to follow out the true spirit of the alliance, were not better calculated to aid the common cause. On the 4th June an attack was made on the forts in Quiberon bay, by the squadron under the command of Sir Edward Pellew; but after gaining a trifling success, and dismantling the fortifications, they embarked without making any permanent impression.

English expedition of Sir James Pulteney fails at Ferrol. July 8. Early in July a secret expedition, under the command of Sir James Pulteney, consisting of eight thousand men, sailed for the coast of France. It first appeared off Belle-Isle; but as the strong works on that island rendered any attack a difficult enterprise, it shortly made sail from the coast of France, and landed in the neighbourhood of Ferrol. After two skirmishes, in which the Spaniards were defeated, the British took possession of the heights which overlook the harbour, and every thing promised the immediate reduction of that important fortress, with the

Sept. 18. fleet within its walls, when the English commander, intimidated by the rumour of reinforcements having reached the town, withdrew his forces, and made sail for Gibraltar, where Abercromby, with the expedition which had so long lain inactive at Port Mahon, awaited his arrival (3).

And from dread of the plague, declines to attack Cadiz. The union of two squadrons, having on board above twenty thousand English troops, in the straits of Gibraltar, excited the utmost alarm through the whole Peninsula. This armament, the greatest which had yet sailed from the British shores during the whole war, menaced alike Carthage, Seville and Cadiz. Reinforcements from all quarters were hastily directed to the lines of St.-Roch in front of Gibraltar; vessels were sunk at the entrance of the harbour of Cadiz, and all the means adopted which could be thought of to repel the threatened attack. The British com-

(1) Nap. ii. 19, 20. Jom. xiv. 72, 73. Dum. v. 20, 21. (3) Ann. Reg. 1800, 212, 213. Jom. xiv. 46, 47. Dum. v. 42.

(2) Dum. v. 21, 22. Jom. xiv. 23, 24.

manders, instead of making sail, the moment they arrived, for the isle of St Leon, lay above a fortnight inactive in the straits of Gibraltar, and at Oct 3 length appeared off Cadiz on the 5th October. Never was a more formidable armament assembled; the naval forces consisted of twenty sail of the line, twenty-seven frigates, and eighty-four transports, having on board above twenty thousand foot soldiers. As far as the eye could reach, the ocean was covered by the innumerable sails of the British armada, which seemed destined to revenge upon Spain the terrors of the celebrated armament which had been baffled by the firmness of Elizabeth. Noways intimidated by the formidable spectacle, the Spanish governor wrote a touching letter to the British commanders, in which he adjured them not to add to the calamities which already overwhelmed the inhabitants from an epidemic which carried off several hundreds of persons daily. They replied, that the town would not be attacked if the ships of war were delivered up; and as this was not acceded to, preparations were made for landing the troops, but before they could debark, the accounts, received of the yellow fever within its walls were so serious, that the British commanders apprehended that if the city were taken, the ulterior objects of the expedition might be frustrated by the effect of the contagion among the troops, and withdrew from the infected isle to the straits of Gibraltar (4).

But while the honour of the British arms was tarnished by the failure of such mighty forces on the western coast of Europe, an event of the utmost importance to the future progress of the maritime war occurred in the Mediterranean. Malta, which for above two years had been closely blockaded by the British forces by land and sea, began, in the course of this summer, to experience the pangs of hunger. Two frigates sailed from the harbour in the end of August with part of the garrison, one of which was speedily taken by the British cruisers. At length, all their means of subsistence having been exhausted, a capitulation was entered into in the middle of September, in virtue of which the French were to be conveyed as

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

British dominions (2)

The hopes of the Imperial cabinet, in the event of a renewal of the war, were not a little founded on the hostile attitude of the south, the arrival of the English expeditionary force, and the degree of consistency. Pius VI. died in captivity in France, and died in

March of this year. The choice of the Roman Conclave, assembled, under the Imperial influence, at Venice, fell on the Cardinal Chiaramonte, who assumed the tiara, under the title of Pius VII. At the same time when he ascended the Papal throne the inhabitants of Rome were suffering severely under the exactions of the Neapolitans, and he wisely resolved to do his utmost to alleviate their misfortunes. Without, therefore, engaging openly in the war, he lent a willing ear to the propositions which the first consul, who was extremely desirous of the support of the supreme pontiff, instantly made to him. But the other parts of Italy were in the most hostile state. A body of ten thousand Neapolitans had taken a position on the Tronto between the Upper

(1) Ann Reg 1800 216 Johm xiv, 47, 48. Danc.
lx 317 317

(2) Ann Eng 2100, 215, John 214, 12, 11 Tot.
14 12 50

Hostility of
Naples, and
insurrections
in Piedmont
against
France.

Abruzzo and the march of Ancona; a Neapolitan division, under Count Roger de Damas, was in the Roman states; Piedmont, in consternation at the recent annexation of the Novarese territory to the Cisalpine republic, and the innumerable oppressions of the French armies, was in so agitated a state, that a spark might blow it into open combustion; while the peasants of Tuscany, in open insurrection to support the Imperial cause, presented a tumultuary array of seven or eight thousand men. These hands, it is true, were little formidable to regular troops in the field; but as long as they continued in arms, they required to be watched by detachments, which diminished the strength of the army; and it was one of the motives which induced Napoleon to accede to the prolongation of the armistice with Austria, that it would give him time, during its continuance, to clear his flank of these troublesome irregulars (1).

The French
crush the
Tuscan
states with
great
cruelty.

As the armistice, by a strange oversight, did not extend to the Italian powers, and the English expedition was detained in useless demonstrations on the coast of Spain, it was no difficult matter for the French troops to effect this object. General Sommariva, to whom

the Grand Duke of Tuscany had intrusted the military forces of his states, was rapidly proceeding with the organization of the peasants in the Apennines, when Dupont, early in October, intimated to him, that unless the insurrection was forthwith disbanded, he would move against Tuscany with a formidable force. As these summonses met with no attention, the French troops advanced in great force, in three columns. After a vain attempt to defend the Apennines, Florence was occupied on the 15th. The Austrians, under Sommariva, retired towards Ancona, and the greater part of the insurgents retired to Arezzo, where they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. An attempt to force open the gates having failed, the French General Mennier made preparations for a general assault, which took place on the following morning at five o'clock. Nothing could resist the impetuosity of the French columns; the grenadiers mounted the scaling ladders amidst a shower of balls; quickly they made themselves masters of the rampart, and chasing the unhappy peasants from house to house, and street to street, soon filled the town with conflagration and carnage. The slaughter was dreadful; a few escaped by subterraneous passages, and made good their flight into the country; others retired into the citadel, which was soon obliged to surrender at discretion, and was razed to the ground; but by far the greater number perished in the town, under the sword of an irritated and relentless victor (2).

Leghorn is
seized, and
the English
merchandise
confiscated.

This bloody stroke proved fatal to the Tuscan insurrection. The fugitives who escaped the carnage, spread far and wide the most dismal accounts of the fate of their unhappy comrades, and the peasants, thunderstruck with the rapidity and severity of the blow, lost no time in deprecating the wrath of an enemy who appeared irresistible. Sommariva, fettered by the armistice with Austria, retired entirely from the Tuscan states, and the inhabitants, left to their own means of defence, had no resource but in immediate submission. A strong division was immediately despatched to Leghorn, which entered the place without opposition, and after the barbarous method of carrying on war now adopted by the first consul, instantly confiscated the whole English property in the harbour and town. Forty-six vessels, with their cargoes, besides 750,000 quintals of wheat

(1) Bot. iv. 40, 50. Dum. v. 62, 63. Nap. ii. 11. Jom. xiv. 141, 142.

(2) Bot. iv. 50, 55. Dum. v. 67, 68. Jom. xiv. 144, 145. Nap. ii. 18, 19.

and barley, and 90,000 quintals of dried vegetables, were thus obtained for the use of the army, an acquisition of great importance to its future operations (1); but which, like all other ill-gotten gains, in the end recoiled upon the heads of those who acquired them, and contributed to form that deep and universal hatred at the French dominion, which at length precipitated Napoleon from the throne.

Oct 16. At the same period the Swiss, whose divisions and democratic transports had exposed their country to the severities of Republican conquest, were doomed to drain to the dregs the cup of misery and humiliation. The shadow even of their independence vanished before the armed intervention of the first consul. The numerous insurrections of the peasants against the enormous requisitions of the Republican agents; the obstinate resistance of the partizans of the ancient constitutions; the general anarchy and dissolution of government which prevailed, loudly called

ted his orders; a declaration which at once brought the whole country under the immediate sway of the central government at the Tuileries (2).

Capture of The English in the course of this year made themselves masters of Surinam, Berbice, St.-Eustache, and Demerara, Dutch settlements on the mainland and in the islands of the West Indies. At the same time Napoleon published an edict, permanently incorporating the provinces acquired by the Republic on the left bank of the Rhine, and extending the French laws and institutions to these valuable acquisitions. Thus, while England was extending its mighty arms over both hemispheres (3), France was laying its iron grasp on the richest and most important provinces of Europe. The strife could not be other than desperate between two such powers.

25th Nov Such was the state of Europe when the armistice of Hohenlinden was denounced by the first consul, and hostilities recommenced at all points in the end of November.

Description Had the Aulic Council determined to remain on the defensive, no of the line line was more capable of opposing an obstinate resistance to the invader than that of the Inn. That river, which does not yield to the Rhine either in the impetuosity or the volume of waters which it rolls towards the Danube, meanders in the Tyrol, as far as Kufstein, between inaccessible ridges of mountains, whose sides, darkened with pine forests, are surmounted by bare peaks, occasionally streaked, even in the height of summer, with snow. From thence to Muhlendorf it flows in a deep bed, cut by the vehemence of the torrent through solid rock, whose sides present a series of perpendicular precipices on either bank, excepting only in a few well-known points, which were strongly guarded, and armed with cannon. This powerful line, supported on the left by the fortress of Kufstein, and on the right by that of Braunau, both of which were in a formidable state of defence, was flanked on either side by two immense bastions, equally menacing to an invading enemy, the one formed by the Tyrol, with its warlike and devoted population and inaccessible mountains, the other by Bohemia and the chain of the Bohmerwald, which shuts the Danube from Lantz to Straubing, where the Archduke Charles was organizing a numerous body of forces (4).

(1) Dum. v 62 Nap. it. 18 Jom. xiv, 143, 145

(2) Dum. v 71

(3) Dum. v 21 25

(4) Personal observations, Jom. x 72 76. Dum. v 32 Nap. it. 27.

Had the Austrians, headed by the Archduke Charles, remained on the defensive in this strong position, it is probable that all the disasters of the campaign would have been avoided. It was next to impossible to force such a central line, defended by eighty thousand men, under the direction of that great commander; while to attempt to turn it, either by the Tyrol or Bohemia, would have been equally perilous. To detach thirty thousand men into the defiles leading into Bohemia would have been imminently hazardous, when so large a force threatened the centre of the invader; while a similar movement into the Tyrol, besides being attended with the same danger, would have incurred the hazard of being defeated by the Prince of Reuss, who occupied the impregnable passes and fortresses which guarded the entrance into that difficult country. But from these difficulties the French were relieved by the resolution of the Imperialists to cross the Inn, and carry the war vigorously into the heart of Bavaria, a project which might have led to victory if conducted by the experience and ability of the Archduke Charles, but terminated in nothing but disaster in the hands of his brave but inexperienced successor (1).

Project of the Imperialists. Although the offensive movement of the Imperialists led to such calamitous results, it was skilfully combined, and promised in the outset the most brilliant success. The Republican right, under Lecourbe, stretched through the Voralberg mountains to Feldkirch in the Tyrol; the centre, under Moreau in person, was in position at Ebersberg, on the high road leading from Munich to Haag; the left, commanded by Grenier, was stationed at Hohenlinden, on the road to Muhlendorf. The project of the Imperialists was to detach Klenau from Ratisbon towards Landshut, where he was to be joined by Keimmayor with twenty thousand men (2); meanwhile the centre was to advance by echellons towards Hohenlinden, and bear the weight of their forces on the Republican left, where the least resistance might be expected.

24th Nov. Hostilities were commenced by Augereau, who was at the head of the Gallo-Batavian army. He denounced the armistice four days before his colleagues, and advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men, from Frankfort by the course of the Main towards Wurtzburg. Though the Imperial forces in that quarter were nearly equal to his own, they opposed but a feeble resistance, from being composed chiefly of the troops recently levied in Bohemia and the states of Mayence, little calculated to resist the French veterans. After a slight combat, the Imperialists were repulsed at all points; the Baron Albin, after an ephemeral success at Aschaffenburg, was driven with loss out of that town and forced back to Schweinfurth, while Dumonceau pushed on to Wurtzburg, and summoned the garrison, which shut itself in the citadel. The first effect of these disasters was to dissolve the insurrectionary troops of Mayence under Albin, who never appeared again during the campaign. The Austrian general Simbschen, reduced by this defection to thirteen thousand men, took a position at 3d Dec. Bourg-Eberach to cover Bamberg; he was there attacked on the following day by Augereau, and after an obstinate conflict driven back to Pommersfeld. Satisfied with this success, the French general established his troops behind the Regnitz to await the fall of the citadel of Wurtzburg, which Dumonceau was beginning to besiege in regular form (3). These advantages were much more important upon the issue of the campaign than might have

(1) Join. xiv. 76.

(2) Join. xiv. 79. Dum. v. 96, 97.

(3) Dum. v. 85, 97, 81, 85.

ii. 97. Join. xiv.

been supposed from the quality and numbers of the troops engaged; for by clearing the extreme left of Moreau they permitted him to draw his left wing, under Sante Suzanne, nearer to his centre, and reinforce the grand army on the Inn, in the precise quarter where it was menaced by the Imperialists.

2 11th Nov
The Aus-
trians ad-
vanced into
Bavaria Meanwhile, operations of the most decisive importance had taken place on the Inn. On the 27th November the Imperialists broke up to execute their intended concentration on the right towards Landshut; but the heavy rains which fell at that time retarded considerably the march of their columns; and it was not till the 29th that their advanced guard reached that place. At the same time Moreau concentrated his forces in the centre, and advanced by Haag towards Ampfing and Muhlendorf. Fearful of continuing his flank movement in presence of a powerful enemy, who threatened to fall perpendicularly on his line of march, the archduke arrested his columns, and ran the hazard of a general battle on the direct road to Munich. They accordingly, on the 30th, retraced their steps, and moved through cross roads towards Ampfing and Dorfen. This lateral movement performed amidst torrents of rain, and in dreadful roads, completed the exhaustion of the Austrian troops, but it led, in the first instance to the most promising results (1).

Move-
ments of
Moreau By a singular accident, Moreau had heard nothing of the advance of the Imperialists towards Landshut, far less of their cross movement to Ampfing; but some confused accounts had merely reached the Republican head-quarters of considerable assemblages of the enemy towards Muhlendorf, and the French general, desirous to explore his way, pushed forward strong reconnoitring parties in that direction. His right occupied

The effect of this state of things, and of the able manœuvre of the archduke, speedily shewed itself. The French army, turned and out-generated, was exposed to be cut up in detail, while separated in a line of march by an enemy

Dec 1 drawn up in battle array on one of its flanks. Grenier, who was the first in advance, was leisurely approaching Ampfing, when he was suddenly assailed by vast masses of the enemy, in admirable order and battle array; he was speedily thrown into confusion, and put to the rout. In vain

Great suc-
cess of the
Austrians
in the out-
let. Ney displayed all his talent and resolution to sustain the weight of the Imperial columns; his troops, after a brave resistance, were broken and driven back upon the division of Grandjean, while that

of Hardy,

time Legr.

to fall back to the neighbourhood of Munich, where successful. They had attacked, in compact and regular masses, the enemy's divisions while in march and separated, and spread alarm and discouragement from the general's tent to the sentinels' outposts (2).

French re-
tire to Il-
sen So far the most brilliant success had attended the Austrian advance, and if it had been vigorously followed up by a general capable of appreciating the immense advantages which it offered, and forcing back the enemy's retreating columns without intermission upon those which

(1) Journ. xiv 85, 87 Dum. v 102, 105.

3 Journ. xiv, 50, 51; Nap. i 30, 31 Dum. v.

(2) Nap. ii 30. Journ. xiv, 88, 90 Dum. v. 106. 107, 108.

came up to their support, it might have led to the total defeat of the French army, and changed the whole fortune of the campaign. But the Archduke John, satisfied with this first advantage, allowed the enemy to recover from their consternation. On the following day no forward movement was made, and Moreau, skilfully availing himself of that respite, retired through the forest of Hohenlinden to the ground which he had originally occupied, and carefully studied as the probable theatre of a decisive conflict (1).

Description of the field of battle. The space which lies between the Inn and the Isar, which is from twelve to fifteen leagues in breadth, is intersected in its centre by this forest, now celebrated not less in history than poetry (2). Parallel to the course of the two rivers its woods form a natural barrier or stockade, six or seven leagues long, and from a league to a league and a half broad. Two great roads only, that from Munich to Wasserbourg, and from Munich to Muhlendorf, traverse that thick and gloomy forest, where the pine-trees approach each other so closely, as in most places to render the passage of cavalry or artillery, excepting on the great roads, impossible. The village of Hohenlinden is at the entrance on the Munich side of the one defile, that of Matenpot at the mouth of that leading to Muhlendorf. The village of Ebersberg forms the entrance of the other defile leading to Wasserbourg. Between these two roads the broken and uneven surface of the forest is traversed only by country paths, almost impracticable during the storms of winter even to foot soldiers (3).

Able plan of Moreau. Moreau with his staff had carefully reconnoitred this ground; and as soon as it became evident that the archduke was to advance through its dangerous defiles, he prepared, with the art of a consummate general, to turn it to the best account. Rapidly concentrating his forces in the plain at the entrance of the defiles on the Munich side, he at the same time gave orders to Richepanse, with his division, to advance across the forest, so as to fall, early on the morning of the 5d, perpendicularly on the line of the great road from Hohenlinden to Muhlendorf. He naturally anticipated that this movement would bring him on the flank of the Austrian centre, when entangled in the defile, with its long train of artillery and chariots; and that if the Republican force at the entrance of the pass could only maintain its ground till this side attack took place, the ruin of the whole column, or at least the capture of all its cannon, would be the result. To effect this object, he concentrated all the forces he could command at the mouth of the defile; but so unforeseen was the attack, that not above two-thirds of his army could take a part in the action; neither the right-wing under Lecourbe, nor the half of the left, under Sainte Suzanne, could be expected to arrive so as to render any assistance (4).

Battle of Hohenlinden, Dec. 3. The Imperialists had committed the great error of allowing the surprised Republicans all the 2d to concentrate their scattered forces, but they did not on the following day repeat their mistake. Early on the morning of the 5d, a day ever memorable in the military annals of France, all their troops were in motion, and they plunged, in three great columns, into the forest to approach the enemy. The centre, forty thousand strong, advanced by the great road from Muhlendorf to Munich, the only road which was practicable, in the dreadful state of the weather, for artillery; above a hundred pieces of cannon and five hundred chariots encumbered its

(1) Nap. ii. 31. Dum. v. 107, 108. Jom. xiv. 91, 92.

(2) The reader will recollect Mr. Campbell's noble Ode to Hohenlinden.

(3) Dum. v. 109, 110. Personal observation.

(4) Nap. ii. 31, 32. J. v. 94, 96. Dum. 111, 112. Mém. du L. v. 2.

movements. The infantry marched first; then came the long train of artillery and caissons; the cavalry closed the procession. The right wing, under the command of general Latour, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, followed the inferior road leading from Wasserbourg to Munich; Keimaycr moved on the flank of that column, with his light troops, through the forest; while the left wing, under Riese, was directed to proceed by a cross path by Albichen to St-Christophe. The Imperial columns, animated by their success on the preceding days, joyfully commenced their march over the yet unstained snow two hours before it was daylight, deeming the enemy in full retreat, and little anticipating any resistance before their forces were united and disposed in battle array, in the open plain, on the Munich side of the forest (1).

From the outset, however, the most sinister presages attended their steps. During the night the wind had changed; the heavy rain of the preceding days turned into snow, which fell, as at Eyleau, in such thick flakes as to render it impossible to see twenty yards before the head of the column, while the dreary expanse of the forest presented, under the trees, a uniform white surface, on which it was impossible to distinguish the beaten track (2). The cross-paths between the roads which the troops followed, had at any time, were almost impassable in such a storm; and each body, isolated in the snowy wilderness, was left to its own resources, without either receiving intelligence or deriving assistance from the other. The central column, which advanced along the only good road, outstripped the others; and its head led to the heights of Hohenlinden about nine o'clock, and a furious conflict immediately

to debouche from the defile and extend themselves along the front of the wood, the French to coerce their movements and drive them back into the forest. Both parties made the most incredible efforts; the snow which fell without interruption, prevented the opposing lines from seeing each other; but they aimed at the dash which appeared through the gloom, and rushed forward with blind fury to the deadly charge of the bayonet. Insensibly, however, the Austrians gained ground; their ranks were gradually extending in front of the wood, when Generals Grouchy and Grandjean put themselves at the head of fresh battalions, and by a decisive charge drove them back into the forest. The imperial ranks were broken by the trees, but still they resisted bravely in the entangled thickets; posted behind the trunks, they kept up a murderous fire on the enemy; and the contending armies, broken into single file, fought, man to man, with invincible resolution (3).

While this desperate conflict was going on in front of Hohenlinden, the leading ranks of the Austrian right began to appear at the entrance of the forest on the other road. Ney instantly repaired with his division to the scene of danger, and by a vigorous charge on the flank of the enemy's column,

the

(1) Nap. ii. 32. Mem. v. 251. Dumas v. 114, 115. Jour. xiv. 95, 97.

(2) Dumas v. 117, 118. Jour. xiv. 96, 97. Mem. v. 260, 267. Nap. ii. 32, 33.

(3) "On Linden, when the sun was low,
All bloodless lay the untrodden snow,
And dark as winter was the sea
Of ice rolling repulsively."

"The moon, but where you level eye
Can pierce the war clouds rolling down,
Where furious trunk and fiery flag,
Shout in their sulphurous canopy."

(4) Ney's Mem. ii. 11, 57. Nap. ii. 31. Dumas v. 518.

deploying of the heads of the Imperial columns from the forest, was to introduce vacillation and confusion into the long train in their centre, which, unable to advance from the combat in its front, and pressed on by the crowd in its rear, soon began to fall into confusion. They were, in this state, jammed up amidst long files of cannon and waggons, when the division of Richepanse, which had broken up early in the morning from Ebersberg, on the Munich side of the one defile, and struggled on with invincible resolution through dreadful roads across the forest, arrived in the neighbourhood of Matenpot, on the Muhlendorf side of the other, directly in the rear of the centre of the Austrian army, and at the close of its protracted array. But just as it was approaching this decisive point, and slowly advancing in open column through the forest, this division was itself pierced through the centre, near St.-Christophe, by the Austrian left wing, under Riesch, which, moving up by the valley of Albichen, to gain the chaussée of Wasserbourg, by which it was destined to pierce through the forest, fell perpendicularly on its line of march. Thus Richepanse, with half his division, found himself irretrievably separated from the remainder; the manœuvre which he was destined to have performed on the centre of the Imperialists was turned against himself, and with a single brigade he was placed between that immense body and their left wing. An ordinary general, in such alarming circumstances, would have sought safety in flight, and thus, by allowing the Imperial centre to continue its advance, endangered the victory; but Richepanse, whose able mind was penetrated with the importance of his mission, bravely resolved to push on with the single brigade which remained under his command, and fall on the rear of the grand column of the enemy. He sent orders, therefore, to his separated brigade to maintain itself to the last extremity at St.-Christophe, and advanced with the utmost intrepidity towards Matenpot and the line of march of the grand Austrian column (1).

The Austrian line of communication is intercepted. When the troops approached the great road, they came upon the cuirassiers of Lichtenstein who formed part of that vast body, who had dismounted, and were reposing leisurely under the trees until the great park of artillery and the reserves of Kollowrath had passed the defile. It may easily be imagined with what astonishment they beheld this new enemy on their flank, who was the more unexpected, as they knew that their left wing, under Riesch, had passed through the forest, and they deemed themselves perfectly secure on that side. They made, in consequence, little resistance, and were speedily driven off the chaussée. Not content with this success, Richepanse left to his cavalry the charge of keeping off the Imperial cuirassiers, and advanced himself with the two remaining regiments of infantry to attack the rear of the Imperial centre in the forest of Hohenlinden. The appearance of this force, amounting to nearly three thousand men, behind them, excited the utmost alarm in the Austrian column. The troops of that nation are proverbially more sensitive than any in Europe to the danger of being turned when in a line of march. A brigade of the Bavarian reserve was speedily directed to the menaced point, but it was overwhelmed in its advance by the crowds of fugitives, and thrown into such disorder by the overturned cannon and caissons which blocked up the road, that it never reached the enemy. Three Hungarian battalions were next brought up, but after resisting bravely, amidst the general consternation around them, they too at length were broken and fled. This little action

(1) Nap. ii. 34, 35. Jom. xiv. 97, 99. Dum. v. 119, 120. Mém. v. 270, 271.

Skilful
manœuvre,
by which
the passage
of the
river was
effected by
Moreau

While the boats of the Isar were publicly conducted, with the utmost possible *éclat*, to the lower Inn, Lecourbe caused a bridge

pieces during the night of the 8th December at Neupercn, where the Inn flows in a narrow channel, and which is the only point in that quarter where the right bank is commanded by the left. At six o'clock on the following morning, while it was still pitch-dark, the French cannon, whose arrival was wholly unknown to the Austrian videttes, opened a furious fire, so well directed that the Imperialists were obliged to retire, and the Republicans instantly constructed a bridge, and threw across so strong a body of troops as gave them a solid footing on the left bank. At the same time a battery was placed in front of the bridge at Rosenheim, in order to prevent the burning of the remaining arches of that wooden structure, of which one only had been destroyed, but the corps of the Prince of Condé, which was stationed on the opposite bank, faithfully discharged its duty, and the whole bridge was soon consumed. In consequence of this circumstance, Lecourbe's troops were obliged to make a circuit by the passage at Neupercn, but so dilatory were the movements of the Imperialists, that no sufficient force could be collected to oppose their progress, a second bridge of boats was constructed near Rosenheim, by which Richempanse's division was passed over, and the Austrians, abandoning the whole line of the Upper Inn, retired behind the Salza. Thus was one of the most formidable military lines in Europe broken through in the space of a few hours, without the loss of a single man (1).

This extraordinary success was chiefly owing to the Imperialists having been led, by the demonstrations of Moreau against the Lower Inn, to concentrate the right wing of their army, which had suffered least in the disastrous battle of Hohenlinden, in that quarter, which removed it three or four marches from the scene where the real attack was made. No sooner did they receive intelligence of the passage of Lecourbe over the Upper Inn, than they hastily moved all their disposable troops towards the menaced point; but finding that the enemy were established on the right bank in too great force to be dislodged, they fell back on all sides, and abandoning the whole line of the Inn, concentrated their army behind the Alza, between Altunmarkt and the lake of Sine, to cover the roads to Salzburg and Vienna (2).

Moreau, conceiving with reason that the spirit of the Austrian army must be severely weakened by such a succession of disasters, resolved to push his advantages to the utmost. The Austrians now experienced the ruinous consequences attending the system of extending themselves over a vast line in equal force throughout, which, since the commencement of the war, they had so obstinately followed, they found themselves unable to arrest the march of the victor at any point, and by the rapid advance of Lecourbe were irrecoverably separated from their left wing in the Tyrol. Moreau having resolved not to allow them to establish themselves in a solid manner behind the Salza, pushed rapidly forward across the Aelz and the Traun to Salzburg. He experienced no considerable opposition till he reached the neighbourhood of that town, but when Lecourbe, with the advanced guard, approached the Saal, he found the bulk of the Austrian army, thirty thousand strong, including ten thousand cavalry, posted in a strong position covering the approach to Salzburg. Its front was

Rapid advance of the French towards Salzburg

(1) Dum. v. 136, 140. Jour. xiv. 112, 115. Supp. (2) Jour. xiv. 116, 118. Dum. v. 141, 143.

covered by the Saal, the rapid course of which offered no inconsiderable obstacle to an attacking force; its right rested on inaccessible rocks, and its left was protected by the confluence of the Saal and the Salza. But this position, how strong soever, had its dangers; it was liable to be turned by a passage of the Salza, effected below the town between Lauffen and Salzbouurg, in which case the army ran the risk of being cut off from Vienna, or thrown back in disorder upon the two bridges of boats which preserved its communication with the right bank of the river (1).

Lecourbe commenced the attack with his accustomed vigour; 13th Dec. Gudin carried the village of Salzbouurg-hoffen, and made six hundred prisoners; but Montrichard was so rudely handled by the Imperial cavalry, that he was driven back in disorder, with the loss of five hundred men. But this success was of little avail, for Moreau ordered Decaen to cross the Salza at Lauffen, an operation which was most successfully performed. While the attention of the Imperialists was drawn to the broken arches of the bridge by a violent cannonade, this able general directed four hundred chosen troops to a point a little lower down, who, undeterred by the violence and cold of the winter torrent, threw themselves into the stream, swam across, and made themselves masters of some boats on the opposite side, by which the passage was speedily effected. Moreau was no sooner informed of this success, than he pushed Richepanse, with two fresh divisions, across at this place, and advanced against Salzbouurg by the right bank. Encouraged by this support, Lecourbe, on the day following, renewed his attack on the Austrian rear-guard, commanded by the Archduke John in person, They are defeated by the Austrian cavalry in front of that town. posted in front of Salzbouurg. His troops advanced in two columns, one by the road of Reichenthal, the other formed in front of Vaal; a thick fog covered the ground, and the French tirailleurs advanced inconsiderately to the attack, deeming the Austrians in full retreat, and desirous of having the honour of first reaching Salzbouurg. They were received by the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, whose discharges soon dissipated the mist, and discovered two formidable lines of cavalry drawn up in battle array. Lecourbe brought up his horse, but they were overwhelmed by the first line of the Imperial cavalry, which broke into a splendid charge when the Republicans approached their position. Lecourbe finding himself unequal to the task of opposing such formidable forces, drew back his wings behind the Saal, and posted his infantry in the rear of the village of Vaal. He there maintained himself with difficulty till the approach of night, glad to purchase his safety by the loss of two thousand men left on the field of battle (2).

But the Imperialists are nevertheless obliged to retire. Had it not been for the passage of the river at Lauffen, this brilliant achievement might have been attended with important consequences; but that disastrous circumstance rendered the position at Salzbouurg no longer tenable. Moreau, at the head of twenty thousand men, was rapidly advancing up the right bank, and the Archduke John, unable to oppose such superior forces, was compelled to retire during the night, leaving that important town to its fate. Decaen, with the advanced guard of Moreau, took possession of Salzbouurg, without opposition, on the following morning, and the Republican standards for the first time waved on the picturesque towers of that romantic city (3).

The occupation of Salzbouurg, and the abandonment of the line of the Salza, decided the fate of the monarchy. The shattered remains of the grand army,

(1) *Jom.* xiv. 115, 116. *Dum.* v. 195, 197. *Nap.* ii. 39, 40.

(2) *Nap.* ii. 40, 41. *Jom.* xiv. 116, 120. *Dum.* v. 198, 206.

(3) *Nap.* ii. 40. *Dum.* 2.

Moreau which had been unable to maintain the formidable lines of two such rivers, broken in numbers, subdued in spirit, were unable therefter to make any head against a numerous enemy, flushed with victory, and conducted with consummate military skill. Emboldened by the unexpected facility with which he had passed these considerable rivers, Moreau resolved to give the enemy no time to recover from his consternation, but to push on at once towards Vienna, and decide the war in the centre of the Hereditary States, before the other French armies had begun seriously to skirmish on the frontier. He disquieted himself little about the forces in the Tyrol, deeming the troops in that province sufficiently occupied with the invasion of Lombardy by Brune, and the march of Macdonald through the Grisons, which shall immediately be noticed. Satisfied with the precautions, therefore, of leaving on the right small bodies as he advanced, to mark the principal passes into that mountainous region, and on the left of detachung Sainte-Suzanne with his wing to watch the motions of Klenau, who was threatening the Gallo-Batavian army at Wurtzburg, he himself pushed on with his whole centre and right wing in pursuit of the enemy (1).

Richempanse, who conducted his advanced guard, marched with so much expedition, that he came up with the Austrian rear at Herdorf. Notwithstanding the fatigue of his troops, who the day before had marched twelve leagues, he attacked the enemy at day break, routed them, and made a thousand prisoners. The two following days was a continued running fight; the Austrians retired, combating all the way, to Schwanstadt. This indefatigable leader was closely followed by Decaen and Grouchy, who came up to his support the moment that any serious resistance arrested his columns; while Lecourbe, at the head of the other wing of the invading army, advanced by the mountain road, in order to turn the streams where they were easily fordable, and constantly menace the left flank of the enemy. In front of Schwanstadt the Imperialists made an effort to arrest this terrible advanced guard. Three thousand cavalry, supported by rocky thickets, lined with tirailleurs on either flank, stood firm, and awaited the onset of the Republicans; but they were now in a state of exultation which nothing could resist. The infantry advanced to within three hundred paces of that formidable mass of cavalry, without noticing the tirailleurs, who rattled incessantly on either flank, and then breaking into a charge, approached the horse with levelled bayonets with so much resolution, that the Austrians broke and fled, and nearly a thousand men were killed or made prisoners. On the following day, a scene of dreadful confusion ensued, when the Austrian rear-guard crossed the Traun. A column of twelve hundred, under Prince Liechtenstein, stationed in front of the

all slain or made prisoners. Immediately the whole remaining Imperialists who had not passed fled towards the detile: they were rapidly followed by the Republicans. A scene of indescribable horror ensued; in the mêlée of fugitives, carriages, and trampling squadrons, the arches were tired, and multitudes threw themselves into the stream; but such was the resolution of the French grenadiers, that, regardless alike of the flames and the discharges of grape from the opposite bank, they rushed across; by their exertions the

Dec 21 Rednitz. On the 21st he was again attacked and defeated at Neukirchen by the united Imperial generals, but they were unable to follow up their advantages, from having received orders on the night of their victory to retire to Bohemia, in order to succour the heart of the monarchy, now violently assailed by the enemy (1). They were in the course of executing these orders, when the armistice of Steyer put a period to their operations.

Thus the Republican army, in a short campaign of little more than three weeks, in the middle of winter, and in the most severe weather, marched ninety leagues; crossed three considerable rivers in presence of the enemy; made twenty thousand prisoners, killed, wounded, or dispersed as many; captured 150 pieces of cannon, 400 caissons, and 4000 carriages; and never halted till its advanced guard, arrested by an armistice, was within twenty leagues of Vienna. Such results require no eulogium, the annals of war have few such triumphs to recount, and they deservedly placed Moreau in the very highest rank of the captains of the eighteenth century (2).

*Operations
in the
Grisons.
Designs of
Napoleon
there*

While these great events were in progress in Germany, operations inferior indeed in magnitude, but equal in the heroism with which they were conducted, and superior in the romantic interest with which they were attended, took place in the snowy amphitheatre of the Alps. It has been already noticed, that the second army of reserve, consisting of fifteen thousand men, was moved forward in October to the valley of the Rhine, in the Grisons, and that it was destined to menace the rear of the Imperial army on the Mincio, while Brune attacked it in front. This auxiliary corps would probably have rendered more essential service if it had been directed to the grand army of Moreau, which was destined to operate in the valley of the Danube, the true avenue to the Austrian states;

but a hesitating council would ill have accorded with the views of the first emperor. Napoleon was not disposed to divide his forces, and he reserved the principal part in the campaign, with the troops which he was to lead by the St. Bernard Alps to Vienna. Independently of this secret feeling, which undoubtedly had its weight, Napoleon was misled by the great results of the Italian campaigns of 1796 and 1797, and the paralyzing effect of the march of the army of reserve across the St. Bernard in the present year. He conceived that Italy was the theatre where the decisive events were to take place, and had

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(1) Nap. ii. 25, 26 Du. v. 220, 261, June 21st 1797.

2, June 21st 1797 Arch. i. 254 Nap. ii. 261.

(2) Nap. ii. 137, 138.

(3) Lower St. Bernard.

thousand men, which Murat was leading from the camp at Amiens to the plains of Italy, should be put under his orders. But Napoléon, who intended this corps in the Alps to operate on the campaign, more by the apprehensions it excited among the Imperialists than its actual achievements in the field, refused to change the destination of Murat's division, and it continued its route for the banks of the Mincio. He still believed that the frontier of the Inn would sufficiently cover the Hereditary States on that side, and that it was by accumulating ninety thousand men in the southern Tyrol and Italy, that the decisive blow against the Austrian power was to be struck. The command of this great army, destined to dictate peace under the walls of Vienna, he ultimately designed for himself (1).

Of all the passages from Switzerland to Italy, there was none which presented more serious natural obstacles, and was more carefully guarded by the enemy, than that which leads over the Splügen into the Italian Tyrol. It is first necessary to pass from the valley of the Rhine, near its source, over the Splügen into that of the Adda, which descends in a rapid course from the Julian Alps to Chiavenna and the lake of Como; from thence, if an advance to the eastward is required, the Col Apriga, a steep ridge entangled with wood and lofty chesnuts, must be surmounted, which brings the traveller into the valley of the Oglio; between which and the stream of the Adige there is interposed the rugged ridge of the Monte Tonol, whose snowy summit was occupied and had been carefully fortified by the Austrian troops (2). Macdonald no sooner was made acquainted with these obstacles than he despatched his chief of the staff, General Mathieu Dumas, to lay before the first consul an account of the almost insuperable difficulties which opposed his progress. No man could be better qualified than the officer whose graphic pencil has so well described the passage to discharge this delicate mission; for he was equally competent to appreciate the military projects of the general-in-chief, and to portray the physical obstructions which opposed their execution. Napoléon listened attentively to his statement; interrogated him minutely on the force and positions of Hiller's corps, and the divisions of Landon, Davidowich, and Wukassowich, which were stationed near the head of the valleys which in that part of the Alps separate Italy from Germany; and then replied, "We will wrest from them without a combat that immense fortress of the Tyrol; we must manœuvre on their flanks; menace their last line of retreat, and they will immediately evacuate all the upper valleys. I will make no change on my dispositions. Return quickly; tell Macdonald that an army can always pass, in every season, where two men can place their feet. It is indispensable that, in fifteen days after the commencement of hostilities, the army of the Grisons should have seen the sources of the Adda, the Oglio, and the Adige; that it should have opened its fire on the Monte Tonol which separates them; and that, having descended to Trent, it should form the left wing of the army of Italy, and threaten, in concert with the troops on the Mincio, the rear of Bellegarde's army. I shall take care to forward to it the necessary reinforcements; it is not by the numerical force of an army, but by its destination and the importance of its operations, that I estimate the merit due to its commander (3)."

Having received these verbal instructions, Macdonald prepared, with the devotion of a good soldier, to obey his commands. His troops advanced the

(1) Dum. v. 118, 119. Nap. ii. 61.

(2) Personal observation.

(3) Dum. v. 153, 154.

Prepara- moment the armistice was denounced, into the upper Rhenthal, tions of and concentrated between Core and Tüsis, at the entrance of Mardonald for crossing the celebrated defile of the Via Mala, which is the commence- the Splügen, while, at the same time, to distract the ment of the ascent of the Splügen, while, at the same time, to distract the enemy, and conceal his real designs, demonstrations were made towards Feldkirch, as if it was intended to break into the Tyrol in that quarter. A few

was dismounted, and placed on sledges constructed in the country, to which oxen were harnessed, the artillery ammunition was divided, and placed on the backs of mules, and in addition to his ordinary arms, ball cartridge and knapsack, every soldier received five days' provisions, and five packets of cartridges to bear on his shoulders over the rugged ascent. Had he lived to see the French infantry preparing, in the middle of December, under the weight of these enormous burdens, to cross the snow-clad ridges of the Rhaetian Alps, by paths hardly accessible at that season to the mountaineers

Deser- Tüsis is situated at the confluence of the Albula and the Rhine, at tion of the the foot of a range of pine-clad cliffs of great elevation, which run passage of the Splügen across the valley, and in former times had formed a barrier, creating a lake in the valley of Schams, a few miles farther up its course. Through this enormous mass, three or four miles broad, the Rhine has, in the course of ages, found its way in a narrow bed, seldom more than thirty or forty, sometimes not more than eight or ten yards broad, shut in on either side by stupendous cliffs which rise to the height of two or three thousand feet above its rocky channel. The road, conducted along the sides of these perpendicular precipices, repeatedly crosses the stream by stone bridges, of a single arch, thrown from one cliff to the other, at the height of three or four hundred feet above the raging torrent. Innumerable cascades descend from these lofty precipices, and are conducted in subterraneous channels under the road, or lost in the sable forests of pine which clothe their feet. Impetuous as the Rhine is in this extraordinary channel, the roar of its waters is scarcely heard at the immense elevation above it at which the bridges are placed. The darkness of the road, overshadowed by primeval pines of gigantic stature, conducted through galleries cut out of the solid rock, or on arches thrown over the awful abyss; the solitude and solemnity of the impenetrable forests around, the stupendous precipices above and beneath, which make the passenger feel as if he were suspended in middle air, conspire to render this pass the most extraordinary and sublime in the whole amphitheatre of the central Alps (2)

Emerging from this gloomy defile, the road traverses for two leagues the open and smiling valley of Schams, it next ascends by a winding course the pine-clad cliffs of La Rofia, and at length reaches in a narrow and desolate

(1) Dum. v. 151, 161. See Gibbon, chap. l. Dum. v. 146, 147

(2) Personal observations. Dum. v. 151. *Life Art. Via Mala*

The defile of the Via Mala is not so celebrated as its matchless sea-ures deserves; but the admirable road which is now conducted through its romantic cliffs, and over the Splügen, must not wait to fug it into more general notice. It exceeds in sublimity

and horror any scene in the Alps. There is no way to the north, no land, or the little of habitable in the Pyrenees, but exceeds in stupendous features; but of these extraordinary scenes.

pastoral valley the village of Splugen, situated at the foot of the ascent of the mountain of the same name. Here the road, leaving the waters of the Rhine, which descend cold and clear from the glaciers of Hinter Rhin, turns sharp to the left hand, and ascends a lateral valley as far as its upper extremity, when it emerges upon the bare face of the mountain above the region of wood, and by a painful ascent, often of forty-five degrees elevation, reaches the summit in an hour and a half. This description applies to the old road as it stood in 1800. The new road, over the same ground, is wound gradually up the ascent, with that admirable skill which has rendered the works of the French and Italian engineers in the Alps the object of deserved admiration to the whole civilized world. The wearied traveller then beholds with joy the waters flowing towards the Italian streams, in a narrow plain about four hundred yards broad, situated between two glaciers at the base of overhanging mountains of snow. From thence to Isola, on the Italian side of the declivity, is a descent of two leagues, conducted in many places down zig-zag slopes, attended with great danger. On the right, for several miles, is a continued precipice, or rocky descent, in many places three or four hundred feet deep, while, on the left, the road is cut out of the solid rock, on the bare face of the mountain, exposing the traveller to be overwhelmed by the avalanches, which, loosened on the heights above by the warmth of the southern sun, often sweep with irresistible violence to the bottom of the declivity (1).

In summer, when the road is well cleared, it is possible to go in three hours from the village of Splugen to the hospice on the summit; but when the newly fallen snow has effaced all traces of the path in those elevated regions, above the zone of the arbutus and rhododendron; when the avalanches or the violence of the winds have carried off the black poles which mark the course of the road, it is not possible to ascend with safety to the higher parts of the mountain. The traveller must advance with cautious steps, sounding, as he proceeds, as in an unknown sea beset with shoals; the most experienced guides hesitate as to the direction which they should take; for in that snowy wilderness the horizon is bounded by icy peaks, affording few landmarks to direct their steps, even if they should be perceived for a few minutes from amidst the mantle of clouds which usually envelope their summits (2).

It may easily be conceived, from this description, what labours are requisite during the winter season to open this passage. It is necessary for an extent of five leagues, from the village of Splugen, to that of Isola, either to clear away the snow, so as to come to the earth, or to form a passable road over its top; and the most indefatigable efforts cannot always secure success in such an enterprise. The frequent variations of the atmosphere, the clouds which suddenly rise up from the valleys beneath, the terrible storms of wind which arise in these elevated regions, the avalanches which descend with irresistible force from the overhanging glaciers, in an instant destroy the labour of weeks, and obliterate, by a colossus of snow, the greatest efforts of human industry (3).

Such were the difficulties which awaited Macdonald in the first mountain ridge which lay before him in the passage of the Alps. He arrived with the
 Nov 26 advanced guard, on the evening of the 26th, at the village of Splugen, the point where the mountain passage, properly speaking, begins, with a company of sappers, and the first sledges conveying the artillery.

(1) Dum. v. 164, 165. Personal observation.

(2) Dum. v. 161.

(3) Ibid. v. 165.

*Extreme
difficulties
experi-
enced by
the French
troops in
the passage*

The country guides placed poles along the ascent; the labourers followed and cleared away the snow; the strongest dragoons next marched to beat down the road by their horses' feet, they had already, after incredible fatigue, nearly reached the summit, when the wind suddenly rose, an avalanche fell from the mountain, and sweeping across the road, precipitated thirty dragoons at the head of the column into the gulph beneath, where they were dashed to pieces between the ice and the rocks. General La Riboissière, who led the van, was a-head of the cataract of snow, and reached the hospice, but the remainder of the column, thunderstruck by the catastrophe, returned to Splügen; and the wind, which continued for the three succeeding days to blow with great violence, detached so many avalanches, that the road was entirely blocked up in the upper regions, and the guides declared that no possible efforts could render it passable in less than fifteen days (1).

Nov. 27

Macdonald, however, was not to be daunted by any such obstacles. Independently of his anxiety to fulfil his destined part in the campaign, necessity forced him on, for the unwonted accumulation of men and horses in those elevated Alpine regions promised very soon to consume the whole subsistence of the country, and expose the troops to the greatest dangers from actual want. He instantly made the best arrangement which circumstances would admit for re-opening the passage. First marched four of the strongest oxen that could be found in the Grisons, led by the most experienced guides; they were followed by forty robust peasants, who cleared or beat down the snow; two companies of sappers followed and improved the track, behind them marched the remnant of the squadron of dragoons, which had suffered so much on the first ascent, and who bravely demanded the post of danger in renewing the attempt. After them came a convoy of artillery and a hundred beasts of burden, and a strong rear-guard closed the party. By incredible efforts the head of the column, before night, reached the hospice, and although many men and horses were swallowed up in the ascent, the order and discipline so necessary to the success of the enterprise were maintained throughout. They here joined general La Riboissière, who continued the same efforts on the Italian side, and led this adventurous advanced guard in safety to the sunny fields of Campo Dolcino at the southern base of the mountain. Two other columns, arrayed in the same order, followed on the 2d and 3d December, in clear frosty weather, with much less difficulty, because the road was beaten down by the footsteps of those who had preceded them; but several men died of the excessive

*not men-
ing but
withstand-
ing.* Macdonald advanced with the re-
the 1th December, and leaving
only a slight rear-guard on the northern side of the mountain,
commenced his march on the morning of the 5th, at the head of
seven thousand men. Though no tempest had been felt in the deep valley
of the Illiue, the snow had fallen during the night in such quantities, that
from the very outset the traces of the track were lost, and the road required
to be made anew, as at the commencement of the ascent. The guides refused
to proceed; but Macdonald insisted upon making the attempt, and after six
hours of unheard-of fatigues, the head of his column succeeded in reaching
the summit. In the narrow plain between the glaciers, however, they

(1) *Journ. xiv. 153, 155. Dec. v. 178, 179.*

(2) *Quart. v. 116, 117 Journ. xiv. 156. E.-A. iv. 22 37*

found the road blocked up by an immense mass of snow, formed by an avalanche newly fallen, upon which the guides refused to enter, and in consequence the soldiers returned, unanimously exclaiming that the passage was closed. Macdonald instantly hastened to the front, revived the sinking spirits of his men, encouraged the faltering courage of the guides, and advancing himself at the head of the column, plunged into the perilous mass, sounding every step as he advanced with a long staff, which often sunk deep into the abyss. "Soldiers," said he, "the army of reserve has surmounted the St.-Bernard; you must overcome the Splügen; your glory requires that you should rise victorious over difficulties to appearance insuperable. Your destinies call you into Italy? advance and conquer, first the mountains and the snow, then the plains and the armies (1)." Put to shame by such an example, the troops and the peasants redoubled their efforts; the vast walls of ice and snow were cut through, and although the hurricane increased with frightful rapidity, and repeatedly filled up their excavations, they at length succeeded in rendering the passage practicable. The tempest continued to blow with dreadful violence during the passage to the hospice and the descent of the Cardinal; the columns were repeatedly cut through by avalanches, which fell across the road (2), and more than one regiment was entirely dispersed in the icy wilderness. At length, by the heroic exertions of the officers, whom the example of their general had inspired with extraordinary ardour, the head-quarters reached Isola, and rested there during the two succeeding days, to rally the regiments, which the hardships of the passage had broken into a confused mass of insulated men, but above one hundred soldiers, and as many horses and mules, were swallowed up in the abysses of the mountains, and never more heard of (3).

(1) A parallel incident occurred in ancient times, and what is very extraordinary, during the decay of Roman virtue. "The Emperor Maximian," says Gibbon, "led his troops over the Alps in a severe winter. The Emperor led the way on foot, and in complete armour, bounding with his long staff the depths of the ice or snow, and encouraging the soldiers, who complained of the extreme cold, by the cheerful assurance that they should be satisfied with the heat of Africa."—*Decline of Rome*, c. xxxvi.

(2) *Bel. iv. 59. Jour. xiv. 156, 157. Dom. v. 171, 174.*

(3) *Bel. iv. 59. Jour. xiv. 156, 157. Dom. v. 171, 174.*

Unwarily jealous of himself is the most memorable and this passage extraordinary undertaking of the kind has, I say, been recorded in modern war, so far as the Napoleon obstacles of nature are concerned. It

yields only to the march of Bonaparte over the St. Gothard, the Schœnbühl, and the Lauberg, where, in addition to similar natural difficulties, the efforts of an able and indefatigable enemy were to be overcome. The passage of the St.-Bernard by Napoleon in fine weather, and without opposition, will bear no comparison with either the one or the other. That he himself was conscious of this, is obvious from the striking terms of disparagement in which he speaks of Macdonald's exertions in this passage; an instance of that jealousy of every rival in any of his great achievements, which is almost inconceivable in so great a man. "The passage of the Splügen," says he, "presented, without doubt, some difficulties; but winter is by no means the season of the year in which such operations are conducted with most difficulty, the snow is then firm, the weather settled, and there is nothing to fear from the avalanches, which constitute the true and only danger to be ap-

prehended in the Alps. In December, you often meet with the fiercest weather, on these elevated mountains, or dry frost, during which the air is perfectly calm."—*Dom. iv. ii. 61, 62.* Recollecting that this was written after the first consul had received the full details from Macdonald of the extraordinary difficulties of the passage, it is inexcusable, and clearly betrays a consciousness of the inferiority of his own passage over the St.-Bernard. In his official despatch, by orders of the first consul, to Macdonald, Berthier says, "I have received the relation which the chief of your staff has transmitted to me relative to the passage of the Splügen by the army which you command. I have communicated the details to the consuls, and they have engaged me to make known to you their high satisfaction at the intrepidity and heroic conduct which the officers, and soldiers, and generals, have evinced in this passage, which will form a memorable epoch in our military annals. The consuls, confident in your talents, behold with interest the new position of the army of the Grisons. I impatiently expect the details of the celebrated passage of the Splügen, and the losses which it occasioned, to enable them to appreciate the admiration and gratitude which is due in the chiefs and soldiers of your army." [11th Dec, 1800. See *Dom. vi. 255. Pères Just.*]

It was equally unworthy of Napoleon to say in his Memoirs:—"The march of Macdonald produced no good effect, and contributed in no respect to the success of the campaign; for the corps of Baraguay d'Hilliers, detached into the Upper Lugadine, was too weak to effect any thing of importance. Macdonald arrived at Trieste on the 7th January, when the enemy was already chased from it by the left of the army of Italy, by the corps under the orders of Moreau and Rochambeau." [2^d 63.]

Dec -
He arrives
at Chiavenna
on the lake of
Como

Late on the evening of the 6th December, the greater part of the troops and a large part of the artillery had passed the mountain, and head-quarters were advanced to Chiavenna, at the upper extremity of the lake of Como. No sooner did Hilliers hear of this advance, than he moved forward his columns towards the head of the valley of the Inn to assail him, but the intelligence of the disastrous battle of Hohenlinden arrived that very day, and by rendering it evident that all the forces of the monarchy would be required to defend the capital, precluded the possibility of following up any distant enterprises. The Austrians therefore took post on the summits of the Albula, the Juherberg, and the Broglio, the three ridges which separate the Italian from the German side of the mountains in that quarter, and strongly reinforced the division on the Tonal, the only pass between the valley of the Oglio, to which Macdonald was hastening, and that of the Adige, which was the ultimate object of his efforts (1).

While still on the banks of the Adda, the French general had the misfortune to receive intelligence of the capture of a battalion of dismounted hussars, which negligently lay in the elevated valley at its upper extremity, by a well-concerted surprise from the Imperial forces in the Engadine. At the same time, he received orders from the first consul to place himself under the command of General Brune, of whose army he was to form the left wing; a mortifying circumstance to a general who had just achieved so important a service in a separate command as the passage of the Splügen, but which abated nothing of his zeal in the public cause. He suggested to Brune that two divisions should be detached from the army of Italy to reinforce his corps, and thus with a body of twenty-four thousand men he would advance across the mountains to Trieste, and effect a decisive operation on the rear of the Imperial army. But the general-in-chief refused to comply with this request, which was evidently hazardous, as exposing to overwhelming attacks in detail two separate armies, too far severed from each other to be able to render any effectual assistance in case of need (2).

Napoleon's orders had directed Macdonald to penetrate as soon as possible into the valley of the Adige, in order to threaten the flank and rear of the Imperialists on the Mincio. For this purpose it was necessary to cross the Col Apriga, which lay between the valley of the Adda and that of the Oglio, and afterwards surmount the icy summit of Mont Tonal, between the latter stream and that of the Adige. The passage of the Monte Apriga, though considerably less elevated than the Splügen, was even more difficult by reason of the extreme steepness of the ascents, the entangled wood which encumbered its lower region, and the dreadful nature of the road, which in many places is little better than the bed of a torrent. In seven hours, however, all these difficulties were overcome; the army found itself on the banks of the Oglio, and extended its outposts as far as Boronio at the upper extremity of the valley (3).

There still remained, however, the Herculean task of surmounting the Tonal, a mountain ridge of great elevation, which could be reached at that rude season only by a path through the snow, in which the

account of transactions would be signed by him only and thought he could deceive future ages as he did his own by means of spurious handwriting and an assumed name.
(1) Journ. xiv. 153, 152. Journ. v. 174, 175.
(2) Journ. xiv. 153, 161. Journ. v. 175, 176, 177, 178.
(3) Journ. xiv. 153, 152. Journ. v. 175, 176. Journ. v. 177.

troops were confined to single files. The summit, as usual in these elevated regions, consisted of a small plain three hundred yards broad, situated between two enormous and inaccessible glaciers. Across this narrow space the Austrians had drawn a triple line of intrenchments, faced for the most part by enormous blocks of ice, cut in the form of regular masonry, and even more difficult to scale than walls of granite. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the French grenadiers, after a painful ascent by the narrow and slippery path, reached the front of the intrenchments. Though received by a shower of balls, they succeeded in forcing the external palisades; but all their efforts were ineffectual against the walls of ice which formed the inner strength of the works. They were in consequence obliged to retreat, and brought back the disheartening report that this important position was impregnable (1).

Sensible, however, of the vital importance of forcing this passage, Macdonald resolved to make another attempt. Eight days afterwards, another column was formed, under the command of Vandamme, and approached the terrible intrenchments. The Austrians had in the interval added much to the strength of the works; but they were assaulted with so much vigour, that two external forts were carried; still, however, when they approached the principal intrenchment, the fire from its summit, and from a block-house on an elevated position in its rear, was so violent, that all the efforts of the Republicans were again ineffectual, and they were forced to retire, after staining with their bravest blood the cold and icy summit of the mountain. Macdonald was in some degree consoled for this disaster by the success of his left wing, which spread itself into the Engadine, driving the Imperialists before it, and made itself master of the well-known stations of Glurens and Martinsbruck, on the Tyrolean side of the mountains (2).

The importance of these operations, and the obstinacy with which the attack and defence of the inhospitable Alpine ridges were conducted at this inclement season, will be best understood by casting a glance over the positions and movements of the contending armies in the Italian plains at this period.

When hostilities were recommenced to the south of the Alps by the denunciation of the armistice, the Imperial army, sixty-five thousand strong, of which fifteen thousand were cavalry, occupied the formidable line of the Mincio, covered by a hundred pieces of cannon, flanked on the one extremity by the Po, on the other by the lake of Guarda, and strengthened by the strong fortress of Mantua, and the inferior fortifications of Peschiera and Borghetto, which gave them the immense advantage of being able to debouche at pleasure on either side of the river (3). The Imperialists had received orders to remain on the defensive in this excellent position until their flanks were secured, and the prospect of an advantageous attack was afforded by the advance of the Neapolitan troops over the hills of Tuscany; and the descent of Laudon and Wukassowich from the mountains of Tyrol.

The French forces in Italy were immense. In the peninsula altogether there were 93,000 men, besides 27,000 who encumbered the hospitals. Of this great body, 61,000 infantry; 9,000 cavalry; and 178 pieces of cannon, were ready for active operations on the Mincio, while the remainder occupied

(1) Jom. xiv. 161, 162. Dum. v. 186, 188. Bot. iv. 61. Personal observation.

(2) Jom. xiv. 162, 163. Dum. v. 183, 191. Bot. iv. 61.

(3) Dum. v. 213, 214. Jom. xiv. 166, 177. Bot. iv. 63.

Tuscany, Lombardy, Piedmont, and Liguria. During the five months that these troops had occupied the fertile plains of the Po, they had profited to an extraordinary degree by the resources of the country. The soldiers had been completely new clothed, the artillery horses renewed, the cavalry was admirably mounted, the magazines were full, the troops in the highest state of

excited the utmost discontent in the peninsula. The inhabitants compared the high-sounding proclamations of the invaders with the sad consequences which had followed their footsteps, and, rendered more sullen by the disappointment of their hopes than even the serious injuries they had undergone, were ready upon any reverse to have risen unanimously upon their oppressors. This state of things was well known to the French commanders, and to secure their flanks and rear they were obliged to detach twenty-five thousand from the grand army on the Mincio, how well soever they were aware that it was there the fate of Italy was to be decided (1).

Dec. 16
First operations of
Brune
Hostilities were first commenced by Brune, who found the spirit of his troops so much elevated by the intelligence of the battle of Hohenlinden, and the passage of the Splügen by Macdonald, that their ardour could no longer be restrained. The firing commenced on the 16th, but nothing except inconsiderable skirmishes ensued before the 20th. The Mincio, in its course of twenty miles from the lake of Garda to Mantua, though fordable in many places, was rendered impassable in winter, and the five bridges of Saleonzo, Valleggio, Volta, &c. were all strongly intrenched and barricaded. The left bank, in the hands of the Austrians, was generally more elevated than the right, in the possession of the Republicans; but at Mozambano and Molino, near Pozzuolo, the right had the advantage, which evidently pointed out these stations as the most advantageous for forcing a passage. For these reasons they had been fortified with care by the Austrian engineers, who had pushed their intrenchments, which were occupied by twenty thousand combatants under Hohenzollern, to a considerable distance from the right bank of the river; and against these advanced works it first behoved Brune to direct his efforts (2).

Passage of
the Mincio.
Dec. 20
On the 20th the whole French army approached the Mincio in four columns. The right, under Dupont, moved towards the shores of the Mantuan lake: the centre, under Suchet, advanced direct upon Volta; the third column, destined to mask Peschiera, was ordered to take post near Ponti; the left and the reserve were directed against Mozambano. The French general had intended to have made feigned attacks only on the centre and right, and to have attempted to force the passage in good earnest near the lake of Guar.

had orders to
bad the whole French army on their hands, successively abandoning the positions they had fortified with so much care, and withdrew to the other side, leaving only detachments to occupy Valleggio and the *tête-de-pont* of Borghetto, on the Republican side. The French patrols, in consequence, every where approached the river; and Dupont, ignorant that the attack on his side was intended only to be a feint, and that the left was the real point

(1) *For.* iv. 62, 63. *Join.* xiv. 161, 166. *Dep.* ii. 64, 65.

(2) *Nap.* ii. 83, 67. *For.* iv. 62, 63. *Join.* xiv. 174, 175. *Dep.* v. 213, 214.

of attack, made the most active preparations for effecting a passage. He succeeded so well, that, early on the morning of the 25th, he had thrown a battalion over, near Molino, which speedily established a bridge, and soon enabled a whole division to obtain a firm footing on the left bank. Hardly was the passage completed, when orders arrived from the commander-in-chief to cover, by a fire of cannon, merely the bridge which had been established, and allow no troops to pass over to the other side. But this despatch arrived too late; the division of Watrin was already over; the enemy's troops opposed to it were hourly and rapidly increasing, and any attempt to fall back to the bridge would have exposed it to certain and irremediable ruin. In these trying circumstances Dupont conceived that the execution of his orders had become impossible, and resolved to retain the advantage he had gained, by aiding Watrin with his remaining troops. In this resolution he was confirmed by Suchet, who was no sooner informed that the passage was irrevocably engaged on the right, than he resolved to support it with all his forces, and hastening to the bridge at Molino, crossed over with his whole corps. On their side, the Imperialists, who had judiciously placed the bulk of their army in mass, a little in the rear of the centre of the line, no sooner

Desperate
conflict of
the troops
who had
crossed
over.

heard of the passage at Molino than they directed an overwhelming force to assail the advanced guard of the enemy. But for the timely assistance afforded by Suchet, Dupont's troops would have been totally destroyed; as it was, a furious combat ensued, which continued with various success till night, in which the Republicans only maintained their ground by the sacrifice of the bravest of their men. For long the French infantry repulsed with invincible firmness the repeated and vehement charges of the Austrian cavalry; but at length they were driven, by a desperate effort of the Hungarian grenadiers, out of the village of Pozzuolo, and forced in disorder to the water's edge. All seemed lost; when the Imperialists, checked by a terrible discharge of grape from the batteries on the French side, hesitated in their advance; and Dupont took advantage of their irresolution to animate his men, and lead them back to the charge, which was executed with such vigour, that Pozzuolo was regained, and the Imperialists repulsed with the loss of seven hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. The Austrians, however, brought up fresh troops; Pozzuolo was again carried at the point of the bayonet; Suchet advanced with his division and retook it; it was again carried by the Imperialists, and continued to be alternately conquered and reconquered till nightfall, when it finally remained in the hands of the Austrians (1). Even the darkness of a winter night could not suspend this terrible combat: between eleven and twelve the fitful gleams of the moon, through a tempestuous and cloudy sky, enabled the Republicans to perceive two deep masses of grenadiers who silently approached their intrenchments. They were received with a general discharge of firearms of all sorts; the batteries thundered from the opposite bank; for a few minutes a volcano seemed to have burst forth on the shore of the Mincio, but all the efforts of the Imperialists were unavailing; and after a gallant struggle they were obliged to retire, leaving the French in possession of their blood-stained intrenchments (2).

Brune, during this bloody conflict, remained in a state of the greatest irresolution, hesitating between his original design of effecting a passage at Mo-

(1) Bellegarde says it remained in the hands of the Austrians: Oudinot affirms it was ultimately carried by the French. The well-known veracity of

the German character makes it probable the former was the true account.

(2) Nap. ii. 67, 75. Bot. iv. 63, 64. Dum. v. 251, 266. Jom. xiv. 175, 185.

zambano, and the new project to which he was urged, of supporting the ground, won at so dear a price, in the lower part of the stream. He thus ran the risk of losing his whole right wing, which was in truth only saved by the desperate valour of the troops of whom it was composed (1). At length he resolved to pursue his original design, and form a passage at Mozambano.

Dec 26 For this purpose, Marmont, at daybreak, on the 26th December, established a battery of forty pieces of cannon on the heights above that place, which commanded the left bank, and despatched orders to Dupont and Suchet to keep themselves within their intrenchments until they heard

the firing warmly engaged on their left. Under cover of a thick fog, the passage was speedily effected, and the French advanced guard soon after came to blows with the enemy. It was evident, however, that they fought only to cover their retreat; Oudinot, at the head of the Republican grenadiers, bravely resisted till sufficient reinforcements passed over, to enable them to resume the offensive, which they did with such vigour, that the Imperialists were driven back to Valleggio, from whence they continued their retreat in the night, leaving Borghetto to its fate, which, next day, after repulsing an assault with great loss, surrendered with the garrison of eight hundred men. In effect, Bellegarde, conceiving the passage of the river effected by the bridge established at Molino, had resolved upon a general retreat, his troops fell back in all quarters towards the Adige, leaving garrisons in Mantua, Verona, Legnago, and Peschiera, which reduced his effective force to forty thousand combatants (2).

In the passage of the Mincio, the Austrians lost above seven thousand men, of whom one-half were prisoners, and forty pieces of cannon, but its moral consequences, as is generally the case with a first decisive success, determined the fate of the campaign. The French resumed the career of victory with their wonted alacrity; the Imperialists fell into the despondency which is the sure prelude to defeat; and the disastrous intelligence they received from the Bavarian frontier contributed to spread the disheartening impression that the Republicans were invincible under their new leader, and that no chance of safety remained to the monarchy, but in a speedy submission to the conqueror (3).

Brune, however, advanced cautiously after his victory. Leaving detachments to mask Mantua, Verona, and Peschiera, he approached the Adige in the end of December. To effect the passage of that river, the French general made use of the same stratagem which had been attempted for the passage of the Mincio, viz., to make demonstrations both against the lower and upper part of the stream; and while the enemy were distracted in their attention by a multiplicity of attacks, the artillery and bridge equipage were secretly conducted to Bassolengo. Sixty pieces of cannon were established there in battery, on the heights of the right bank, on the morning of the 1st January, which opened their fire at daybreak, under cover of which a bridge was speedily constructed without opposition from the enemy. The troops passed over, and established themselves on the left bank without firing a shot; the Imperialists were much less solicitous about interrupting their operations than effecting a junction with the corps of Winkassowich and Laudon, which were hastening by the denes of the Brenta towards the plain of Bassano. Bellegarde withdrew his forces on all

(1) For this he incurred the just and merited censure of the Emperor. — See Napoleon at 75 to 76.

(2) J. m. v. 133 l. 2. Oudinot at 263, 273. Napoleon at 76, 78. But at 61, 63.

(3) Oudinot at 275, 276. J. m. v. 134 l. 2. Napoleon at 79.

sides, and concentrated them in the strong position of Caldiero, already signalized by a victory over Napoléon, while the Republicans closely followed his footsteps, and extending their left up the rocky gorge of the Adige, made themselves masters, after severe combats, of the narrow defile of Corona and the immortal plateau of Rivoli (1).

Advance of
the Repub-
licans in the
valley of
the Adige.

The Republicans, under Moncey, pursued their advantages; the Imperialists, under Laudon, long and obstinately defended the town of Alta, in the valley of the Adige, but were driven from it with the loss of five hundred prisoners; they again held firm in the intrenchments of S.-Marco, but were at length forced to retreat, and took refuge in the defile of Calliano, already celebrated by so many combats. At the same time, the Italian division of Count Theodore Lecchi ascended the valley of the Oglio, and entered into communication with Macdonald's corps immediately after its repulse from the icy ramparts of Mont Tonal; while detachments in the rear formed the blockade of Mantua, Peschiera, Verona, and Legnago. Laudon retired with six thousand men to Roveredo, from whence he was soon after driven, and fell back, disputing every inch of ground, to the foot of the fort of Pietra, overhanging the deep and rapid stream of the Adige between that town and Trent (2).

Bellegarde, finding his force so materially weakened by the garrisons which he was obliged to throw into the fortified towns on the Mincio, and the losses sustained in the passage of that river, had given orders to Wukassowich and Laudon, whose united forces exceeded twenty thousand men, to fall back from the Italian Tyrol, through the defiles of the Brenta, and join him in the plains of Bassano, in the rear of Calliano; and it was to give them time to accomplish this junction that he took post on the almost impregnable heights of Calliano.

Alarming
situation of
Laudon on
the Upper
Adige.

Laudon was commencing this movement when he was rudely assailed by the division of Moncey, and harassed in his retreat up the valley of the Adige in the manner which has been mentioned. But a greater danger awaited him. On the very day on which he retired to the castellated defile of La Pietra, he received the alarming intelligence that Trent, directly in his rear, and by which he required to pass to gain the upper extremity of the Brenta, was occupied by Macdonald, at the head of nine thousand men! To understand how this happened, it is necessary to resume the narrative of the army of the Grisons, after its repulse from the glaciers of Mont Tonal (3).

Macdonald
makes his
way into
the Italian
Tyrol

After that check, Macdonald had collected in the Val Camonica, including the Italian division of Lecchi, above nine thousand men; and with them he eagerly sought for some defile or mountain-path by which to penetrate across the rocky chain which separates that valley from that of the Sarca, from whence he could reach Trent and the banks of the Adige. But these rugged cliffs, which push out, with hardly any declivity, almost to Brescia, in the plain of Lombardy, defeated all his efforts; and it became necessary to turn their southern extremity by Pisogno, at the head of the lake of Iseo, from thence cross the Col di San Zeno, into the valley of Sabia, and again surmount another ridge into the Val Trompia; in order to ascend by the beautiful sides of the Chiesa into the valley of Sarca. This long circuit, which would have been completely avoided by forcing the passage of Mont Tonal, irritated to the highest degree the French troops, who had expected at once, after surmounting the Splügen, to take a part in the glories

(1) Jom. xiv. 196, 197. Dum. v. 276, 290. Nap. ii. 78, 79. Bot. iv. 66.

(3) Bot. iv. 66, 67. Jom. xiv. 198, 199. Dum. v. 284, 285.

(2) Jom. xiv. 198, 199. Dum. v. 288, 290.

Insurrec-
tion broke
out in
Piedmont
Jan 15
1801.

At the moment when this double armistice consolidated the French power in Italy and Germany, a dangerous insurrection broke out in Piedmont. The people of that country were exasperated to the highest degree at the endless and vexatious requisitions of the French troops, the most ardent democrats were thunderstruck by the annexation of the territory of Verelli to the Cisalpine republic, and the clergy and nobles justly apprehensive of the extinction of their rights and properties, from the continued ascendant of France. Fed by so many sources, the flame of discontent, though long smothered, at length broke out, the peasants of the Valley of Aosta took up arms, expelled the French detachments, and shut up their depot of conscripts in the fortress of Ivrea, while symptoms of insurrection appeared at Turin (1). But the vigour of Soult overcame the danger, he speedily surrounded and disarmed the insurgent quarter of the capital, and the appearance of Murat, who at that moment descended from the mountains in their rear, extinguished the revolt in the Alpine valleys. The revolutionary party of Piedmont found themselves inextricably enveloped in a despotic net from which it was impossible to escape.

Neapolitans
invade the
Roman
states, and
are totally
defeated.
Jan 10.

The cannon of Marengo had shaken the throne of the Two Sicilies, the court of Naples was conscious that the sanguinary executions which had disgraced its return to the shores of Campania, had exposed it to the utmost danger from the vengeance of the popular party, and that it had little to hope from the mercy of the first consul, if the Imperial standards were finally chased from Italy. Feelings very extensive thus endangered, the Cabinet of Ferdinand IV had made exertions disproportioned to the strength of the kingdom. An army, sixteen thousand strong, splendid in appearance, and formidable, if numerical strength only were considered, under the command of Count Roger de Damas, had advanced through the Roman states, and taken post on the confines of Tuscany, ready to foment the discontent of its inhabitants, which the enormous requisitions of the French authorities had exasperated to the greatest degree, and act in conjunction with the Imperialists at Sanmarina, whose head-quarters were at Ancona. The weakness of Miollis, the French commander in Tuscany, whose forces had been reduced, by the garrisons left in Lucca, Leghorn, and Florence, to four thousand men, encouraged them to attempt an offensive movement. They advanced to Siena, which rose in insurrection against the French, while Arezzo, supported by detachments from Ancona, again displayed the standard of revolt. But on this, as on every other occasion during the war, the utter loss of military character by the Neapolitans was painfully conspicuous. Miollis collected six thousand veterans from the neighbouring garrisons, and advanced against the invaders. The vanguard of Ferdinand fled at the bare sight of the enemy, in vain the infan-

trampling under foot their own flying regiments, and the whole army soon became a useless crowd of fugitives, which hastened, like a flock of sheep, towards the Roman frontier, without having sustained any serious loss. On this occasion the French hardly fired a shot, and the Neapolitans were discomfited by the mere sight of the Piedmontese lines, a striking proof how much more rapidly military virtue had declined in the south than the north of the peninsula (2).

(1) Journ. &c. 10 211. Ed. 10 69. Duv. v. 211 322

(2) Ed. 10 2. Duv. v. 211 322. Journ. &c. 211 322. N. p. 211 322.

Even, however, if the Neapolitan troops had combated with the valour of the ancient Samnites, the result would have been the same. Sommariva no sooner heard of this disaster at Sienna than he retraced his steps towards Ancona; the insurgents at Arezzo made haste to offer their submission to the conqueror; Murat's corps, ten thousand strong, was approaching Parma; Jan. 16. and the armistice of Treviso, a few days after, put a final period to

the co-operation of the Imperialists. Ancona was delivered up agreeably to the convention; Ferras passed into the hands of the Republicans; southern Italy lay open to the invader; and the unwarlike Neapolitans were left alone. Jan. 20.

to combat a power before which the veteran bands of Austria and Russia had fallen (1). Napoléon openly expressed his determination to overturn the throne of the Two Sicilies, and Murat, at the head of an army of twenty-eight thousand men, composed of his own corps, that of Miollis, and two divisions of veterans from the Mincio, soon after crossed the Apennines, to carry into execution the mandates of Republican vengeance.

Queen of Naples & Sicilies to St. Petersburg to implore the aid of Paul. But the Court of Naples had not trusted merely to its military preparations; the address of the queen extricated the throne from the imminent danger to which it was exposed, and gave it a few years longer of a precarious existence. No sooner had the battle of Marengo and the armistice of Aléxandria opened the eyes of this able and enterprising, though vehement and impassioned woman to the imminence of the danger which threatened the Neapolitan throne, if it were left alone to resist the redoubtable forces of France, than she adopted the only resolution which could ward off the impending calamities. Setting off in person from Palermo, shortly before the winter campaign commenced, she undertook a journey to St.-Petersburg to implore the powerful intercession of the Czar, should events prove adverse, to appease the wrath of the conqueror. It soon appeared how prophetic had been her anticipations. The Emperor Paul, whose chivalrous character and early hostility to the principles of the Revolution had been by no means extinguished by his admiration for Napoléon, was highly flattered by this adventurous step. The prospect of a queen setting out in the depth of winter to undertake the arduous journey from Palermo to St.-Petersburg to implore his aid, was as flattering to his vanity as the renown of upholding a tottering throne was agreeable to his romantic ideas of government (2). He warmly espoused the cause of the unfortunate princess, and not only promised to intercede with all his influence in her favour with the first consul, but forthwith despatched M. Lowaschew, an officer high in his household, and who enjoyed his intimate confidence, to give additional weight to his mediation with the Cabinet of the Tuileries.

Napoléon willingly yields to his interests. Napoléon had many reasons for yielding to the efforts of the northern emperor. A conqueror, who had recently usurped the oldest throne in Europe, was naturally desirous to appear on confidential terms with its greatest potentate; and the sovereign who had just placed himself at the head of the northern maritime coalition against England could hardly be expected to intercede in vain at the court of its inveterate enemy. For these reasons, M. Lowaschew was received with extraordinary distinction at Paris: On the road to Italy he was treated with the honours usually reserved for crowned heads; and the Italians, who recollected the desperate strife between the Russians and Republicans, beheld with astonishment the new-born harmony which had risen up between their envoys. He arrived at Florence, at the same time that General Murat made his entry. The

(1) Nap. ii. 84, 85. Dum. v. 328, 331. Jour. xiv. 215, 217. Bot. iv. 70, 71.

(2) Bot. iv. 71. v. 317, 318. Jour. xiv. 211, 212.

city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, every where in public they appeared together, overshadowed by a tri-colour and a Russian standard, and the Russian envoy declared to the bewildered Florentines, "that two great nations should for ever be united for the repose of mankind (1) "

Backed by such powerful influence, and the terrors of thirty thousand French soldiers on the Tiber, the negotiation was not long of being brought to a termination. Napoléon had directed that the affairs of Naples should be altogether excluded from the articles of the armistice at Treviso, in order that he might alone regulate the destinies of a kingdom, the old ally of England, and the impassioned enemy of the Revolution. The terms prescribed to Murat, and embodied in the armistice of Foligno, were less distinguished by severity towards the Neapolitans than hostility to the English, and this treaty is remarkable as containing the first official enunciation of the CONTINENTAL SYSTEM, to which, through the whole remainder of his career, he so inflexibly adhered, and which had so large a share, through the misery which it occasioned, in bringing about his ultimate overthrow (2) "

By the armistice of Foligno it was provided that the Neapolitan troops should forthwith evacuate the Roman states, but that, even after their retreat, the Republicans should continue to occupy Narni and the line of the Nera, to its junction with the Tiber, that "all the ports of Naples and Sicily should instantly be closed against English vessels of merchandise as well as war, and remain shut till the conclusion of a general peace, that all prosecutions on account of political offences should cease, and the scientific men, unworthily detained at Naples on their return from Egypt, should be instantly set at liberty (3) "

By the treaty of Foligno, which was signed soon afterwards, the ambitious projects of the first consul were more completely developed, and the first indications were manifested of that resolution to envelop the continent in an iron net, which was afterwards so completely carried into effect. By this treaty it was provided, that "all the harbours of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily should be closed to all English or Turkish vessels until the conclusion of a general peace, that Porto Longone in the island of Elba, Piombino in Tuscany, and a small territory on the sea-coast of that duchy, should be ceded to France, that all political prosecutions should cease, and the sum of 50,000 francs be paid by the Neapolitan Government to the victims of former disorders on the return of the court of Sicily, that the statues and paintings taken from Rome by the Neapolitan troops should be restored, and that, in case of a menaced attack from the troops of Turkey or England, a French corps, equal to what should be sent by the Emperor of Russia, should be placed at his disposal." Under these last words was veiled the most important article in the treaty, which was speedily carried into effect, and revealed the resolution of the French Government to take military possession of the whole peninsula. On the 1st April, only three days after the signature of this treaty, and before either any requisition had been made by the Neapolitan Government or any danger menaced their dominions, a corps of twelve thousand men, under the command of General Soult, set out from the French lines, and before the end of the same month took possession of the fortresses of Tarentum, Otranto, Brindisi, and all the harbours in the extremity of Calabria. By a secret article

(1) Jo n x 217 218 Dum v 333 334 Bot
 (2) Jo n x v 219 220 Dum v 341 342 Est
 72 73
 (3) B n v 341

in the treaty, the Neapolitan Government were to pay 500,000 francs (L.20,000) a-month for the pay and equipment of this corps, besides furnishing gratis all the provisions it might require (1). The object of this occupation was to facilitate the establishment of a communication with the army in Egypt, and it excited the utmost solicitude in the breast of Napoléon. His instructions to Soult are extremely curious, as proving how early he had embraced the new political principles on which his government was thereafter founded. Among other things, he directed that the general "should engage in no revolution, but, on the contrary, severely repress any appearance of it which might break out; that he should communicate to all his officers that the French Government had no desire to revolutionize Naples; that with all his staff he should go to mass on every festival with military music, and always endeavour to conciliate the priests and Neapolitan authorities; that he should maintain his army at the expense of Tuscany and Naples, as the Republic was so overwhelmed by the return of its armies to the territory of France, that he could not send them a single farthing." Finally, he gave minute directions for the reduction of porto Ferraio and the island of Elba, little anticipating that he was seeking to acquire for the Republic his own future place of exile (2).

Siege of Elba, July, 1801. This little island, which has since acquired such interest from the residence of Napoléon in 1814, was at first deemed an easy conquest by the French general. But he soon found that he had a very different enemy to deal with from the pusillanimous troops of Naples. The English garrison of porto Ferraio consisted merely of three hundred British soldiers, of eight hundred Tuscan troops, and four hundred Corsicans in the pay of Great Britain; but into this motley assemblage the governor, Colonel Airley, had infused his own undaunted resolution. At first the French commenced the siege with fifteen hundred men only; but finding that number totally inadequate, they gradually augmented their force to six thousand men, while three frigates maintained a strict blockade, which soon reduced the garrison to great straits from want of provisions. But in the end of July, Sir John Borlase Warren hove in sight with an English squadron; the French cruizers instantly took refuge in the harbour of Leghorn; and the Republicans, in their turn, began to experience the hardships of a blockade. Three French frigates were captured in endeavouring to convey supplies across the straits of Piombino to the besiegers, but as in spite of these disasters the labours of the siege advanced, a general effort was made on the 15th September to destroy the works. Two thousand men, consisting of the Swiss regiment of Watteville and detachments from the marines of the fleet, were landed, and attacked the Republicans in rear, while Airley, by a vigorous sortie, assailed them in front. The attack was at first successful, and some of the batteries which commanded the entrance of the harbour were taken and spiked; but the Republicans having returned in greater force, the besieged were obliged to retire, and the troops who had landed were again embarked. Notwithstanding this, however, the most vigorous defence was made; the terrors of a bombardment were tried in vain to shake the resolution of the garrison; and after a siege of five months, the governor had the glory of surrendering the fortress intrusted to his charge only in consequence of an express condition in the treaty of Amiens (5). This successful resistance by a handful of men to the troops who had vanquished the greatest military monarchies of Europe, excited a great sensation both in England and on the continent, and served as a presage of that desperate struggle which

(1) Dum. vi. 268. Pièces Just.

(2) Dum. vi. 270, 280. Pièces Just. Nap. ii. 89.

(3) Article 7, Treaty of Amiens.

awaited them, when, after trampling under foot the southern hosts, they encountered the stubborn valour of northern freedom. "It was," says the impartial French historian, "an extraordinary spectacle in the midst of the triumphal songs, and in the bosom of a continental peace, so long desired, so painfully acquired, to behold an island, of easy access and almost touching the continent, the scene of a long-continued and doubtful strife (1), and Europe beheld with amazement, in that island, a single fortress arrest the arms which the forces of the coalition had been unable to subdue."

Feb 9 By the treaty of Lunéville, which the Emperor Francis was
1801 obliged to subscribe, "not only as Emperor of Austria, but in the
Treaty of name of the German empire," Belgium and all the left bank of the
Lunéville Rhine were again formally ceded to France, Lombardy was created into an
independent state, and the Adige declared the boundary between it and the
dominions of Austria, Venice, with all its territorial possessions as far as the
Adige, was guaranteed to Austria, the Duke of Modena received the Brisgau
in exchange for his duchy, which was annexed to the Cisalpine republic,
the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the emperor's brother, gave up his dominions
to the infant Duke of Parma, a branch of the Spanish family, on the promise
of an indemnity in Germany, France abandoned Kehl, Cassel, and Eliren-
breitzen, on condition that these forts should remain in the situation in
which they were when given up, the princes dispossessed by the cession of
the left bank of the Rhine were promised an indemnity in the bosom of the
Empire, the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian
republics was guaranteed, and their inhabitants declared "to have the power
of choosing whatever form of government they preferred (2)."

These conditions did not differ materially from those contained in the
treaty of Campo Formio, or from those offered by Napoleon previous to the
renewal of the war, a remarkable circumstance, when it is recollected how
vast an addition the victories of Marengo, Hohenlinden, and the Rhine had
since made to the preponderance of the French arms.

Emperor The article which compelled the Emperor to subscribe this treaty,
subscribes as head of the empire as well as Emperor of Austria, gave rise to
for the em the sequel, as shall be shown, to the most painful internal divisions
pre as well in Germany. By a fundamental law of the empire, the Emperor could not
as Austria bind the electors and states of which he was the head, without either their
concurrence or express powers to that effect previously conferred. The want
of such powers had rendered inextricable the separate interests referred to
the Congress at Rastadt, but Napoleon, whose impatient disposition could
not brook such formalities, cut the matter short at Lunéville, by throwing
his sword into the scale, and insisting that the emperor should sign for the
empire as well as himself, leaving him to vindicate such a step as he best
could to the princes and states of the Imperial Confederacy. The Emperor
hesitated long before he subscribed such a condition, which left the seeds of
interminable discord in the Germanic body, but the conqueror was inexor-
able, and no means of evasion could be found. He vindicated himself to the
electors in a dignified manner before that
when the treaty was signed, his Imperial
authority was restrained at that point in a
precise manner, and therefore that he had been compelled to sign, as head
of the empire, without any title so to do, he added, "But, on the other
hand, the consideration of the melancholy situation in which, at that period,

(1) Duméril v. 3. 332 Ann. Reg. 1801 p. 179
Journ. x. v. 371 374

(2) See the Treaty in Dumas, vi. 252. et seq.
Lectures Just.

a large part of Germany was placed, the prospect of the still more calamitous fate with which the superiority of the French menaced the empire if the peace was any longer deferred (1); in fine, the general wish, which was loudly expressed, in favour of an instant accommodation, were so many powerful motives which forbade me to refuse the concurrence of my minister to this demand of the French plenipotentiary." The electors and princes of the empire felt the force of this touching appeal; they commiserated the situation of the first monarch in Christendom, compelled to throw himself on his subjects for forgiveness of a step which he could not avoid; and one of the first steps of the Diet of the empire, assembled after the treaty of Lunéville was signed, was to give it their solemn ratification, grounded on the extraordinary situation in which the Emperor was then placed. But the question of indemnities to the dispossessed princes was long and warmly agitated. It continued for above two years to distract the Germanic body; the intervention both of France and Russia was required to prevent the sword being drawn in these internal disputes; and by the magnitude of the changes which were ultimately made, and the habit of looking to foreign protection which was acquired, the foundation was laid of that league to support separate interests which afterwards, under the name of the CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, so well served the purposes of French ambition, and dissolved the venerable fabric of the German empire (2)."

Reflections
on this
campaign.

The winter campaign of 1800 demonstrates, in the most striking manner, the justice of the observation by the Archduke Charles, that the valley of the Danube is the quarter where vital blows against the Austrian monarchy are to be struck, and the importance of frontier or central fortifications to arrest the march of a victorious invader. The disaster of Marengo was soon repaired, and did not prevent the Austrians again taking the field at the head of an army which almost balanced the Republican forces; but the battle of Hohenlinden at once laid open the vitals of the monarchy. The reason is to be found in the numerous fortresses which covered the Imperial frontiers in Lombardy, and the total want of any such barrier between Austria and Bavaria. After the passage of the Mincio, the army of Brune was so severely weakened, by the detachments left in the rear to blockade the fortresses on that river, that he was unequal to any farther offen-

(1) See the original, Dum. vi. 298. Pièces Just.
(2) Dum. vi. 29, 30. Hard. viii. 52.

March 20, 1801. Extra-vagant joy
at this peace
in Paris.
This glorious peace excited, as might well have been expected, the most enthusiastic joy in Paris. It was announced in these terms to the inhabitants by Napoleon:—"A glorious peace has terminated the continental war. Your frontiers are extended to the limits assigned to them by nature; nations long separated from you rejoice in their brethren, and increase by a sixth your numbers, your territory, and your resources. This success you owe chiefly to the courage of your soldiers, to their patience in fatigue, their passion for liberty and glory: but you owe it not less to the happy restoration of concord, and that union of feelings and interests, which has more than once saved France from ruin. As long as you were divided, your enemies never lost the hope of subjugating you; they hoped that you would be vanquished by yourselves, and that the power which had triumphed over all their efforts would crumble away in the convulsions of discord and anarchy. Their hope has been disappointed; may it never revive. Remain for ever united by the recollection of your domestic misfortunes, by the sentiment of your present grandeur and force. Beware of lowering by

base passions a name which so many exploits have consecrated to glory and immortality.

"Let a generous emulation second our arts and our industry; let useful labours embellish that France which external nations will never mention but with admiration and respect; let the stranger who hastens to visit it, find among you the gentle and hospitable virtues which distinguished your ancestors. Let all professions raise themselves to the dignity of the French name; let commerce, while it reforms its relations with other people, acquire the consistency which fixes its enterprises, not on hazardous speculations, but constant relations. Thus our commerce will resume the rank which is due to it; thus will be fortified the bonds which unite us to the most enlightened people of the continent; thus will that nation, even, which has armed itself against France, be taught to abjure its excessive pretensions, and at length learn the great truth, that, for people as individuals, there can be no enmity for real prosperity but in the happiness of all." (Dum. vi. 296. Pièces Just.) It is curious to observe how early, amidst his continental triumphs, the ambition of the first consul was directed to commercial and maritime greatness, in the effort to attain which he was led to indulge in such inopprobrious hostility to this country

sive movements, and if the war had continued, he would probably have been compelled to retreat; but, after the battle of Hohenlinden, the undiminished battalions of Moreau poured in resistless strength into the undefended Hereditary States. The Archduke Charles had long before foreseen this, by the fortifications of Ulm he enabled Aray for six weeks to arrest the victor in the middle of his career; and so sensible was Napoleon of their importance, that his first measure, when they fell into his hands, was to level them with the ground.

The peace of Lunéville was the first considerable pause in the continental strife, and already it had become manifest that the objects of the war had been changed, and that hostilities were now to be carried on, for the subjugation of a different power from that which was at first contemplated.

The extinction of the revolutionary spirit, the stoppage of the insidious system of propagandism, by which the French democracy were shaking all the thrones, and endangering all the institutions and liberties of Europe, was the real object of the war. The restoration of the Bourbons was never considered of importance, farther than as affording a guarantee, and what at first appeared the best guarantee, against

proved was far more efficacious. The restoration of a brave and honourable, but weak and unwarlike race of monarchs, would have been but a feeble barrier against the turbulent spirit of French democracy, but the elevation of an energetic and resolute conqueror to the throne, who guided the army by his authority and dazzled the people by his victories, proved perfectly sufficient to coerce its excesses. Napoleon said truly, "that he was the best friend which the cause of order in Europe ever had, and that he did more for its sovereigns, by the spirit which he repressed in France, than evil by the victories which he gained in Germany." The conquests which he achieved affected only the external power or present liberty of nations, they did not change the internal frame of government, or prevent the future resurrection of freedom, and when his military despotism was subverted, the face of European society reappeared from under the mask of slavery without any material alteration, but the innovations of the National Assembly totally subverted the fabric of a constitutional monarchy, and by destroying all the intermediate classes between the throne and the peasantry, left to the people of France no alternative for the remainder of their history but American equality or Asiatic despotism. The cause of order and freedom, therefore, gained

existence of liberty, which arose from the democratic innovations of his predecessors

But though the cause of liberty was thus relieved from its most pressing dangers, the moment that the first consul seized the helm, the peril to the independence of the surrounding states, and of England in particular, became extreme. His conduct soon shewed what his memoirs have since confessed, that he had formed, from the very commencement, a resolution to make France the first of European powers,

ed forces against the existence of all directed to this end, he made quashed nations, that they should

exclude English ships from their harbours, and he had contrived, by flattering the vanity of the Emperor of Russia, and skilfully fomenting the jealousy of the neutral states, to combine a formidable maritime league against England in the north of Europe. Thus, as time rolled on, the war totally altered its object; and the danger of subjugation changed sides. Commenced to stop the revolutionary propagandism of France, it terminated by being directed against the maritime preponderance of Great Britain; and England, which set out with heading the confederacy, ended by finding herself compelled to combat for her existence against the power of combined Europe.

In the progress of the conflict also, a change not less important in the mode of carrying on the war had arisen; and the Revolutionary armies, compelled by the penury of their domestic resources, had adopted a system of extorting supplies from the vanquished states, hitherto unknown in modern warfare. It is the boast of the philosophic historian that civilisation had softened even the rude features of war in modern Europe; that industry securely reaped its harvest amidst hostile squadrons, and the invaded territory felt the enemy's presence rather by the quickened sale for its produce than the ruthless hand of the spoiler (1). But though this was true when Gibbon wrote, the French Revolution had introduced a very different system, and made war retrograde to the rapine and spoliation of barbarous times. The Revolutionary armies issued from the Republic as the Goths from the regions of the north, powerful in numbers, destitute of resources, starving from want, but determined to seek for plenty, at the sword's point, from the countries through which they passed; the principle on which they uniformly acted was to make war maintain war, and levy in its theatre, whether a hostile or neutral territory, the means of carrying on the contest. They formed no magazines; brought with them no money; paid for nothing; but by the terrors of military execution wrung from the wretched inhabitants the most ample supplies. "The army of Moreau," says General Mathieu-Dumas, "ransacked the country between the Rhine and the Inn, devoured its subsistence, and reduced the inhabitants to despair, while it maintained the strictest discipline. The devastation of war for centuries before, even that of the Thirty Years, was nothing in comparison. Since the period when regular armies had been formed, the losses occasioned by the marches and combats of armies were passing evils; the conquest of a country did not draw after it its ruin. If a few districts or some towns carried by assault were abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, the inexorable pen of history loaded with reproaches the captains who permitted, or the sovereigns who did not punish such outrages. But Moreau's army levied, in a few months, above twenty millions in requisitions; enormous contributions were unceasingly exacted; the people were overwhelmed; the governments of the oppressed states entirely exhausted. It was reserved for our age to witness, in the midst of the rapid progress of civilization, and after so many eloquent declamations in favour of humanity, the scourge of war immeasurably extended; the art of government become in the hands of the conqueror an instrument of extortion, and systematic robbery be styled, by the leaders of regeneration, the right of conquest (2)."

Symptoms
of patriotic
and general
resistance
springing
up.

Even in this gloomy state of the political horizon, however, the streaks of light were becoming visible which were destined to expand into all the lustre of day. The invasion of the French troops, their continued residence in other states, had already gone far to

dispel those illusions in their favour, to which, even more than the terror of their arms, their astonishing successes had been owing. Their standards were no longer hailed with enthusiasm by the people who had experienced their presence; the declaration of war to the palace and peace to the cottage had ceased to deceive mankind. The consequences of their conquests had been felt; requisitions and taxes—merciless requisitions, grievous taxes—had been found to follow rapidly in the footsteps of these alluring expressions; penury, want, and starvation were seen to stalk in the rear of the tri-color flag. Already the symptoms of ITALIAN RESISTANCE were to be seen; the peasantry even of the unwarlike Italian peninsula had repeatedly and spontaneously flown to arms; the patriotic efforts of Austria had recalled the glorious days of Maria Theresa, and the heroic sacrifices of the Forest Cantons had emulated the virtues, if not the triumphs, of Sempach and Morgarten. Unmarked as it was amidst the blaze of military glory, the sacred flame was beginning to spread which was destined to set free mankind; banished from

how uniformly, when oppression becomes intolerable, an under current begins to flow, destined ultimately to correct it, that the surest foundation is laid for confidence in the final arrangements of Supreme Wisdom, amidst the misfortunes or the vices of the world.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF LUNEVILLE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE NORTHERN MARITIME CONFEDERACY.

NOVEMBER 1799—MAY, 1801.

ARGUMENT.

Origin of the difference between the laws of war at sea and land—Early usages of war on both elements—Gradual change at land—Original customs still kept up at sea—Common maritime law of Europe as to neutral vessels—Principles of that law—It was universal in Europe prior to 1780—But these rights were sometimes abated by special treaty—Origin of resistance to them—Armed neutrality—Subsequently abandoned by the Northern Powers in their own case—Treaties with Russia, Sweden, and America since 1780, recognising this right to England—But neutrals suffered severely in the close of the war—Excessive violence of the Directory against America—Napoleon terminates the differences of France with that power—Maritime treaty between France and America—Revival of the principles of the armed neutrality—Lord Whitworth is sent to Copenhagen—And enters into an accommodation—Growing irritation of the Emperor Paul at the Allies—Politie conduct of Napoleon—Difference about Malta—Violent Proceedings of Paul against England—He is joined by Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia—His warm advances to Napoleon—General maritime confederacy signed on 16th December—Its threatening consequences to England—Measures of retaliation by Mr. Pitt—Diplomatic debate with the neutral powers—Hanover is invaded by Prussia—Meeting of Parliament—Perilous situation of England—Debates on the neutral question—Mr. Pitt resigns in consequence of the Catholic claims—But this was only the ostensible ground—Vigorous measures of his successors for the prosecution of the war—Prosperous state of Great Britain at this period—Its income, expenditure, exports and imports—Naval forces of the confederacy—Energetic measures of the British Government—Nelson appointed second in command of the fleet destined for the Baltic—British fleet sails from the Downs—And approaches the Sound—Splendid appearance of that strait—Undaunted spirit of the Danes—Passage of the English fleet—Preparations of the Danes—Nelson's plan of attack—Great difficulty experienced by the pilots in conducting the fleet to the enemy—Battle of Copenhagen—Heroic deeds on both sides—Nelson's proposal for an armistice—Melancholy appearance of the Danes after the battle—Armistice agreed on for fourteen weeks—Hanover overrun by Prussia—Designs of Paul and Napoleon against British India—Death of the Emperor Paul—Causes of that catastrophe—General irritation at the Czar—Symptoms of insanity in his conduct—Conspiracy among the nobles for his dethronement—Particulars of his assassination—Accession of Alexander—Immediate approach to an accommodation with England—His character and early pacific and popular measures—Nelson sails for Cronstadt—His conciliatory steps there—Peace with Russia, and abandonment of the principles of the armed neutrality—Napoleon's indignation at it—Dissolution of the naval confederacy—Reflections on these events.

Origin of the difference of the laws of war at sea and land

THERE arises, from the very nature of the elements on which they are respectively exercised, an essential difference between the laws of war at sea and at land. Territorial conquests are attended by immediate and important advantages to the victorious power; it gains possession of a fruitful country, of opulent cities, of spacious harbours, and costly fortresses; it steps at once into the authority of the ruling government over the subject state, and all its resources in money, provisions, men, and implements of war are at its command. But the victor at sea finds himself in a very different situation. The most decisive sea-fights draw after them no acquisition of inhabitants, wealth, or resources; the ocean is unproductive alike of taxes or tribute, and among the solitary recesses of the deep you will search in vain for the populous cities or fertile fields which reward the valour

of terrestrial ambition. The more a power extends itself at land, the more formidable does it become, because it unites to its own the forces of the vanquished state; the more it extends itself at sea, the more is it weakened, because the surface which it must protect is augmented, without any proportional addition to the means by which its empire is to be maintained.

In the infancy of mankind the usages of war are the same on both elements. Alike at sea as on shore the persons and property of the vanquished are at the disposal of the conquerors, and from the sack of cities and the sale of captives the vast sums are obtained which constitute the object and the reward of such inhuman hostility. The liberty for which the Greeks

Early
usages of
war on both
elements

and Romans contended was not mere national independence or civil privileges, but liberation from domestic or predal servitude,

from the degradation of helots, or the lash of patricians. Such is to this day the custom in all the uncivilized portions of the globe, in Asia, Africa, and among the savages of America, and such, till comparatively recent times, was the practice even among the Christian monarchies and chivalrous nobility of modern Europe. But with the growth of opulence, and the extension of more humane ideas, these rigid usages have been universally softened among the European nations. As agriculture and commerce improved, it was found to be as impossible as it was inhuman to carry off all the property of the vanquished people, the growth, perhaps, of centuries of industry. The revenue and public possessions of the state furnished an ample fund to reward the conquering power, while the regular pay and fixed maintenance at the public expense of the soldiers took away the pretext for private pillage as a measure of necessity. All nations, subject in their turn to the vicissitudes of fortune, found it for their interest to adopt this lenient system, which so

Gradual
change at
land

materially diminished the horrors of war, and hence the practice became general, excepting in the storming of towns, and other extreme cases, where the vehemence of passion bid defiance to the restraints

of discipline, to respect private property in the course of hostilities, and look for remuneration only to the public revenue, or property of the state. It is the disgrace of the leaders of the French Revolution, amidst all their declamation in favour of humanity, to have departed from these beneficent usages, and, under the specious names of contributions, and of making war support war, to have restored at the opening of the nineteenth the rapacious oppression of the ninth century.

Humanity would have just reason to rejoice, if it were practicable to establish a similar system of restrained hostility at sea, if the principle of confining the right of capture to public property could be introduced on the one element as well as the other, and the private merchant were in safety to navigate the deep amidst hostile fleets in the same manner as the

own hostilities, however loudly they may sometimes have demanded it as a bridle upon those of their enemies. And when the utter sterility of the ocean, except as forming a highway for the intercourse of mankind, is considered, it does not appear probable, that until the human heart is essentially changed, such an alteration, how desirable soever by the weaker states, ever will be adopted. It may national rivalry cease to sway the hur- is, that of all nations upon earth, rev- contend for such a change; she having not only

unprecedented rigour in modern times, at least in her warfare at land, but issued and acted upon edicts for her maritime hostility on principles worthy only of Turkish barbarity (1).

Common
maritime
law of Eu-
rope as to
neutral
vessels.

But it is not merely with the subjects of nations in a state of hostility that belligerents are brought in contact during modern warfare; they find themselves continually in collision also with NEUTRAL VESSELS trading with their enemies, and endeavouring, from the prospect of high profits, to furnish them with those articles which they are prevented from receiving directly from the trade of their own subjects. Here new and important interests arise, and some limitation of the rigour of maritime usage evidently becomes indispensable. If the superior power at sea can at pleasure declare any enemy's territory in a state of blockade, and make prize of all neutral vessels navigating to any of its harbours, it will not only speedily find itself involved in hostilities with all maritime states, but engaged in a species of warfare from which itself at some future period may derive essential injury. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to maintain that the vessels of other states are to be entirely exempted from restraint in such cases; or that a belligerent power, whose warlike operations are dependent perhaps upon intercepting the supplies in progress towards its antagonist, is patiently to see all its enterprises defeated, merely because they are conveyed under the cover of a neutral flag instead of its enemy's bottoms. Such a pretension would render maritime success of no avail, and wars interminable, by enabling the weaker power, under fictitious cover, securely to repair all its losses. These considerations are so obvious, and are brought so frequently into collision in maritime warfare, that they early introduced a system of international law, which for centuries has been recognised in all the states of Europe, and is summed up in the following propositions by the greatest masters of that important branch of jurisprudence that ever appeared in this or any other country.

Principles
of that law.

1. That it is not lawful for neutral nations to carry on, in time of war, for the advantage or on the behalf of one of the belligerent powers, those branches of their commerce from which they are excluded in time of peace.

2. That every belligerent power may capture the property of its enemies wherever it shall meet with it on the high seas, and may for that purpose detain and bring into port neutral vessels laden wholly or in part with any such property.

3. That under the description of contraband of war, which neutrals are prohibited from carrying to the belligerent powers, the law of nations, if not restrained by special treaty, includes all naval as well as military stores, and generally all articles serving principally to afford to one belligerent power the instrument and means of annoyance to be used against the other.

4. That it is lawful for naval powers, when engaged in war, to blockade the ports of their enemies by cruising squadrons *bona fide* allotted to that service, and duly competent to its execution. That such blockade is valid and legitimate, although there be no design to attack or reduce by force the port, fort, or arsenal to which it is applied; and that the fact of the blockade,

(1) The decree of the Directory, 18th January, 1798, declares, that all vessels found on the high seas with any English goods whatever on board, to whomsoever belonging, shall be good prize; that neutral sailors found on board English vessels shall be put to death, and that the harbours of France shall be

shut against all vessels which had touched at an English harbour; and it requires certificates of origin, under the hands of French consuls, exactly as the Berlin and Milan decrees afterwards did.—*ROBINSON'S Admiralty Reports*, i. 341.

with due notice given thereof to neutral powers, shall affect not only vessels actually intercepted in the attempt to enter the blockaded port, but those also which shall be elsewhere met with, and shall be found to have been destined to such port, under the circumstances of the fact and notice of the blockade.

3 That the right of visiting and searching neutral vessels is a necessary consequence of these principles; and that, by the law of nations (when unrestrained by particular treaty), this right is not in any manner affected by the presence of a neutral ship of war, having under its convoy merchant ships, either of its own nation or of any other country (1)

In these propositions are contained the general principles of the maritime code of the whole European nations, as it has been exercised by all states towards each other, and laid down by all authorities on the subject from the dawn of civilisation. The special application of these principles to the question immediately at issue between the contending powers in 1801 is contained in the following propositions, laid down as incontestable law by that great master of maritime and international law, Sir William Scott —

1 "That the right of visiting and searching merchant ships upon the high seas, whatever be the ships, whatever be the cargo, whatever be the destinations, is an incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation (2)

2 "That the authority of the sovereign of the neutral country being interposed in any matter of mere force cannot legally vary the rights of a legally commissioned belligerent cruiser, or deprive him of his right to search at common law (3)

3 "That the penalty for the violent contravention of this right, is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation and search (4)

4 "That nothing farther is necessary to constitute blockade, than that there should be a force stationed to prevent communication, and a due notice or prohibition given to the party (5)

5 "That articles tending probably to aid the hostilities of one of the belligerents, as arms, ammunition, stores, and, in some cases, provisions, are contraband of war, and as such liable to seizure by the vessels of the other party, with the vessel in which they are conveyed (6)

(1) Lord Grenville's speech 13th Nov 1801 on the convention with Russia. *Parl. Hist.* xxxvi. 241, 212

(4) Sir William Scott in the *Martha Robinson*, Admiralty Reports, i. 359 363.

(5) *Ibid.* i. 86

(6) The *Jouge Marguerite* *Ibid.* i. 180 191

existing and merely regulate the exercise of all

The judgments of Sir William Scott are here referred to with perfect confidence as explaining not merely the English understanding of the maritime law but that which is common to all nations

This law
universal
in Europe
prior to
1780.

These rights had never formed any peculiar or exclusive privilege, which the English claimed alone of all other nations. On the contrary, under the equitable modifications introduced by the common maritime law, they had, from the dawn of European civilisation, been universally acknowledged and maintained equally by the courts and the lawyers of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and England (1). Authors there were indeed who contended in their studies for a different principle, and strenuously asserted that the flag should cover the merchandise; but these innovations never received any sanction from the maritime law or practice of Europe, or the practice, independent of express treaty, of belligerent states; and, accordingly, various treaties were entered into among different powers, restraining or limiting the right of search between their respective subjects (2), precisely because they knew that but for that special stipulation the common maritime law would admit it. So strongly was this felt by the English lawyers, who, in the House of Commons, espoused the cause of the neutral powers previous to the maritime confederacy in 1800, that they admitted the right of Great Britain to search neutral ships for the goods of an enemy, and that the northern confederacy contended for a principle which militated against the established law of nations, as laid down with universal assent by that great master of the maritime law, Lord Mansfield; and maintained merely that it would be prudent to abate somewhat of former pretensions in the present disastrous crisis of public affairs (3).

Sweden as a neutral country, which he would not admit to belong to Great Britain in the same character." [Robinson's Reports, i. 350.] And of the impartiality with which this great duty at this period was exercised by this distinguished judge, we have the best evidence in the testimony of another eminent statesman, the warm advocate of neutral rights, and certainly no conceder of undeserved praise to his political opponents. "Nothing," says Lord Chancellor Brougham, "can be more instructive than the decisions of our prize courts on this point (the right of search), and nothing can give us more gratifying views of the purity with which those tribunals administer the law of nations, and their impartiality in trying the delicate questions which come before them, between their own sovereign or their own countrymen, and the rulers or the people of other states. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we have to consider how anxiously and rigorously at this period (1799—1800) the principles for which we are contending have been enforced in the High Court of Admiralty under the presidency of Sir William Scott."—*Edin. Review*, vol. xix. 298, 299.

(1) Sir William Scott. Robinson, i. 360. Lord Eldon. *Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 886.

(2) Per Sir W. Grant. *Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 922.

(3) See Sir William Grant, *Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 922; and Dr. Lawrence, 919, 920.

The hardship with which it is constantly asserted by the foreign diplomatists and historians, that the principles of maritime law for which England contends, are a usurpation on her part, founded on mere power, and unsanctioned, either by the usage of other states, or the principles of maritime jurisprudence, renders it important to lay before the reader a few of the authorities of foreign legal writers on the subject.

Eineccius says "Idem statuendum arbitramus, si res hostiles, in navibus amicorum reperiantur. *Illas capi posse nemo dubitat, quia hosti in res hostiles omnia licuit, eatenus ut eas ubique repertas sibi possit vindicari.*"—*De Navibus* ob. viet. c. ii. sec. 9.

"I believe it cannot be doubted," says President

Jefferson, "that by the general law of nations, the goods of a friend found in the vessels of an enemy, are free; and the goods of an enemy found in the vessels of a friend are good prize."—JEFFERSON'S *Letter to GENET*, 24th July, 1797.

"The ordinances of the old French marine, under the monarchy, direct that not only shall the enemy's property, found on board a neutral vessel, be confiscated, but the neutral ship itself be declared lawful prize." The practice of England has always been to release all neutral property found on board an enemy's ship; but France always considered it as lawful prize.—*Ordonnance de Marine*. Art. 7. *Valin*. 281.

"Les choses qui sont d'un usage particulier pour la guerre, et dont on empêche le transport chez un ennemi, s'appellent marchandises de contrebande. Telles sont les armes, les munitions de guerres, les bois, et tout ce qui sert à la construction et à l'armement des vaisseaux de guerre."—VATTELL, c. 7, sect. 112.

In their letter to M. Pinckney, January 16, 1797, the American Government expressly declare that, "by the law of nations, timber and other naval stores are contraband of war."—See *Parl. Hist.* xxxvi. 213, note.

"On ne peut empêcher le transport des effets de contrebande. Si l'on ne visite pas les vaisseaux neutres que l'on rencontre en mer, on est donc en droit de les visiter."—VATTELL, c. 3, sec. 114.

"Tout vaisseau qui refusera d'amener ses voiles après la sommation qui lui en aura été faite par nos vaisseaux ou ceux de nos sujets, armés en guerre, pourra y être contraint par artillerie ou autrement; et en cas de résistance et de combat, il sera de bonne prise."—*Ordonnance de la Marine de France*.—Tit. Procès, Art. 12. The Spanish ordinance of 1718, has an article to the same effect.

"Other nations," says Heeren, "advanced similar claims in maritime affairs to the English; but as they had not the same naval power to support them, this was of little consequence."—*European States System*, ii. 41.

The claims of neutrals for the security of their commerce are stated by Bynkershoek, as limited to

From motives of policy, indeed, England had repeatedly waived or abated this right of search in favour of particular states by special agreement. This was done towards Holland in 1674, to detach that power from France, and in the belief that the United States would never be neutral when England was at war; and to France, by the commercial treaty of 1787, under the influence of the same idea that she would never be neutral when Great Britain was in a state of hostility. But in the absence of such express stipulation, these rights were invariably exercised both by England towards other nations, and other nations towards England; particularly by Lord Chatham during the whole course of the seven years, and the ministers of Aone during the long war of the succession, without any complaint whatever from neutral states (4). And of the disposition of England to submit in her turn to the maritime law which she requires from others, no better instance can be desired than occurred during the Duke of Wellington's administration, when the English Government declined to interfere in the capture of a British merchantman trying to elude the blockade of Terceira, though a few English frigates would have scot the whole Portuguese navy to the bottom.

The obvious disadvantage, however, to which such a maritime code must occasionally expose neutral states, by sometimes depriving them of a trade at the very time when it is likely to be most lucrative, and the natural jealousy at the exercise of so invidious a right as that of search, especially when put in force by the stronger against the weaker

the fleets of France and Spain at the close of the American war, deemed the opportunity favourable to establish by force of arms a new code of maritime laws, and, accordingly, entered into the famous confederacy, known by the name of the ARMED NEUTRALITY, which was the first open declaration of war by neutral powers against Great Britain and the old system of maritime rights. By this treaty, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark proclaimed the principles, that free ships make free goods, that the flag covers the merchandise, and that a blockaded port is to be understood only when such a force is stationed at its entrance as renders it dangerous to enter (2).

this, that they may continue to trade in war as they did in peace. But this claim he adds is limited by the rights of a belligerent. *Quæritur quid facere aut non facere possint inter duos hostes, cum a forte iniquis quæ potuerunt ante pax esset inter eos, quos inter nunc est bellum.* —BRUNNENBERG.

the treaty between Russia and Sweden — 4 — 2

See Part II at xxxvi 225

(4) Per Sir W. Grant Earl Russ. xxv 222

ring powers shall be free in all neutral vessels, except contraband merchandise. 3 That the articles are to be deemed contraband which are mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce

So undisguised an attack upon the ancient code of European law, which England had so decided an interest to maintain, because its abandonment placed the defeated in as advantageous circumstances as the victorious power, in fact amounted to a declaration of war against Great Britain; but her Cabinet were compelled to dissemble their resentment at that time, in consequence of the disastrous state of public affairs at the close of the American contest. They contented themselves, therefore, with protesting against these novel doctrines at the northern capitals, and had influence enough at the court of the Hague, soon after (1), to procure their abandonment by the United States.

The Baltic Powers, however, during the continuance of the American war, adhered to the principles of the armed neutrality, although no allusion was made to it in the peace which followed; but they soon found that it introduced principles so much at variance with the practice of European warfare, that they were immediately obliged, when they in their turn became belligerents, to revert to the old system.

In particular, when Sweden went to war with Russia in 1787, she totally abandoned the principles of the armed neutrality, and acted invariably upon the old maritime code. Russia, in the same year, reverted to the old principles, in her war with the Turks, and in 1793 entered into a maritime treaty with Great Britain, in which she expressly gave up the principles of the year 1780, and engaged to use her efforts to prevent neutral powers from protecting the commerce of France on the high seas, or in the harbours of that country. Both Denmark and Sweden were bound, by the treaties of 1661 and 1670, with England, to admit the right of search, and give up the pretension to carry enemy's property; and by a convention entered into between these two powers in 1794, which was communicated by them to the British Government, they bound themselves "to claim no advantage, which is not clearly and unexceptionably founded on their respective treaties with the powers at war, and not to claim, in cases not specified in their treaties, any advantage which is not founded on the universal law of nations, hitherto acknowledged and respected by all the powers and all the sovereigns of Europe, and from which they can as little suppose that any of them will depart, as they are incapable of departing from it themselves (2)." Farther, both Russia (3) and Denmark had issued

Subsequently abandoned by the Northern Powers in their own case.

Treaties with Russia, Sweden, and America, recognising this right to England.

mere with Great Britain. 4. That to determine what is meant by a blockaded port, this only is to be understood of one, which is so well kept in by the ships of the power which attacks it, and which keep their places, that it is dangerous to enter into it. See *Declaration of Russia*, 23d April 1780. *Ann. Reg.* xxxv. 318, *State Papers*. It is worthy of observation, as Sir William Scott observes, that even in this manifesto no denial of the right of search is to be found, at least to the effect of determining whether or not the neutral has contraband articles on board.—See *ROBINSON'S Reports*, i. 360.—*The Maria*.

(1) *Ibid.* 206, 207.

(2) Convention, 27th March, 1791. *Ann. Reg.* 1791, 238.

(3) In 1793, the Empress of Russia herself proposed and concluded a treaty with Great Britain in which she expressly engaged to unite with his Britannic Majesty "all her efforts to prevent other powers not implicated in this war from giving any protection whatever, directly or indirectly, in consequence of their neutrality, to the commerce and property of the French on the sea, or in the ports of France;" and, in execution of this treaty, she sent a fleet into the Baltic and North seas, with express orders "to seize and capture all the ships

bearing the pretended French flag, or any other flags which they may dare to hoist; and to stop also and to compel all neutral vessels bound to or freighted for France, according as they shall deem it most expedient either to sail back or enter some neutral harbour."—*Note*, 30th July, 1793, by the Russian Ambassador to the High Chancellor of Sweden, *Ann. Reg.* 1793, p. 175, *State Papers*. A similar note was presented to the Court of Denmark at the same date, and both Denmark and Sweden, in their treaty with each other, on July 6, 1794, Prussia in her treaty with America in 1797, Russia in her war with the Turks in 1787, and Sweden in her war with Russia in 1789, promulgated and acted upon these principles, diametrically opposite to the doctrines of the armed neutrality. [*Parl. Hist.* xxxvi. 203.] With such ardour was this system acted upon by the Emperor Paul, that he threatened the Danes with immediate hostilities in 1799, on account "of their supplying assistance and protection to the trade of France, under the neutral colours of the Danish flag;" and he was only prevented from carrying these threats into immediate execution by the amicable interference of Great Britain: A reasonable interposition, which Denmark repeatedly acknowledged with becoming gratitude.—*Ann. Reg.* 1800, p. 91. In the following year the same

edicts, at the commencement of the war, in which they prohibited their subjects from taking on board contraband articles (1), while America, in the same year, had entered into a maritime treaty with England, in which the right of search was expressly admitted (2). Both by the common maritime law, and by the force of recent and subsisting treaties, therefore the right of search, claimed by Great Britain, was founded on an unquestionable basis.

But this pacific state of matters was totally altered by the result of the maritime war, and especially the decisive battle of the Nile. These great events, by entirely sweeping the French flag from the ocean, left them dependent on other powers for the supplies necessary for their navy; and the Republican Government saw the necessity of relaxing the rigour of their former proceedings against neutrals, in order, through their intervention, to acquire the means of restoring their marine. The intemperate conduct of the Directory, and the arbitrary doctrines which they enforced in regard to neutrals, had all but involved the Republic in open hostilities with America, Denmark, and Sweden, and on the accession of the first consul, he found an embargo laid on all the ships of these powers in the French harbours (3). The *arrêts* of the Directory of 18th January, and 29th October, 1798, were, to the last degree, injurious to neutral commerce, for they deemed every vessel good prize which had on board any quantity, however small, of British merchandise, and in virtue of that law, numbers of American vessels were seized and condemned in the French harbours. Adding insult to injury, the Directory, in the midst of these piratical proceedings, gravely proposed to the Americans that they should lend them \$8,000,000 francs; insinuating at the same time, that the loan should be accompanied with the sum of 1,200,000 francs (L 48,000), to be divided between Barras and Talleyrand. These extravagances so irritated the Americans, that, by an act of the Legislature, they declared the United States "liberated from the stipulations in the treaty 1778 with France, and authorized the president to arm vessels of war to defend their commerce against the French cruizers;" grounding these extreme measures upon the narrative that the French had confiscated the cargoes of great numbers of American vessels having enemy's property on board, while it was expressly stipulated, by the treaty 1778, that the flag should cover the cargo; had equipped privateers in the ports of the Union contrary to the rights of neutrality, and treated American seamen found on board enemy's ships, as pirates. This led, in its turn, to an embargo in the French harbour, on all American vessels (4), and nothing but the Atlantic which rolled between

July 7 & 98
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tory again
America

system was farther acted on. In 1794 the Empress
not tied to the Swedish Court that the Empress of
Russia has thought proper to fit out a fleet of twenty-

take any Swedish merchantmen laden with any
such commodities under their convoy. Her Imperial
Majesty farther orders all merchant ships which

led in g. to shew the destination of the said ship—
Ibid p. 210—211

(2) "In the event of vessels being captured, or
detained on suspicion of having enemy's property
on board, such property alone is to be taken out,
and the vessels are to be permitted to proceed to
sea with the remainder of their cargo.—Art. 17,
Treaty between Great Britain and America, 19th
May 1795.—Art. 18 specifies what articles are to
be deemed contraband.—*Ann Reg* 1795, p. 296—
297, *State Papers*

(3) *Signon* 2 li st, de France, 260

(4) *Nap* 109, 110, 111, 112. *Dign.* 1,
275, 276

that should any vessel bound to a neutral harbour
take in such goods or merchandise as, if they were
consigned to any harbour of the belligerent powers

them, and the British cruisers which prevented them reaching each other, prevented these two democratic states from engaging in fierce hostility with each other.

But this state of mutual hostility was soon terminated after the accession of the first consul to the helm. He at once perceived the extreme impolicy of irritating, by additional acts of spoliation, a power recently at war with Great Britain, and still labouring under a strong feeling of hostility towards that state; the firm ally in better times of France, and one of the most important in the maritime league which he already contemplated

Feb 9, 1800.
Napoleon
terminates
the differ-
ences of
France
with Ame-
rica

against the English naval power. He received therefore with distinguished honour the American envoys who were despatched from New York, in the end of 1799, to make a last effort to adjust the difference between the two countries; and published a warm eulogium on the great Washington, when intelligence arrived in France, early in the spring following, of the death of that spotless patriot. At the same time the embargo on American

vessels was taken off in the French harbours, and every possible facility given to the commencement of negotiations between the two powers. Prospective arrangements were readily agreed on, both parties having an equal interest to establish the new maritime code of the armed neutrality; but it was not found so easy a matter to adjust the injuries that were past, or reconcile the consular Government to those indemnities which the Americans so loudly demanded for the acts of piracy long exercised upon their commerce. At length it was agreed to leave these difficult points to ulterior arrangement in a separate convention, and conclude a treaty for the regulation of neutral rights in future times. By this

Sept 30, 1800.
Maritime
Treaty with
America.

treaty, signed at Morfontaine on the 30th September, 1800, the new code was fully established. It was stipulated, 1st, That the flag should cover the merchandise. 2d, That contraband of war should

be understood only of warlike stores, cannon, muskets, and other arms. 3d, That the right of search to ascertain the flag and examine whether there were any contraband articles on board should be carried into effect, out of cannon-shot of the visiting vessel, by a boat containing two or three men only; that every neutral ship should have on board a certificate, setting forth to what country it belonged, and that that certificate should be held as good evidence of its contents; that if contraband articles were found on board they only should be confiscated, and not the ship or remainder of the cargo; that no vessels under convoy should be subject to search, but the declaration of the commander of the convoy be received instead; that those harbours only should be understood to be blockaded where a sufficient force was stationed at their mouth to render it evidently dangerous to attempt to enter; and that enemy's property on board neutral vessels should be covered by their flag, in the same manner as neutral goods found on board enemy's vessels. So far the French influence prevailed in this convention; but they failed in their attempt to get the Americans openly to renounce the treaty concluded in 1794 with Great Britain, which could not have been done without at once embroiling them with the British Cabinet (1). A similar convention had previously been entered into on the same principles between the United States and the Prussian Government (2).

Circumstances at this period were singularly favourable to the revival of the principles of the armed neutrality. A recurrence of the same political

(1) Treaty Articles 18, 19. Ann. Reg. 1800, 288, 289. Nap. ii. 122, 123. Dig. i. 277, 278. Dum. Reg. 1800, 294, 295. Articles 13, 14, 15.
vi. 96.

relations had restored both the grievances and the ambition which, at the close of the American war, had led to that formidable confederacy. Neutral vessels, endeavouring to slide into the lucrative trade which the destruction of the French marine opened up with that country, found themselves perpetually exposed to inquisition from the British cruisers, and numerous condemnations had taken place in the English courts, which, though perfectly agreeable to the law of nations and existing treaties, were naturally felt as exceedingly hard by the sufferers under them, and renewed the ancient and inextinguishable jealousy of their respective governments at the British naval power. In December, 1799, an altercation took place in the straits of Gibraltar between some English frigates and a Danish ship, the *Hausman*, in which the Dane refused to submit to a search of the convoy under his command, but the conduct of the captain in this instance was formally disavowed by his government, and the amicable relations of the two countries continued unchanged. But the next collision of the same kind which took place occasioned more serious consequences. On 25th July, 1800, the commander of the Danish frigate, *Freya*, refused to allow his convoy to be searched, but, agreeably to the recent stipulations in the treaties between France and America, offered to show his certificates to the British officer, intimating, at the same time, that if a boat was sent to make a search it would be fired upon. The British captain upon this laid his vessel alongside the Dane, and resistance being still persisted in, gave her a broadside, and, after a short action, brought her into the Downs (1).

The English Cabinet at this time had received intelligence of the hostile negotiations which were going on in the northern courts relative to neutral rights, and deeming it probable that this event would be made the signal for openly declaring their intentions, they wisely resolved to anticipate an attack. For this purpose, Lord Whitworth was sent on a special message to Copenhagen, and to give the greater weight to his representations, a squadron of nine sail of the line, four bombs, and five frigates, was despatched to the Sound, under the command of Admiral Dickson. They found four Danish line-of-battle ships moored across that strait, from Cronberg castle in the Swedish shore, but the English fleet passed without any hostilities being committed on either side, and cast anchor off the harbour of Copenhagen. The Danes were busily employed in strengthening their fortifications, batteries were erected on advantageous situations near the coast, and three floating bulwarks moored across the mouth of the harbour, but their preparations were not yet complete, and the strength of the British squadron precluded the hope of successful resistance. An accommodation was therefore entered into, the principal conditions of which were, "that the frigate and convoy carried into the Downs should be repaired at the expense of the British Government, the question as to the right of search was to be adjourned for farther consideration to London. Until this point was settled, the Danish ships were to sail with convoy only in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of protection from the Barbary cruisers, and in the mean time their other vessels were to be liable to be searched as heretofore (2)."

Situated as Great Britain was, this treaty was a real triumph to her arms, and reflected no small credit on the vigour and ability of the Government by which this delicate matter had been brought to so favourable a conclusion.

(1) *Ann. Rev.* 1800, 94, 95. *Nap.* ii. 117, 118.
Biog. i. 292. *Hard.* vii. 444, 445.

(2) *Ann. Reg.* 1800, 93, 97. *Nap.* ii. 117, 118.
B. G. i. 292.

It might have been adjusted without any further effusion of blood, had it not been for a train of circumstances which, about the same time, alienated the vehement and capricious Emperor of Russia from the British alliance. The northern autocrat had been exceedingly irritated at the ill success of the combined operations both in Switzerland and Holland; the first of which he ascribed to the ill conduct of the German, the latter of the British auxiliaries. This feeling was increased by the impolitic refusal of the British Government to include Russian prisoners with English in the exchange with French; a proposal which, considering that they had fought side by side in the Dutch campaign, in which English interests were mainly involved, it was perhaps imprudent to have declined, although the dubious conduct of Paul, in having withdrawn his troops from the German alliance, and broken with Austria, gave him no title to demand such an act of generosity. Napoléon, as already observed, instantly and adroitly availed himself of this circumstance to appease the Czar. He professed the utmost indignation that the gallant Russians should remain in captivity from the refusal of the British Government to agree to their liberation for French prisoners; set them at liberty without exchange, and not only sent them back to their own country, but restored to them the arms and standards which they had lost, and clothed them anew from head to foot in the uniform of their respective regiments. These courteous proceedings produced the greatest impression on the Czar, the more so as they were contrasted with the imprudent refusal of the English Government to include them in their exchange; they led to an interchange of good offices between the two courts, which was soon ripened into an alliance of the strictest kind, in consequence of the impetuous character of the Emperor, and the unbounded admiration which he had conceived for the first consul (1).

Growing irritation of the Emperor Paul at the Allies. Another circumstance at the same time occurred, which contributed not a little to widen the breach between the Cabinets of St.-Petersburg and London. Disengaged from his war with France, and ardently desirous of warlike renown, the Emperor had revived the idea of the armed neutrality of 1780, and made proposals, in May and June, 1800, to the Cabinets of Stockholm and Copenhagen to that effect, which had produced the sudden change in the Danish instructions to their armed vessels to resist the search of the British cruisers. The island of Malta, it was foreseen, would soon surrender to the British squadron, and it was easy to anticipate that the English Cabinet would not readily part with that important fortress; while the Emperor conceived that, as Grand Master of the order of St.-John of Jerusalem, to which it had formerly belonged, he was bound to stipulate its restoration to that celebrated order (2).

Aug. 28, 1800. Violent proceedings of Paul against England. Nov. 5. 1800. Matters were in this uncertain state at the court of St.-Petersburg, when the arrival of the British squadron in the Sound brought them to a crisis. The Czar, with that vehemence which formed the leading feature of his character, instantly ordered an embargo on all the British ships in the Russian harbours; and in consequence nearly three hundred vessels, most of them with valuable cargoes on board, were forcibly detained till the frost had set in, and the Baltic had become impassable. Nor was this all. Their crews were, with Asiatic barbarity, in defiance of all the usages of civilized states, marched off into prisons in the interior, many of them above a thousand miles from the coast; while the

(1) Bign. i. 287, 289. Jom. xiv. 234. Nap. ii.

(2) Bign. i. 287, 290. Hard. vi. 446.

whole English property on shore was put under sequestration. Several British vessels at Narva weighed anchor and escaped the embargo, this so enraged the autocrat, that he ordered the remaining ships in the harbour to be burnt; and in the official gazette, published a declaration that the embargo

Nov 21 should not be taken off till Malta was given up to Russia. This demand was rested on the allegation, that the restitution of that island to the Order of Jerusalem was agreed upon in the convention, December, 1798, between Great Britain and Russia, whereas that treaty contained no such stipulation. These proceedings on the part of the Emperor Paul were in a peculiar manner arbitrary and oppressive, not merely as contrary to the general practice of civilized states, which never au-

event of a rupture between the two powers, there should be no embargo laid on vessels in the harbours of either, but the merchants on both sides have a year to convey away or dispose of their effects (1).

Nothing more than the support of Russia was necessary to make the northern powers, who derived such benefits from the lucrative neutral trade which had recently fallen into their hands, combine for the purpose of enforcing a new maritime code, which might extend its advantages to the whole commerce of the belligerent states. The King of Sweden, young and high-spirited, entered, from the very first, warmly and readily into the views of the Emperor; but Denmark, which, during the long continuance of the war, had obtained a large share of the carrying trade, and whose capital lay exposed to the first strokes of the English navy, was

ject, and Denmark even hesitated whether she should not throw herself into the arms of England, to resist the dictation of her imperious neighbours, and preserve the lucrative trade from which her subjects were deriving such immense advantages. But the Russians soon found means to assail her in the most vulnerable quarter. Prussia had lately become a considerable maritime power, and from the effect of the same interests, she had warmly embraced the views of the northern confederacy. Her influence with Denmark was paramount, for the most valuable continental possessions of that power lay exposed, without defence, to the Prussian troops. In the beginning of October, a Prussian vessel, the *Triton*, belonging to Emden, laden with naval stores, and bound for the Texel, was taken and carried into Cuxhaven, a port belonging to Hamburg, by a British cruiser. The Prussian Government eagerly took advantage of that circumstance to manifest their resolution, they marched a body of two thousand men into the neutral territory, and took possession of Cuxhaven, and although the senate of Hamburg purchased the vessel from the English captain and restored it to the owners, and Lord Carysfort, the British ambassador at Berlin, warmly protested against the occupation of the neutral territory after that restitution, the Prussian troops were not withdrawn. A month before, a more unjustifiable act had been committed by the British cruisers off Barcelona, who took possession of a Swedish brig, and under its neutral colours sailed into the har-

hour of that town, and captured by that means two frigates which the King of Spain had built for the Batavian republic (1).

His warm advances to
Napoleon. Though every thing was thus conspiring to forward the views of France, and augment the jealousy of the maritime powers of Great Britain, the course of events by no means kept pace with the impatient disposition of the Czar. He suspected Prussia of insincerity, and openly charged Denmark with irresolution, because they did not embark headlong in the projects which he himself had so recently adopted. Impatient of delay, he wrote in person to the first consul in these terms:—"Citizen first consul—I do not write to you to open any discussion on the rights of men or of citizens; every country chooses what form of government it thinks fit. Wherever I see at the head of affairs a man who knows how to conquer and rule mankind, my heart warms towards him. I write to you to let you know the displeasure which I feel towards England, which violates the law of nations, and is never governed but by selfish considerations. I wish to unite with you to put bounds to the injustice of that government (2)." At the same time, with that candour and vehemence which distinguished his character, he published a declaration in the St.-Petersburg Gazette, in which he stated:—"Being disappointed in his expectations of the protection of commerce by the perfidious enterprises of a great power which had sought to enchain the liberty of the seas by capturing Danish convoys, the independence of the northern powers appeared to him to be openly menaced: he consequently considered it to be a measure of necessity to have recourse to an armed neutrality, the success of which was acknowledged in the time of the American war." And Oct. 29, 1800. shortly after he published a ukase, in which he directed, that all the English effects seized in his states, either by the sequestration of goods on land or the embargo on goods afloat, should be sold, and their produce divided among all Russians having claims on English subjects! Nov. 17, 1800. Napoleon was not slow in turning to the best account such an unlooked-for turn of fortune in his favour, and redoubled his efforts with the neutral powers to induce them to join the maritime confederacy against Great Britain. To give the greater *éclat* to the union of France and Russia, an ambassador, Count Kalitcheff, was despatched from St.-Petersburg to Paris, and received there with a degree of magnificence well calculated to captivate the Oriental ideas of the Scythian autocrat (3).

General maritime confederacy signed on Dec. 16, 1800. Pressed by Russia on the one side and France on the other, and sufficiently disposed already to regard with a jealous eye the maritime preponderance of Great Britain, the fears and irresolution of the northern powers at length gave way. On the 16th December a maritime confederacy was signed by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, and on the 19th of the same month by Prussia as an acceding party. The principles of this league were in substance the same as those of the armed neutrality in 1780, with a slight variation in favour of belligerent powers. A minute specification was given of what should be deemed contraband articles, which included only arms of all sorts, with saddles and bridles, "all other articles not herein enumerated shall not be considered as war or naval stores, and shall not be subject to confiscation, but shall pass free and without restraint." It was stipulated, "that the effects which belong to the subjects of belligerent powers in neutral ships, with the exception of contraband goods, shall be free;" that no harbour shall be deemed blockaded unless the

(1) Dum. vi. 88. Bign. i. 298.

(2) Nap. ii. 129.

(3) Dum. vi. 121, 123. Ann. Reg. 1801, 93, and 1800, 260. State papers.

disposition and number of ships of the power by which it is invested shall be

by the British Government. Under cover of a regard for the rights of humanity and the principles of justice, it evidently went to introduce a system hitherto unheard of in naval warfare, eminently favourable to the weaker maritime power, and calculated to render naval success to any state of little avail, by enabling the vanquished party, under neutral colours, securely to repair all its losses. It was evident that, if this new code of maritime law were introduced, all the victories of the British navy would go for nothing, France, in neutral vessels, would securely regain her whole commerce, under neutral flags she would import all the materials for the construction of a navy, and in neutral ships safely exercise the seamen requisite to navigate them. At the close of a long and intense, and attended with unexampled the fruits of her exertions, torn from her antagonist's maritime strength, by the intervention of the powers for whose behoof, as well as her own, she had taken up arms

England at this period was not, as at the close of the American war, obliged to dissemble her indignation at a proceeding which was evidently prejudicial to her national interests, and the first stroke levelled by continental jealousy at her national independence. The statesman who still held the helm was a man who disdained all temporary shifts or momentary expedients, who, fully appreciating the measure of national danger, boldly looked it in the face, who knew that from humiliation to subjugation in nations is but a step; and that the more perilous a struggle is, the more necessary is it to engage in it while yet the public resources are undiminished, and the popular spirit is not depressed by the appearances of vacillation on the part of government. On these prudent not less than resolute principles, Mr Pitt was no sooner informed of the signature of the armed neutrality, than he took the most decisive steps for letting the northern powers feel the disposition of the nation they had thought fit to provoke. On the 14th January, 1801, the British Government issued an order for a general embargo on all vessels belonging to any of the confederated powers, Prussia alone excepted, of whose accession to the league intelligence had not as yet been received. Letters of marque were at the same time issued for the capture of the numerous

into the British harbours (2).

These hostile proceedings led to a warm debate between the British ambassadors and those of the neutral powers, which was conducted with great

at l

embarked

Diplomatic debates with the neutral powers. It was stated by the British Government, "That a solemn treaty had been entered into between Russia and Great Britain calculated completely to secure their trade, in which it was stipulated that, in case of a rupture, not only no embargo should be laid on, but the subjects on both sides should have a year to carry away their effects; that in violation of these sacred stipulations the ships of British merchants had been seized, their crews sent to prison in the interior, and their property sequestered and sold by Russia; that these acts of violence, as well as the conclusion of a hostile confederacy, which the Emperor of Russia has formed for the express and avowed purpose of introducing those innovations into the maritime code which England has ever opposed, have led to an open war between Great Britain and Russia; that these measures openly disclose an intention to prescribe to the British empire, on a subject of the greatest importance, a new code of laws, to which she never will submit, that the confederacy recently signed by the Baltic powers, had for its object the establishment of these novel principles of maritime law, which never had been recognised by the tribunals of Europe, which the Russian Court, since 1780, had not only abandoned, but, by a treaty still in force, she had become bound to oppose, and which were equally repugnant to the express stipulations of the treaties which subsist between the courts of Stockholm and Denmark and the British empire; that in addition to this, the parties to the confederacy were pursuing warlike preparations with the utmost activity, and one of them had engaged in actual hostilities with Great Britain. In these circumstances, nothing remained to the British Government but to secure some pledge against the hostile attacks which were meditated against their rights, and therefore they had laid an embargo on the vessels of the Baltic powers, but under such restraints as would guard to the utmost against loss and injury to individuals; that the King of Great Britain would never submit to pretensions which were irreconcilable to the true principles of maritime law, and strike at the foundation of the greatness and maritime power of his kingdoms; and that being perfectly convinced that his conduct towards neutral states was conformable to the recognised principles of law and justice, and the decisions of the admiralty courts of all the powers of Europe, he would allow of no measures which had for their object to introduce innovations on the maritime law now in force, but defend that system in every event, and maintain its entire execution as it subsisted in all the courts of Europe before the confederacy of 1780(1)."

On the other hand it was answered by Prussia and the neutral powers,— "The British Government has in the present, more than any former war, usurped the sovereignty of the seas, and by arbitrarily framing a naval code, which it would be difficult to unite with the true principles of the law of nations, it exercises over the other friendly and neutral powers a usurped jurisdiction, the legality of which it maintains, and which it considers as an imprescriptible right, sanctioned by all the tribunals of Europe. The neutral sovereigns have never conceded to England the privilege of calling their subjects before its tribunals, and of subjecting them to its laws, but in cases in which the abuse of power has got the better of equity, which, alas! are but too frequent. The neutral powers have always taken the precaution to address to its cabinet the most energetic remonstrances and protests; but experience has ever proved them to be entirely fruitless; and it is not surprising if, after so many repeated acts of oppression, they have resolved to find a remedy

(1) Lord Carysfort's notes, Jan. 27 and Feb. 1, 1801. Ann. Reg. 1801, 229,

against it, and for that purpose to establish a well-arranged convention, which gave their rights and places them on a proper level with the powers at war

ated, *namque*
 declare, that he recognises in its own principles, that he is fully convinced of its necessity and utility; that he has formally acceded to the convention of the 16th December, and has bound himself not only to take a direct share in all the events which interest the cause of the neutral powers, but, in virtue of his engagements, to maintain that connexion by such powerful measures as the impulse of circumstances may require. It is not true that the confederated powers have for their object to introduce a new code of maritime rights hostile to the interests of Great Britain; the measures of the Danish Government are purely defensive, and it cannot be considered as surprising that they should have adopted them, when it is recollected what menacing demonstrations that court had experienced from Great Britain, on occasion of the affair of the *Freya* frigate (1).” The Prussian Government concluded by urging the English Government to take off the embargo on the Danish and Swedish vessels, as the first and necessary step to an amicable settlement of the difficult question, without making any such stipulation in regard to that laid on Russian ships, and thereby in effect admitting the justice of the measure of retaliation adopted in regard to the latter power (2).

These hostile declarations were soon followed up by measures which demonstrated that Prussia was not inclined to be merely a passive spectator of this great debate. On the 30th March a declaration was issued by the king of Prussia to the Government of Hanover, in which he stated that he was to take possession provisionally of the English dominions in Germany, and the Hanoverian States being in no condition to resist such an invasion, they submitted, and the Prussian troops entered the country, laid an embargo on British shipping, and closed the Elbe and the Weser against the English flag. At the same time a body of Danish troops took possession of Hamburg, and extended the embargo to that great commercial emporium, while Denmark and Sweden had a short time before also laid an embargo on all the ports of their dominions. Thus the British flag was excluded from every harbour, from the North Cape to the straits of Gibraltar; and England, which a year before led on the coalition against France, found herself compelled to make head against the hostility of combined Europe (3), with an exhausted treasury and a population suffering under the accumulated pressure of famine and pestilence (4).

Never did a British Parliament meet under more depressing circumstances than that which commenced its sittings in February 1801. After ten years of a war, costly and burdensome beyond example, the power of France was so far from being weakened,

(1) Baron Haugwitz's answer Ann Reg 1801.
 211 State papers

(2) Baron Haugwitz's answer Ann Reg 1801.
 211 State papers Nap ii 133

(3) Ann Reg 1800, 107

(4) It deserves to be recorded to the credit of Prussia in this transaction that being well aware how severely Great Britain was suffering at this time under an uncommon scarcity of provisions, she permitted the vessels having grain on board to proceed to the places of their destination, notwithstanding the embargo—a humane indulgence, which forms a striking contrast to the violent and cruel

Emperor Paul on the same occasion

just to visit upon that gallant hero
 their chief, who about that period began to give symptoms of that irritability of disposition and mental alienation, which so soon brought about the bloody catastrophe which terminated his reign
 [Dum vi 167 Ann Reg 1800, 107]

that she had extended her sway over all the south of Europe. The strength of Austria was, to appearance at least, irrecoverably broken; Italy and Switzerland crouched beneath her yoke, Spain openly followed her banners, and Holland was indissolubly united with her fortunes. Great Britain, it is true, had been uniformly, and to an unparalleled extent, victorious at sea, and the naval forces of her adversary were almost destroyed; but the northern confederation had suddenly and alarmingly altered this auspicious state of things, and not only were all the harbours of Europe closed against her merchant vessels, but a fleet of above a hundred ships of the line in the Baltic was preparing to assert principles subversive of her naval power. To crown the whole, the excessive rains of the two preceding autumns had essentially injured two successive crops; the price of all sorts of grain had reached an unprecedented height (1), and the people, at the time when their industry was checked by the cessation of commercial intercourse with all Europe, were compelled to struggle with famine of unusual severity (2).

Arguments
on the sub-
ject in Par-
liament.

This subject of the northern coalition was fully discussed in the parliamentary debates which took place on the King's speech at the opening of the session. It was urged by Mr. Grey and the Opposition, "That although without doubt the Emperor of Russia had been guilty of the grossest violence and injustice towards Great Britain in the confiscation of the property of its merchants, yet it did not follow that ministers were free of blame. He accuses them of having violated a convention in regard to the surrender of Malta to him as a reward for his co-operation against France: did such a convention exist? The northern powers have, along with Russia, subscribed a covenant, the professed object of which is to secure their commerce against the vexations to which they have hitherto been subject; and it is impossible to discover any thing either in the law of nations or practice of states, any law or practice universally acknowledged, the denial of which is tantamount to a declaration of war against this country. It is a mistake to assert that the principles of the armed neutrality were never heard of till they were advanced in the American war. In 1740 the King of Prussia disputed the pretensions of this country on the same grounds as the armed neutrality; and in 1762 the Dutch resisted the claim of right to search vessels under convoy. In 1780 these objections assumed a greater degree of consistency, from their principles being publicly announced by all the powers in Europe.

"There is one principle which should ever be considered as the leading rule by which all questions of this sort should be determined, and that is the maxim of *justice*. Can, then, the pretensions of Great Britain bear the test of this criterion? Our naval ascendancy, indeed, should ever be carefully preserved, as the source of our glory and the bulwark of our safety; but sorry should I be, if, to preserve the rights and interests of the British nation, we should be compelled to abandon the rules and maxims of justice, in which alone are to be found true and permanent greatness, true and permanent security.

"Even supposing the pretensions of England to be just, are they expedient? Its maritime superiority is of inestimable value, but is this claim, so odious to our neighbours, essential to its existence? Let the advantage, nay, the necessity, of the privilege be clearly demonstrated before we engage in a uni-

(1) In the winter 1800-1801, wheat rose to £ 1, 4s. the bushel; being more than quadruple what it had been at the commencement of the war; and all other species of food were high in proportion. Large

quantities of maize and rice were imported, and contributed essentially to relieve the public distress.

(2) Ann. Reg. 1801, 117.

versal war for its defence and purchase it at the price of blood even that the right was just and useful, circumstances may

with many articles necessary for their navy, what would be the convenience thence arising? France, destitute of seamen, discipline, what the better would she be of all the naval stores of Europe? What, on the other hand, is the consequence of the northern powers? Do we not in a moment double her navy?

he obtained, and is not that the real object which she requires, that the commerce is excluded from every harbour in Europe, if ever the instructions against us, what is to become of the invaluable sources of our security? And in the present state of the world, to our naval power, never arraign to extremities

neutrality was wholly omitted. In subsequent commercial treaties with different countries, the question of neutral rights has been settled by the principles of the armed neutrality; and there is at least as much hesitation on a declaration now as there was at the close of the American war.

To these arguments Mr. Pitt has been stated as doubtful whether

Britain is founded in justice; but the subject which has been acknowledged and acted upon by the not only of this country, but of Europe, and on which all the islands merely, but of every belligerent state in Europe, have conducted? The advocates for the neutral powers constantly error of supposing that every exception from the general law of treaty proves the law to be as stated in that treaty, where the circumstance of making an exception by treaty, proves that the nations would be the reverse but for that exception. We may of this description to France, in the commercial treaty of 1778, supposed that that power would never be neutral when we was it ever for one moment imagined, that by so doing, we understood to have relinquished our maritime rights with reference

“With respect to the Baltic powers, the case of the neutral is peculiarly untenable. Nobody here has to learn, that the treaties of 1670 are in full force with respect to Sweden and Denmark, and that the right of carrying enemy’s property is expressly given to Russia, the right of search was never abandoned. On the convention signed between this country and that power, at the commencement of the present war, the latter bound herself not merely to observe this principle herself, but to use her efforts to prevent neutral powers from protecting the commerce of France on the seas or in its harbours. Therefore, if the general principles of the maritime law were as advanced as they are favourable to Great Britain, still the treaties which are in full force, and how can they now contend for a

Admitting that the concession of the right to supply France has been the means of her fleets without

harm, and suppose now outflank the invulnerable and not otherwise

important it is, that the instructions of Lord North was

“It has only been decided for by Great Britain, hesitation on a whole courts,

by a particular as the very circumstance of a general law of concession, because it was at war, but could be under other states? That advocates is of 1661 and in those treaties. With respect to the contrary, in the commencement of the war, to observe this powers from protection. Even, therefore, as in reality the Baltic powers of laws against and with her?

“Denmark, in August last, with her fleets and her arsenals at our mercy, entered into a solemn pledge, not again to send vessels with convoy until the principle was settled; and yet she has recently bound herself by another treaty, founded upon the principles of 1780, one of the engagements of which treaty is, that its stipulations are to be maintained by force of arms. Is this, or is it not, war? When all these circumstances are accompanied by armaments, prepared at a period of the year when they think they have time for preparation without being exposed to our navy, can there be the slightest doubt, that in justice we are bound to take up arms in our own defence?

“As to the question of expenditure, the matter is if possible, still less doubtful. The question is, whether we are to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited; whether we are to suffer blockaded forts to be furnished with warlike stores and provisions; whether we are to allow neutral nations, by hoisting a flag upon a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to the harbours of Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or Toulon? The honourable gentleman talks of the destruction of the naval power of France; but does he imagine that her marine would have decreased to the degree which it actually has, if, during the whole of the war, this very principle had not been acted upon? And if the commerce of France had not been destroyed, does he believe, that if the fraudulent system of neutrals had not been prevented, her navy would not now have been in a very different situation from what it actually is? Does he not know, that the naval preponderance which we have by this means acquired, has since given security to this country amidst the wreck of all our hopes on the Continent? If it were once gone, the spirit of the country would go with it. If in 1780, we were not in a condition to assert the right of this country to a code of maritime law, which for centuries has been acted upon indiscriminately by all the European states, we have not now, happily, the same reason for not persisting in our rights; and the question now is, whether, with increased proofs of the necessity of acting upon that principle, and increased means of supporting it, we are for ever to give it up (1)?”

The House of Commons supported ministers, by a majority of 243 to 65 (2).

Mr. Pitt
resigns in
conse-
quence of
the Catho-
lic claims.

The union of Ireland with England, from which such important results were anticipated, proved a source of weakness rather than strength to the empire at this important crisis. By a series of concessions, which commenced soon after, and continued through

the whole reign of George III, the Irish Catholics had been nearly placed on a level with their Protestant fellow subjects, and they were now excluded only from sitting in Parliament, and holding about thirty of the principal offices in the state. When Mr. Pitt, however, carried through the great measure of the Union, he gave the Catholics reason to expect that a complete removal of all disabilities would follow the Union, not indeed as a matter of right, but of grace and favour. This understood pledge, when the time arrived, he found himself unable to redeem. The complete removal of Catholic disabilities, it was soon found, involved many fundamental questions in the constitution; in particular, the Bill of Rights, the Test and Corporation Acts, and, in general, the stability of the whole Protestant Church establishment; and for that reason it might be expected to meet with a formidable opposition from the aristocratic party in both houses; and in addition to this, it was discovered, when the measure was brought forward in the Cabinet, that the King entertained scruples of conscience on the subject, in conse-

(1) Parl. Hist. 1801. 895, 915.

(2) Ibid. 931.

quence of his oath at the coronation "to maintain the Protestant religion established by law," which the known firmness and integrity of his character rendered it extremely improbable he would ever be brought to abandon. In these circumstances, Mr. Pitt stated that he had no alternative but to resign Feb 10 his official situations. On the 10th February, it was announced in Parliament that ministers only held the seals till their successors were appointed, and shortly after Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham resigned, and were succeeded by Mr. Addington, then Speaker of the House of Commons, as First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Hawkesbury, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a new Ministry, taken, however, entirely from the Tory party (1).

But this was only the ostensible ground. It has long been the practice of the Administration of Great Britain, not to resign upon the real question which occasions their retirement, but select some minor point, which is held forth to the public as the ostensible ground of the change, and this custom is attended with the great advantage of not implicating the Crown or the Government openly in a collision with either House of Parliament. From the circumstance of Mr. Pitt having so prominently held forth the Catholic question as the reason for his retirement, it is more than probable that this was not the real ground of the change; or, that if it was, he readily caught at the impossibility of carrying through any farther concessions to the Catholics of Ireland as a motive for resignation, to prevent the approach to other and more important questions which remained behind. There was no necessity for bringing forward the Catholic claims at that moment, nor any reason for breaking up an Administration at a period of unparalleled public difficulty, merely because the scruples in the Royal breast prevented them from being at that time conceded. But the question of peace or war stood in a very different situation. Mr. Pitt could not disguise from himself that the country was now involved in a contest, apparently endless, if the principles on which it had so long been conducted were rigidly adhered to; that the dissolution of the continental coalition, and the formation of the northern confederacy had immensely diminished the chances, not merely of success, but of salvation during its future continuance. As it was possible, therefore, perhaps probable, that England might be driven to an accommodation at no distant period, and the principles he had so long maintained might prove an obstacle to such a necessary measure, Mr. Pitt took the part of retiring with the leading members of his Cabinet, and was succeeded by other inferior adherents of his party, who, without departing from his principles altogether, might feel themselves more at liberty to mould them according to the pressure of external circumstances. In doing this, the English minister acted the part of

(1) *Parl. Hist* xxxv 966 *Ann Reg* 1801, 117, 121.

In a paper circulated at this period in Mr Pitt's name, it was stated, "The leading part of his Majesty's ministers finding insurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body while in office have felt it impossible to continue in office under their inability to propose it, with the circumstances necessary to carry the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from his Majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body may with confidence rely on the zealous support of

a true patriot. "He sacrificed himself," says the chosen historian of Napoleon, "to the good of his country and a general peace. He showed himself more than a great statesman, a good citizen (1)."

But though Mr. Pitt retired, he left his mantle to his successors; neither timidity nor vacillation appeared in the measures of Government towards foreign states. For both the land and sea-forces

a larger allowance was provided than in any previous year since the commencement of the war. For the navy there was voted 139,000 seamen and marines, and 120 ships of the line were put in commission. The land-troops altogether amounted to 300,000 men (2); and the navy, in service and ordinary, amounted to the prodigious force of above 200 ships of the line and 250 frigates (3). Mr. Pitt, on February 18th, brought forward the budget immediately before he surrendered the seals to his successors. The charges of the army and navy were each of them above L.15,000,000; and the total expenditure to be provided for by the United Kingdom amounted to L.42,000,000, besides above L.20,000,000 as the interest of the debt. To provide for these prodigious charges, war-supplies to the amount of L.17,000,000 existed; and to make up the difference he contracted a loan of L.25,500,000 for Great Britain; while Ireland, according to the agreement at the Union, was to provide 2-17ths of the whole expense, or L.4,500,000. To provide for the interest of the loan, and the sinking fund applicable to its reduction, new taxes, chiefly in the excise and customs, were imposed to the amount of L.1,794,000. These additional taxes, according to the admirable system of that great financier, were almost all laid on in the indirect form, being intended to be a permanent burden on the nation till the principal was paid off; and a sinking-fund of L.100,000 a-year was provided for this purpose in the excess of the additional taxes above the interest of the debt (4).

Notwithstanding the unexampled difficulties which had beset the British empire in the years 1799 and 1800, from the extreme severity of the scarcity during that period, and the vast expenditure which the campaigns of these two years had occasioned, the condition

(1) Bign. i. 406. Ann. Reg. 1800, 119, 120.	
(2) Viz—Regular Forces,	193,000
Militia,	78,000
Fencibles,	31,000
Total,	302,000

The expense of maintaining which was estimated at L.12,910,000. The total forces, both of land and sea, in 1792, was not 120,000; a signal proof what much greater efforts than she was generally supposed capable of, England could really make, and of the overwhelming force with which, at the commencement of the war, she might, by a proper exertion of her strength, have overwhelmed the revolutionary volcano.—See *Ann. Reg.* 1800, p. 112, and *Journ.* xiv. 251.

(3) Ships of the line, in commission and ordinary,	205
Building,	35
Fifty-gun ships,	27
Frigates,	257
Brigs and sloops,	312
Total,	537

Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco,	L.2,750,000
Lottery,	500,000
Income Tax,	1,250,000
Duty on Exports and Imports,	1,250,000
Surplus of the Consolidated Fund,	300,000
Irish Taxes and Loans,	4,500,000
Balance not raised for Subsidiary,	500,000
Surplus of Grants,	10,000

Land, L.1,450,000

Ways and Means, L.1,450,000

Grants,

—See *JAMES's Naval Hist.* iii. Table ix; and *Journ.* xiv. 252.

(4) *Parl. Deb.* xxxv. 971, 978.

Mr. Pitt stated the War Revenue of the Nation for the year 1801, as follows:—

of the empire in 1801 was, to an unprecedented degree, wealthy and prosperous. The great loan of twenty-five millions of that year was borrowed at a rate of interest under six per cent, although loans to the amount of above two hundred millions had been contracted in the eight preceding years, the exports, as compared with what they were at the commencement of the war, had tripled, and the imports more than tripled, in addition to the vast sums of money which the nation required for its loans to foreign powers, and payments on account of its own forces in foreign parts. Nearly a fourth had been added to the tonnage of the shipping and the seamen employed in it during the same period, while the national expenditure had risen to above sixty-eight millions, of which nearly forty millions were provided from permanent or war-taxes (1). Contrary to all former prece-

(1) Mr Chancellor Addington on June 29 1801 brought forward a series of financial resolutions which fully explain the situation of the British empire at that period as well as deriving of a ten-
tative. The financial reports are as follow —

1 Expenditure for 1801

Interest of debt and sinking fund	£ 20 144 000
Add annual interest on loans of 1801	1 812 000
Civil, share of Great Britain	1 376 000
Civil government pensions charges etc in Scotland	63 000
Charges of Collection	1 851 000
Great Britain's share of the war charges of 1801	39 338 000
Advances to foreign from England	2 500 000
Interest on Imperial loans	497 000
Total charges	1 68 153 000

2 Income for 1801

Permanent Revenue as in 1800	£ 27 419 000
Produce of first quarter's taxes 1801	1 000 000
Income tax	5 222 000
Exports and imports	1 200 000
Repayments from Grenada	800 000
Loan	25 500 000

3 Sinking Fund

Amount of sinking fund in 1786	£ 1786
in 1793	1 427 000
in 1801	5 300 000

4 Produce of Taxes

Year	Permanent Taxes	Year	Permanent Taxes
Ended on 5th Jan 1793	£ 14 284 000	1793	£ 13 332 000
1794	13 911 000	1799	11 275 000
1795	13 858 000	1800	15 743 000
1796	13 57 000	1801	11 194 000
1797	14 292 000		

War Taxes of 1801 £ 8 079 000

5 Imports and Exports

Average of six years ending on 5th Jan	Imports
1784	£ 13 122 000
1793	18 685 000
1801	25 259 000
Real value of imports in 1801	51 500 000
Average of six years ending 5th Jan	Exports
1784	£ 4 263 000
1796	5 468 000
1801	12 166 000
Real value of exports in 1801	16 300 000

6 Shipping

Registered vessels	Tonnage	Seamen
1788	12 827	136 300
1792	16 079	118 000
1800	18 817	113 000

The vast increase of exports imports and shipping between 1793 and 1800 and especially since the Bank Restriction Act in 1797 is particularly worthy of observation — See Part II of 1801 1807

Loan for Ireland	2 500 000
Exchequer bills charged on supplies of 1802	2 000 000
Add to all produce of taxes deficient in 1800	1 100 000
Unpaid part of German loan	560 000
Redeemed land tax	62 000

Total income £ 67 963 000

3 Public Debt

Public debt on the 5th January 1793	£ 1 227 000 000
Annuities at same period	1 293 000
Public debt created from 5th Jan 1793 to 1st Feb 1801	214 061 000
Annuities created since the same period	302 000
Debt redeemed from 1793 to 1801	52 261 000
Drawn by land tax redeemed	16 083 000
Total public debt on 1st February 1801	100 709 000
Annuities existing then	1 540 000
Annual charges of debt incurred before 1793 with sinking fund	10 325 000
Annual charges of debt incurred since 1793 with do	10 395 000

dent, the country had eminently prospered during this long and arduous struggle. Notwithstanding the weight of its taxation, and the immense sums which had been squandered in foreign loans or services, and of course lost to the productive powers of Great Britain, the industry of the nation in all its branches had prodigiously increased, and capital was to be had in abundance for all the innumerable undertakings, both public and private, which were going forward. Agriculture had advanced in a still greater degree than population; the dependence of the nation on foreign supplies was rapidly diminishing; and yet the united kingdom, which had added nearly a sixth to its inhabitants since 1791, numbered above fifteen million of souls in the British isles (1). The divisions and disaffection which prevailed during the earlier years of the war had almost entirely disappeared; the atrocities of the French Revolution had weaned all but a few inveterate democrats from Jacobinical principles; the imminence of the public danger had united the great body of the people in a strong attachment to the national colours; the young and active party of the population had risen into manhood since the commencement of the contest, and imbibed with their mother's milk the enthusiastic feelings it was calculated to awaken; while the incessant progress and alarming conquests of France had generally diffused the belief that no security for the national independence was to be found but in a steady resistance to its ambition. A nation animated with such feelings and possessed of such resources, was not unreasonably confident in itself when it bade defiance to Europe in arms.

England, however, had need of all its energies, for the forces of the maritime league were extremely formidable. Russia had eighty-two sail of the line and forty frigates in her harbours, of which forty-seven line-of-battle ships were in the Baltic and at Archangel, but of these not more than fifteen were in a state ready for active service; and the crews were extremely deficient in nautical skill. Sweden had eighteen ships of the line and fourteen frigates, besides a great quantity of small craft, in much better condition, and far better served, than the Russian navy; while a numerous flotilla, with ten thousand men on board, was prepared to defend its shores, and twenty thousand troops, stationed in camps in the interior, were ready to fly to any menaced point. Denmark had twenty-three ships of the line and fourteen large frigates, which the brave and energetic population of Zealand had made the utmost efforts to equip and man, to resist the attack which was shortly anticipated from the British arms. Could the three powers have united their forces, they had twenty-four ships of the line ready for sea, which might in a few months have been raised with ease to fifty, besides twenty-five frigates, a force which, combined with the fleet of Holland, might have raised the blockade of the French harbours, and enabled the confederated powers to ride triumphant in the British Channel (2).

Energetic
measures of
the British
Government.

In these circumstances every thing depended on England striking a decisive blow in the outset, and anticipating by the celerity of her movements that combination of force which otherwise might

(1) Population in 1801 :—

England,	3,331,000
Wales,	541,000
Scotland,	1,599,000
Ireland,	4,500,000
Army and navy,	470,000

15,441,000

—See PERRER's *Tables*, 332, and *Population Returns*.

(2) Ann. Reg. 1801, 109. Dum. vi. 169, 172. Nap. ii. 137, 138. Southey's *Life of Nelson*, ii. 91.

proves so threatening to her national independence. Fortunately the Government were fully aware of the necessity of acting vigorously at the commencement, and by great exertions a powerful squadron was assembled at Yarmouth in the beginning of March. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, four frigates, and a number of bomb vessels, in all fifty-two sail.

This powerful force was placed under the command of Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson for his second in command. The hero of the Nile had good reason to be dissatisfied at finding himself placed under the command of an officer who, though respectable, and his superior in rank, was comparatively unknown in the annals of naval glory, but he was not a man to allow any personal feelings to interfere with his duty to his country. Though sensible of the slight, therefore, he cheerfully accepted the subordinate command. When he arrived at Yarmouth he "found the admiral a little nervous about dark nights and fields of ice, but we must brave up," said he, "these are not times for nervous systems. I hope we shall give our northern enemies that hail-storm of bullets which gives our dear country the dominion of the sea. All the devils in the north cannot take it from us, if our wooden walls have fair play (1)." Nelson appointed second in command of the fleet least need for the British

The British fleet sailed from Yarmouth on the 12th March, but soon after putting to sea, it sustained a serious loss in the wreck of the *Invincible*, which struck on one of the sand banks in that dangerous coast, and shortly sunk with a large part of the crew. Mr Vansittart accompanied the squadron in the capacity of plenipotentiary, to endeavour to arrange the differences by negotiation, which unfortunately proved totally impossible. It arrived on the 27th off Zealand, and Sir Hyde immediately despatched a letter to the governor of Cronenberg castle, to inquire whether the fleet would be allowed without molestation to pass the Sound. The governor having replied that he could not allow a force, whose intentions were unknown, to approach the guns of his fortress, the British admiral declared that he took this as a declaration of war. By the earnest advice of Nelson it was determined immediately to attempt the passage, a resolution which, in the state of the northern powers, was not only the most gallant but the most prudent that could have been adopted (2). On the 30th March the British fleet entered the Sound, with a fair wind from the northwest, and spreading all sail, proudly and gallantly bore up towards the harbour of Copenhagen (3). March 12 Sir Hyde Parker sailed from the Do you

The scene which opened upon the British fleet when it entered this celebrated passage was every way worthy of the cause in which it was engaged, and the memorable events of which it was soon to become the theatre. Nothing in the north of Europe can be compared to the prospect afforded by the channel which lies between the opposite shores of Sweden and Denmark. On the left, the coast of Scandinavia exhibits a beautiful assemblage of corn lands, pastures and copses, rising into picturesque and varied hills, while on the right, the shores of Zealand present a continued succession of rich plains, woods, meadows, orchards, villas and all the accompaniments of long established civilization. The isles of Huen, Saltholm, and

(1) Southey ii 23

(2) Nelson on this occasion addressed Sir Hyde as follows — "The more I have reflected the more

Amack appear in the widening channel; the former celebrated as bearing the observatory of the great Tycho Brahe, and where most of his discoveries were made, the latter nearly opposite to Copenhagen. At the foot of the slope, on the Swedish side, is situated the old city of Helsingborg, with its picturesque battlements and mouldering towers; while on the south, the castle of Cronenberg and city of Elsinore rise in frowning majesty to assert the dominion of Denmark over the straits. Both are associated with poetic and historical recollections. Elsinore is familiar to every reader of Hamlet, and has recently been celebrated in thrilling strains by the greatest of modern lyric poets (1); while Cronenberg castle was the scene of a still deeper tragedy. There Queen Matilda was confined, the victim of a base court intrigue, and enlivened the dreary hours of captivity in nursing her infant; there she was separated from that, the last link that bound her to existence; and on these towers her eyes were fixed, as the vessel bore her from her country, till their highest pinnacle had sunk beneath the waves, and her aching sight rested only on the waste of waters (2).

To one approaching from the German ocean, the fortresses of Helsingborg, Elsinore, and Cronenberg seem to unite and form a vast castellated barrier on the north-east of an inland lake; but as he advances the vista opens, the Baltic is seen, and the city of Copenhagen, with its Gothic spires and stately edifices, appears crowding down to the water's edge. Its harbour, studded with masts; its arsenals, bulwarks, and batteries; its lofty towers and decorated buildings, render it one of the most striking cities in the north of Europe. During summer, the Sound exhibits an unusually gay and animated spectacle; hardly a day elapses in which an hundred vessels do not pass the straits, and pay toll to Denmark at Elsinore; and in the course of the season, upwards of ten thousand ships, of different nations, yield a willing tribute in this manner to the keeper of the beacons which warn the mariner from the dangerous shoals of the Cattegat. But never had so busy or brilliant a spectacle been exhibited there as on this day, when the British fleet prepared to force a passage where till now all ships had lowered their topsails to the flag of Denmark. Fifty vessels, of which seventeen were of the line, spread their sails before a favourable wind, and pressing forward under a brilliant sun, soon came abreast of Cronenberg castle. The splendour of the scene, the undefined nature of the danger which awaited them, the honour and safety of their country intrusted to their arms, the multitude who crowded every headland on the opposite shores, conspired to awaken the most thrilling emotions in the minds of the British seamen. Fear had no place in those dauntless breasts; yet was their patriotic ardour not altogether unmixed with painful feelings. The Danes were of the same lineage, and once spoke the same language as the English; the two nations had for centuries been united in the bonds of friendship; and numbers who now appeared in arms against them were sprung from the same ancestors as their gallant opponents. The effect of this common descent has survived all the divisions of kingdoms and political interest; alone, of all the continental states, an Englishman finds himself at home in that part of Jutland from whence the Angles originally sprung (3); and even the British historian, in recounting the events in this melancholy contest, feels himself distracted by emotions akin to those of civil

(1) Now joy, old England, raise!
For the tidings of thy might,
By the festal cities' blaze,
While the wine cup shines in light;
And yet amidst that joy and uproar,
Let us think of them that sleep,

Full many a fathom deep,
By thy wild and stormy steep,
Elsinore!

CAMPBELL'S *Battle of the Baltic*,

(2) Southey, i. 108, 109.

Reg. 1801, 111.

(3) Clarke's Travels, i.

warfare, and dwells with nearly the same exultation on the heroism of the vanquished as the prowess of the victors (1).

Though they had enjoyed profound peace for nearly a century, and during that time had been ruled by a government in form absolute, the Danes had lost none of the courage or patriotism by which their ancestors, in the days of Canute and the Sea-kings, had been distinguished.

Never was the

the preparation

classes made the utmost exertions to

dition; the nobles, the clergy, the burglers, and the peasantry vied with each

other in their endeavours to complete the preparations for defence. The

Prince Royal set the example by presiding at the labours of his subjects;

workmen presented themselves in crowds to take a share in the under-

takings, children even concealed their age in order to be permitted to join

in the patriotic exertion, the university furnished a corps of twelve hundred

youths, the flower of Denmark, the merchants, including those whose for-

unes were at stake from the English embargo, came forward with liberal

offers, the peasants flocked from the country to man the arsenals: the work-

men in the dock-yards refused to leave their station, and continued labouring

by torch-light during the whole night, with relays merely of rest, as in a

man-of-war. Battalions were hastily formed, batteries manned with inex-

perienced hands, muskets made, and all kinds of warlike stores provided

with astonishing celerity (2) History has not a more touching example of

patriotic ardour to commemorate, nor one in which a more perfect harmony

prevailed between a sovereign and his subjects for the defence of rights

naturally dear to them all

From a praiseworthy, but ill-timed desire to avoid coming to

extremities, the British armament had given a long delay to the

Danes, which was turned to good account by their indefatigable citizens, and

occasioned in the end an unnecessary effusion of blood. They had arrived in

the Cattegat the

ashore, with a

but nevertheless

attempted In the interval, the Danes had powerfully strengthened their

means of defence, the shore was lined with batteries, and Cronenberg castle

opened a heavy fire, from above a hundred pieces of cannon, upon the leading

ships of the squadron when they came within range Nelson's division led the

in the centre while Admiral Graves brought up the

elined to the Swedish shore, and were thus enabled to pass almost

the reach of the Danish guns The cannon balls and shells fell short of the

line-of-battle ships, and did little injury even to the smaller craft, which

affording no small increment to the

hours, and about noonday the fleet came to anchor opposite

Copenhagen (5).

(1) Ann Reg 1801, 111 Southey, ii 103

(2) Dan vi 152 Jon xiv 252 253 Southey,

115, 130

(3) Ann Reg 1801, 110 Southey, ii 109, 111.

Dan vi, 183, 181, Jon, xiv 252 253

Prepara-
tions of the
Danes.

The garrison of this city consisted of ten thousand men, besides the battalions of volunteers, who were still more numerous. All possible precautions had been taken to strengthen the sea defences; and the array of forts, ramparts, ships of the line, fire-ships, gun-boats, and floating batteries, was such as would have deterred any other assailant but the hero of the Nile. Six line-of-battle ships, and eleven floating batteries, besides a great number of smaller vessels, were moored in an external line to protect the entrance to the harbour, flanked on either side by two islands, called the Crowns, on the smaller of which fifty-six, while on the larger, sixty-eight heavy cannon were mounted. To support these, four other sail of the line were moored within across the harbour mouth; and a fort, mounting thirty-six heavy cannon, had been constructed in a shoal, supported on piles. The fire of these formidable works crossed with that of the batteries on the island of Amack and the citadel of Copenhagen; it seemed hardly possible that any ships could endure, for a length of time, so heavy and concentric a discharge. But tremendous as these dangers appeared, they were neither the only nor the greatest with which the British fleet had to contend. The channel by which alone the harbour could be approached, was little known, and extremely intricate; all the buoys had been removed, and the sea on either side abounded with shoals and sand-banks, on which, if any of the vessels grounded, they would instantly be torn to pieces by the fire from the Danish batteries. The Danes considered this obstacle insurmountable, deeming the narrow and winding channel impracticable for a large fleet in such circumstances. Nelson was fully aware of the difficulty of the attempt; and a day and a night were occupied by the boats of the fleet in making the necessary soundings, and laying down new buoys in lieu of those which had been taken away. He himself personally assisted in the whole of this laborious and important duty, taking no rest night or day till it was accomplished. "It had worn him down," he said, "and was infinitely more grievous than any resistance he could experience from the enemy (1)."

Nelson's
plan of
attack.

No sooner were the soundings completed than Nelson, in a council of war, suggested the plan of operations, which was, to approach from the south and make the attack on the right flank of the enemy. The approach of the Danish exterior line was covered by a large shoal, called the Middle Ground, exactly in front of the harbour, at about three quarters of a mile distant, which extended along the whole sea front of the town. As this sand bank was impassable for ships of any magnitude, he proposed to follow what is called the King's channel, lying between it and the town, and thus interpose, as at Aboukir, between the Danish line and the entrance of the harbour. On the morning of the 1st April the whole fleet anchored within two leagues of the town, off the north-west end of the Middle Ground, and Nelson, having completed his last examination, hoisted the signal to weigh anchor. It was received with a loud shout from his whole division of the fleet, which consisted of twelve sail of the line, besides some smaller vessels. The remainder, under Sir Hyde Parker, were to menace the Crown batteries on the other side, threaten the four ships of the line at the entrance of the harbour, and lend their aid to such of the attacking squadron as might come disabled out of action. The small craft, headed by Captain Riou, led the way, most accurately threading their dangerous and winding course between the island of Saltholm and the Middle Ground; the whole squadron followed with a fair wind, coasting along the outer edge of the shoal, doubled its farther extremity,

(1) Southey, ii. 112, 113. Ann. Reg. 1801, 112, 113. Dum. vi, 186, 187. Jom. xiv, 256, 257.

250 anchor, just as darkness closed, off Draco Point, not more than two miles from the right of the enemy's line. The signal to prepare for action was made early in the evening, and the seamen passed the night in expectation of the dawn which was to usher in the eventful day.

anxious was a night of anxiety and trepidation, but not of unmanly alarm, in morrow. The citizens saw evidently that the attack would be made on

This evening day, and, amidst the tears of their mothers and children, Copenhagen repaired to their appointed stations. Few eyelids were closed, save the folk those about to combat, in all its peopled quarters, so strongly was the bravery of the occasion, and the coming dangers to all they held dear, imprinted on the minds of the citizens. Nelson sat down to supper with a large number of his officers. He was, as he was ever wont to be on the eve of a battle,

and he¹ and the enemy. He approached so near as to sound round their

sleep. It was then that it had become perfectly fair; the order was given for all the night to come on board, and when they had received their final instructions to give the signal for action (2).

captain, pilots who were to conduct the fleet soon showed by their indecision the absence of the buoys to which they had been accustomed to look,

The Irish knew what course to follow; and Nelson experienced the utmost that, in mind from their failure, as the wind was fair, and there was not a they had to lose. At length the master of the *Belona* declared he was pre-
gony to lead the fleet, and put himself at its head accordingly. Captain
momen in the *Edgar* led the line-of-battle ships. The *Agamemnon* was next
pared to; but, in attempting to weather the shoal, she struck aground, and
Murray's immovable, at the time her services were most required. The *Bel-*
in ordered Russell soon after grounded also, but in a situation which enabled
becam

lona a
them

want thereby prevented a heavy loss on board the Defiance and Monarch, action here exposed to their fire without the possibility of making any return.

who will be able to do so. In addition, the

that he not knowing that they were aground; but when he perceived they

which not obey the signal, enemy within these ill-fa-

did find the whole fleet in
passerella's track, and thereby keeping in deep water, arrived opposite to their

passenger's track, and thereby keeping in deep water, arrived opposite to him.
he said
admiral

Southey, ii. 113, 115. Ann. Reg. 1808, 112. (2) Southey, ii. 117, 119. Ann. Reg. 1801, 112.
i. 187. Jom. xiv. 257, 258. James iii. 99. James iii. 99, 100.

appointed stations, anchored by the stern, and presented their broadsides, at the distance of half a cable's length from the Danes (1).

Battle of Copenhagen. The action began at five minutes past ten, and was general by eleven. Nine only of the line-of-battle ships could reach the station allotted to them; only one of the gun-brigs could stem the current so as to get into action; and only two of the bomb-vessels were enabled to take up their appointed position on the Middle Ground. Captain Rion, with his squadron of frigates, undertook the perilous task of fronting the Crown batteries—a duty to which the three standard ships of the line would have been hardly adequate—and in the discharge of which that gallant and lamented officer lost his life. Nelson's agitation was extreme when, at the commencement of the action, he found himself deprived of three of his best ships of the line; but no sooner had he reached the scene of danger, where his squadron was assailed with the fire of above a thousand guns, than his countenance brightened, and he became animated and joyous. The cannonade soon became tremendous; above two thousand pieces of cannon on the two sides poured forth death within a space not exceeding a mile and a half in breadth; from the city on the one side, and the remainder of the squadron, under Sir Hyde, on the other, the hostile fleets seem wrapped in one dazzling conflagration. For three hours the fire continued without any appearance of diminution on either side; and Sir Hyde, seeing three ships aground under the iron tempest of the Crown batteries, and being unable, from the wind and current, to render any assistance, made the signal of recall; generously supposing that, if Nelson was in a situation to continue the contest, he would disobey the order; but that if he was not, his reputation would be saved by the signal for retreat having been made by his superior officer (2).

In the midst of this terrific cannonade Nelson was rapidly walking the quarter deck. A shot through the mainmast scattered splinters around; he observed to one of his officers with a smile, "This is warm work; and this day may be the last to any of us in a moment: but mark me, I would not be elsewhere for thousands." About this time the signal-lieutenant called out that the signal for discontinuing the action had been thrown out by the commander-in-chief, and asked if he should repeat it. "No," he replied; "acknowledge it." He then continued walking about in great emotion; and meeting Captain Foley, said, "What think you, Foley, the admiral has hung out No. 39 (3). You know I have only one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes:" and then putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed, "I really don't see the signal. Keep mine for closer battle still flying. That's the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast." Admiral Graves and the other ships, looking only to Nelson, continued the combat with unabated vigour; but the order to retire was seen in time to save Riou's little squadron, though not to preserve its gallant commander. "What will Nelson think of us," was that brave man's mournful exclamation, as with a heavy heart he gave orders to draw off. His clerk was soon after killed by his side, and several marines swept away, by a discharge from the Crown batteries. "Come then, my boys, let us all die together," said Riou; and just as the words were uttered, he was cut in two by a chain-shot (4).

(1) Southey, ii. 119, 123. Ann. Reg. 1801, 112. Dum. vi. 189. James, iii. 101.

(2) Southey, ii. 125. Ann. Reg. 1801, 112. Dum. vi. 189, 190. Jom. xiv. 259. James, iii. 101, 101.

"The fire," he said, "is too hot for Nelson to oppose; a retreat must be made. I am aware of the consequences to my own personal reputation, but it

would be cowardly in me to leave Nelson to bear the whole shame of the failure, if shame it should be deemed."—See *SOUTHNEY*, ii. 125.

(3) The signal for discontinuing action.

(4) Southey, ii. 126, 129. Jom. xiv. 259. Ann. Reg. 1801, 112. James, iii. 104, 107.

It is needless to say from whom the chief inci-

heroic deeds on both side But it was not on the English side alone that heroic deeds were performed; the Danes in that trying hour sustained the ancient reputation of the conquerors of the north. From the prince royal, who, placed on one of the principal batteries, was the witness of the glorious resistance of his subjects, to the humblest citizen, one heroic mind and purpose seemed to animate the whole population. As fast as the crews of the guard-ships were mowed down by the English fire, fresh bands of undaunted citizens crowded on board, and, unappalled by the dreadful spectacle, calmly took their station on decks choked by the dying and flooded with blood. Captain Lassen, in the *Provensten*, continued to fight till he had only two pieces standing on their carriages, and a few men to work them; he then spiked these guns, and throwing himself into the sea, swam at the head of his brave followers towards the isle of *Amack*. Captain *Thura*, in the *Indosforetten*, fell early in the action, her colours were shot away; and a boat was despatched to the prince royal to inform him of her situation, "Gentlemen," said he, "Thura is killed, which of you will take the command?"—"I will," exclaimed *Schroedersee*, a captain who had recently resigned on account of extreme ill health, and instantly hastened on board. No sooner had he arrived on the deck than he was struck on the breast by a ball and perished; a lieutenant, who had accompanied him, then took the command, and fought the ship to the last extremity. The *Dannebrog* sustained for two hours with great constancy the terrible fire of Nelson's ship, at length, after two successive captains and three-fourths of the crew had been swept away, she took fire, and the gallant survivors precipitating themselves into the sea, left the vessel to its fate, which soon after blew up with a tremendous explosion (1). But all these efforts, how heroic soever, were of no avail, the rapidity and precision of the British fire were irresistible, at one o'clock the cannonade of the Danish fleet began to slacken, loud cheers from the English sailors announced every successive vessel which struck, and before two the whole front line, consisting of six sail of the line and eleven huge floating batteries, was all either taken, sunk, burnt, or destroyed (2).

In this desperate battle the loss on board the British fleet was very severe, amounting to no less than 1200, a greater proportion to the number of seamen engaged than in any other general action during the whole war. On board the *Monarch*, there were 210 killed and wounded; she had to support the united fire of the *Holstem* and *Zealand*, besides being raked by the Crown battery (3). But the situation of the crews of the Danish vessels was still more deplorable. Their loss in killed and wounded had been above double that of the British, including the prisoners, it amounted to 6000, and the line had completely ceased firing, but the shot from the Crown batteries and the isle of *Amack* still continued to fall upon both fleets, doing as much injury to their friends as enemies; while the English boats sent to take posses-

dents in the actions of Nelson are taken. Mr Southey's incomparable life is so deservedly popular that its description is now become almost as firmly rooted in the public memory as the events they describe, and deviation from the one is as unpardonable as from the other.

(1) The gallant *Welshes*, a strapping seventeen-year-old boy, stationed himself on a small raft carrying six guns with twenty-four men, right under the bows of Nelson's ship, and though severely galled by the musketry of the English, arrived, contumacious, knee-deep in blood, to keep up his fire to the close of the heroic conflict. Nelson embraced him at the repast which followed in the palace ashore; and said to the

crown prince he should make him an admiral. "If, my lord," replied the prince, "I were to make all my brave officers admirals, I should have no captains or lieutenants in my service."—*Naval Chronicle*, xiv. 308.

(2) *Jonas* xiv. 253. 260. *Southey* ii. 120. 131. *Hann* ii. 190. *Ann Reg.* 1801, 112. *James*, iii. 105, 111.

(3) A singular piece of coolness occurred on board this vessel. A four and twenty pounder from the Crown battery struck the kettle and dished the peas and pork about; the sailors picked up the fragments and ate while they were working the guns.—*DOUGLAS*, ii. 130.

sion of the prizes were fired on by the Danish batteries, and were unable to extricate them from destruction. In this extremity, Nelson retired into the stern gallery, and wrote to the crown prince in these terms: "Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set fire to all the prizes he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies, of the English." A wafer was brought him; he ordered a candle from the cockpit, and sealed the letter deliberately with wax. "This is no time," said he, "to appear hurried and informal." At the same time the Ramillies and Defence, from Sir Hyde's squadron, worked up near enough to silence the remainder of the Danish line to the eastward of the Trekroner battery; but that tremendous bulwark was comparatively uninjured, and to the close of the action continued to exert with unabated vigour its giant strength (1).

In half an hour the flag of truce returned; the Crown batteries ceased to fire; and the action closed after four hours' continuance. The Crown prince enquired what was the English admiral's motive for proposing a suspension of hostilities. Lord Nelson replied—"Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity; he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken ashore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off the prizes as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson will consider this the greatest victory he has ever gained, if it shall be the means of re-establishing a good understanding between his own Sovereign and the King of Denmark." The Danish prince made a reply, which was forwarded to the commander-in-chief; and Nelson, skilfully availing himself of the breathing time thus afforded, made the signal for the squadron to weigh anchor in succession. The Monarch led the way, and touched in rounding the shoal, but was got off by being taken in tow by two other ships; but Nelson's own ship, the Elephant, and the Defiance, grounded about a mile from the Crown batteries, and remained fast, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their wearied crews. With these two exceptions, however, the whole fleet got clear off from the perilous shoals, and rejoined Sir Hyde's squadron in the middle of the straits; a fact which demonstrates that, though some of the British ships might have been lost if the action had continued, it could have made no difference on the ultimate result after the Danish line of defence had been destroyed (2).

The scene which now presented itself was heart-rending in the highest degree. The sky, heretofore so brilliant, became suddenly overcast; white flags were flying from the mast-heads of the Danes; guns of distress were occasionally discharged from those scenes of woe; while the burning vessels which had floated to a distance threw an awful and lurid light over the melancholy scene (3). The English boats, with generous but not undeserved humanity, covered the sea, rendering all the assistance in their power to the Danes who had escaped from the flaming wrecks; and the wounded men, as fast as the ships could be evacuated, were

(1) Southey, ii. 135, 137. Ann. Reg. 1801. 113. Journ. xiv. 260. Duun. vi. 191, 192. James, iii. 109, 111.

(2) Ann. Reg. 1801, 113. Southey, ii. 140, 141. Journ. xiv. 261. James, iii. 115.

(3) Again, again, again,
And the havoc did not slack,

Till a feeble cheer the Dane
To our cheering sent us back:
Their shots along the deep slowly boom—
Then ceas'd and all is wail,
As they strike the shattered sail,
Or, in conflagration pale,
Light the gloom.

CAMPBELL'S *Battle of the Baltic*.

sent ashore; but great numbers perished, for such had been the unprepared ardour of the enemy that hardly any surgeons were provided to stanch the wounds of the numerous victims to patriotic duty. At daybreak on the following morning, the Elephant, to the infinite joy of Nelson, was got afloat; and the boats of the fleet being all manned, the prizes were brought away, including the Zealand of seventy-four guns, from under the cannon of the redoubted Trekroner battery. Thus terminated this murderous battle, one of the most obstinately contested ever fought by the British navy. Nelson said,

Next day was Good Friday, but all distinctions were forgotten in the universal grief which prevailed in the capital of Denmark. Every house was filled with mourners; the streets were occupied with the weeping crowds which

defended. At midnight, however, the mantle, he walked slowly up from the quay through the crowded and agitated streets. The behaviour of the people was such as became a gallant nation, depressed, but not subdued by misfortune. "They did not," says the Danish chronicler, "either disgrace themselves by acclamations, nor degrade themselves by murmurs, the admiral was received as one brave enemy ever should receive another, he was received with respect." During the repast which followed, the particulars of the convention, which ultimately took place, were arranged. Nelson told the prince the French fought bravely, but they could not have stood for one hour the fight which the Danes had supported for four. Melancholy tributes were paid by the people of Copenhagen to the brave men who had fallen in the conflict, a public mausoleum was erected on the spot where the slain had been interred, a monument raised in the principal church, surmounted by the Danish colours, young with the widows or the or- sermon was delivered, and we were in that state of mingled grief and exultation, when the bitterness of individual loss is almost forgotten in the sympathy of general distress, or the pride of heroic achievement (2)

Of all these vessels taken, the Holstein, of sixty-four guns, was alone brought to England; it was serviceable by the fire, hagen. The negotiation which followed was difficult, and Nelson was obliged to threaten to renew hostilities that very night unless the armistice was concluded. The Danes candidly stated their fears of Russia; and the English admiral avowed, that his object in wishing to make the armistice as long as possible, was, that he might have time to go to Cronstadt before returning to Copenhagen. At length it was agreed that it should last for fourteen weeks, and not be broken without a fortnight's previous notice; that the armed ships of Denmark should remain, during its continuance, *in statu quo*, that the principles of the armed neutrality should be suspended as to Danish vessels, that the

(1) Southey, ii. 143, 147. Ann Reg. 1801, 113

(2) Ann Reg. 1801, 114. Southey, ii. 149, 150

(3) Ann Reg. 1801, 114. Southey, ii. 146, 147. Dana, ii. 193, 194

gave their consent to the conspiracy, and Alexander in particular, the eldest son, only yielded on condition that his father's life should be spared (1). On the evening before his death, Paul received a note, when at supper with his mistress, warning him of the danger with which he was threatened. He put it in his pocket, saying he would read it on the morrow (2). He retired to bed at twelve. At two in the morning Prince Subof, whose situation and credit in the palace gave him access at all times to the imperial chambers, presented himself with the other conspirators at the door. A hussar, who refused admission, was cut down on the spot, and the whole party entered, and found the royal apartments empty. Paul, hearing the noise, had got up, and hid himself in a press. "He has escaped," said some of the conspirators. "That he has not," return Bismarck. "No weakness, or I will put you all to death." At the same time Pahlen, who never lost his presence of mind, put his hand on the bed-clothes, and feeling them warm, observed that the Emperor could not be far off, and he was soon discovered, and dragged from his retreat. They presented to the Emperor his abdication to sign. Paul refused. A contest arose, and in the struggle an officer's sash was passed round the neck of the unhappy monarch, and he was strangled after a desperate resistance (3). The two grand dukes were in the room below. Alexander eagerly inquired, the moment it was over, whether they had saved his father's life. Pahlen's silence told too plainly the melancholy tale, and the young prince tore his hair in an agony of grief, and broke out into sincere and passionate exclamations of sorrow at the catastrophe which had prepared the way for his ascent to the throne. The despair of the empress and the Grand Duke Constantine was equally vehement, but Pahlen, calm and collected, represented that the empire indispensably required a change of policy, and that nothing now remained but for Alexander to assume the reins of government (4).

The evident symptoms of insanity which this ill-fated monarch evinced towards the close of his reign, his fickleness of conduct, tyrannical usage of British seamen, and general extravagance of demeanour, must not throw into the shade the good qualities which at an earlier period he displayed, and the important ameliorations which he effected in his country. He first established the hereditary succession to the crown, a matter of infinite importance in a government partaking so largely of the Oriental character. His improvements in the administration of the army were immense, and laid the foundation of the rapid strides which it made under his more fortunate successor. His prodigalities even contributed to the circulation of wealth, and sensibly augmented the public improvement. He was vehement, inconsistent, and capricious, but not without a large intermixture of generous feelings, and occasionally capable of heroic actions (5).

The influence of the causes which had occasioned this violent and frightful revolution speedily appeared in the measures which the young Emperor pursued on his accession to the throne. The conspirators were invested with the chief offices of state, and the Czar was compelled to take counsel from those

(1) B. Gu I 431 435. Hard v. L. (2) Prince Bismarck wrote a letter to Paul in the (3) B. Gu I 438 439. O'Brien I 320. H. v. L. (4) B. Gu I 438 439. O'Brien I 320. H. v. L. (5) B. Gu I 438 439. O'Brien I 320. H. v. L.

whose hands had recently been imbrued in his father's blood, in every thing connected with the government of the empire (1). The new Emperor, on the day succeeding his elevation to the throne, issued a proclamation declaring his resolution to govern according to the maxims and system of his august grandmother, Catherine; and one of the first acts of his reign was to give orders that the British sailors and captains, who had been taken from the ships laid under sequestration, and marched into the interior, should be set at liberty, and carefully conducted, at the public expense, to the ports from which they had been severally taken. At the same time all prohibitions against the export of corn were removed; a measure of no small importance to the famishing population of the British isles, and hardly less material to the forged propitiators of Russian produce. The young Emperor shortly after wrote a letter with his own hand to the King of England, expressing in the warmest terms his desire to re-establish the amicable relations of the two empires; a declaration which was received with equal shouts of joy in London as St.-Petersburg (2). Perhaps no sovereign since the days of the Antonines ever was called to higher destinies, or more worthily filled an important place in the theatre of the world than the Emperor Alexander. Placed at the head of the most powerful and rising empire in existence, stationed midway between ancient civilisation and barbaric vigour, he was called to take the lead in the great struggle for European freedom; to combat, with the energy and enthusiasm of the desert, the superiority of advanced and condensed military force of a revolution, which had beat down all the strength of continental power, with the damnable resource. Well and nobly fortified which arise in the earlier ages of social existence. He looked countenance which his destiny.—Repeatedly defeated, never subdued, he took counsel, like his great predecessor, from misfortune, and prepared the most terrible array which ambition had ever marshalled against the liberties of mankind. A majestic figure, a benevolent expression of countenance, gave him that sway over the multitude which ever belongs to physical advantages in youthful princes; while the qualities of his understanding aided the feelings of his heart secured the admiration of all whose talents fitted them to judge of the affairs of nations. Misunderstood by those who formed their opinion only from the case and occasional levity of his manner, he was early formed to great determinations, and evinced in the most trying circumstances, during the French invasion and the Congress of Vienna, a solidity of judgment equalled only by the strength of his resolution. A disposition naturally generous and philanthropic, moulded by the precepts of La Harpe, had strongly imbrued his mind with liberal principles, which shone forth in full lustre when he was called on to act as the pacificator of the world after the fall of Paris; but subsequent experience convinced him of the extreme danger of prematurely

(1) A lady of rank and wit wrote to Fouche, on occasion of a public ceremony at which the Emperor was present soon after his accession—"The young Emperor walked, preceded by the assassins of his grandfather, followed by those of his father, and surrounded by his own."—"There," said Fouche, "is a woman who speaks Tacitus."—See Bignon, *Hand. vii. 103.*
(2) *John. xiv. 268, 269.* Ann. Reg. 1801, 116.
The empress-mother, a woman of heroic spirit and noble character, and who possessed the greatest influence through life over her son, openly and uniformly avowed her horror at Paul's murder; and

shortly after that event, had a picture painted, representing him on his deathbed, and publicly exposed at the Foundling hospital, which was under her peculiar charge. The Count Palatin having been attracted by the sight, Count Palatin became alarmed at the consequences, and prevailed on his mother to have it removed. Alexander to request his mother to be shewn, "My son," said she, "you must choose between Palatin and me." The painting remained after dismissed from his situations.—D'Ama. vi. 342.

Accession of Alexander, and immediate approach to an accommodation with England. whose hands had recently been imbrued in his father's blood, in every thing connected with the government of the empire (1). The new Emperor, on the day succeeding his elevation to the throne, issued a proclamation declaring his resolution to govern according to the maxims and system of his august grandmother, Catherine; and one of the first acts of his reign was to give orders that the British sailors and captains, who had been taken from the ships laid under sequestration, and marched into the interior, should be set at liberty, and carefully conducted, at the public expense, to the ports from which they had been severally taken. At the same time all prohibitions against the export of corn were removed; a measure of no small importance to the famishing population of the British isles, and hardly less material to the gorged proprietors of Russian produce. The young Emperor shortly after wrote a letter with his own hand to the King of England, expressing in the warmest terms his desire to re-establish the amicable relations of the two empires; a declaration which was received with equal shouts of joy in London as St.-Petersburg (2).

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shortly after that event, had a picture painted, representing him on his deathbed, and publicly exposed at the Foundling Hospital, which was under her peculiar charge. Prodigious crowds having been attracted by the sight, Count Pahlen became alarmed at the consequences, and prevailed on Alexander to request his mother to have it removed. But the princess was not to be shaken. "My son," said she, "you must choose between Pahlen and me." The painting remained, and the minister was soon after dismissed from his situations.—*D'Ann.* vi. 342.

transplanting the institutions of one country into another in a different stage of civilisation; and his latter years were chiefly directed to objects of practical improvement⁽¹⁾, and the preparation of his subjects, by the extension of knowledge and the firmness of government, for those privileges which, if suddenly conferred, would have involved in equal ruin his empire and himself.

*His early
policy a
popular
measures*

The first measures of his administration were eminently calculated to win that popularity which, notwithstanding the proverbial fickleness of the multitude, never afterwards forsook him. By an ukase, published on the 14th April, he restored to the nobility their privileges, and prerogatives, such as they had been in the time of the Empress Catherine, re-established the rights of municipalities, abolished secret proceedings in criminal cases, awarded a general amnesty, and stopped all the state prosecutions which had been commenced. Indulgences were at the same time granted to the clergy, and measures taken to re-open those vents for the rude produce of the state, the closing of which had occasioned so much alarm. Independent of his letter to the king of England, the Emperor wrote to Sir Hyde Parker, expressing an anxious wish to close with the amicable propositions made by the British Government to his predecessor, provided it

port it by a hostile demonstration, made sail with all his squadron to Carlscrona, where, in answer to a message inquiring whether the Swedish Government was willing to be included in the armistice concluded with Denmark, he received an answer that they "could not listen to separate proposals, but would close with any equitable offers made by Great Britain to the united northern powers." This reply, coupled with the well-known pacific

*April 28
Nelson sail
for Cronstadt*

conclusion with the whole Baltic states, as the war, and Cronstadt could be adjusted, and therefore he proposed instantly to sail for Revel, where a large portion of the Russian fleet lay in an open bay, exposed to his attacks, and unable from the ice to make their escape. But Sir Hyde, who trusted that the death of all the differences, insisted

anchor, and remained till the 5th May, when he was recalled by the Government, and Nelson appointed to the command in chief. No sooner was he the unfettered master of his own actions, than he set sail for the gulf of Finland. But when he arrived there he found that in the interval the enemy had escaped, they had cut through the ice in the mole, six feet thick, on the 3d May, and were now safe under the canon of Cronstadt. Thither they were followed by the indefatigable Nelson, who saluted the forts when he approached, and wrote to the Emperor congratulating him on his accession, and urging the immediate release of the British subjects and property. A friendly intercourse was immediately established between the British admiral and the Russian authorities; but as the

His conciliatory measures there

(1) *Journ. 217 270 Nord. 96, 104.*

(2) *Ukase, April 7, 1801. State papers, 1801, 256.*

Emperor expressed great uneasiness at the presence of the English squadron, and it was evident that the negotiation would proceed more favourably if this cause of irritation was removed, Nelson stood out to sea, and proceeded down the Baltic, leaving only a brig to bring off the provisions which had been contracted for. This judicious and conciliatory conduct was met with a corresponding disposition on the part of Russia. When at anchor off Rostock, he received an answer to his letter to the Emperor, couched in the most flattering terms, and containing the important intelligence, that the British vessels and crews which had been detained were ordered to be liberated. On his return to Copenhagen, he found that the conduct of Denmark during his absence had been actuated by very different principles; the most hostile preparations had been going forward, in defiance of the treaty, and ample grounds existed, if the English Government had been inclined, to renew hostilities, and utterly destroy the Danish naval power. But the death of Paul had dissolved the confederacy; conciliatory measures were now the most prudent course which could be adopted, and Nelson, wisely dissembling his resentment, proceeded to England to receive the thanks of a grateful nation, which his valour and skill had brought victorious out of a state of unprecedented danger (1).

Peace with
Russia, and
abandon-
ment of the
principles
of the arm-
ed neutral-
ity.

The British Cabinet immediately sent Lord St.-Helens to St.-Petersburg; and soon after his arrival at that capital, he signed a treaty as glorious to England as it was confirmatory of the correctness of the view she had taken of the law of nations in this great question. By this convention it was provided, "That the right of searching merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and navigating under a ship-of-war of the same power, shall only be exercised by ships-of-war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to the fitters out of privateers or other vessels which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war; that the effects on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war and of enemy's property; and it is agreed not to comprise in the number of the latter the merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account." And the contraband articles between the two powers were declared to be the same as those specified in the treaty 10th February 1797; viz. "cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, firelocks, flints, matches, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, sword-belts, pouches, saddles and bridles, excepting such quantity of the said articles as may be necessary for the defence of the ship and crew." And "that, in order to determine what shall be deemed a blockaded port; that denomination only is given to such a one where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it, with ships stationary or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering (2)." By this treaty the right of search was placed upon its true footing; it was divested of the circumstances most likely to occasion irritation in neutral vessels, and not stipulated in favour of either party as a new right, but merely recognised as a privilege already existing, necessarily inherent by the practice of maritime states in every belligerent power, and subjected to such restraints as the enlarged experience of mankind had proved to be expedient.

(1) Southey, ii. 162, 171. Bign. i. 443, 446. *Jour.* xiv. 272, 274. *Nap.* vi. 154, 156.

(2) Convention, June, 17, 1801. Articles 3, 4. *State papers*, 212. *Ann. Reg.* 1801.

Napoléon has observed upon this agreement, "Europe beheld with astonishment this ignominious treaty signed by Russia, and which, by consequence, Denmark and Sweden were compelled to adopt. It was equivalent to an admission of the sovereignty of the seas in the British Parliament, and the slavery of all other states. This treaty was such that England could have desired nothing more, and a power of the third order would have been ashamed to have signed it." A stronger panegyric could not have been pronounced on this memorable convention, or a more valuable eulogium on the firmness of the Cabinet and the intrepidity of the seamen, by whom these important advantages had been secured. The first consul early despatched Duroc to St -Peterburg to endeavour to counterbalance the influence of Great Britain, and bring Alexander back to the footsteps of his predecessor, but though he received the most flattering reception, he could effect nothing against the ascendant of Nelson, and the treaty was signed, to the universal joy of both nations (1)

Sweden and Denmark were not expressly included in the convention of the 17th June, but they were compelled to follow the example of Russia. Unable of themselves to contend with the naval power of England, the anticipated loss of all their colonies, and the certainty of being deprived of their whole commerce, if they continued the contest, ultimately overcame the influence of France, and the recollection of their recent wounds at Copenhagen. On the 20th May, a convention was agreed to by the Danish Government, in virtue of which the city of Hamburgh was, three days afterwards, evacuated by the Danish troops, and the free navigation of the Elbe restored, and on the 19th, the embargo was raised both in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. These measures were immediately met by corresponding steps on the part of the British Government, the embargo on all the ships of the Baltic powers in the harbours of Great Britain was raised, and the expense both of putting it on and taking it off, so far as Danish vessels were concerned, defrayed by the English treasury. Prussia had been unwillingly drawn into the struggle, and took the first opportunity of escaping from its effects. Under the mediation of Russia, an arrangement was concluded, by which the Prussian troops were to evacuate Hanover, and restore the free navigation of the Weser (2)

Thus was
forced,
English maritime power

of the seas, it was really directed against the grandeur and prosperity of Great Britain, breathing only the sentiments of freedom and justice, it was, in truth, intended to divide among the coalesced states the power and the ascendancy of a more fortunate rival. The rapidity with which this powerful alliance was broken up by England, at the conclusion of a long and burdensome war, and when her people were labouring under the combined pressure of severe want and diminished employment, is one of the most remarkable features of this memorable contest, and, perhaps more than any other, characteristic of the vast ascendancy, moral as well as political, which she has acquired among the other nations in the world. It is in vain to say, the dissolution of the confederacy was owing to the death of Paul, the revolution at St -Petersburg was itself the result of the influence of Great Britain, of that vast commerce, which has made her intercourse essential to the very

existence of the most haughty continental states; and that moral sway, which ranges under her banners the most powerful and important classes of distant nations. The conduct of the English Government and people, during this trying crisis, was a model of firmness and moderation, and was deservedly crowned by one of the most glorious triumphs recorded in their history. Disdaining to submit to the menaces even of combined Europe, they boldly fronted the danger; anticipated by the rapidity of their movements the junction of their adversaries, paralysed by the thunder of their arms the first of their opponents, and at the same time holding out the olive branch, succeeded in detaching the greatest power from the confederacy, and ultimately dissolving it, without the abandonment of one principle for which the war had been undertaken. The convention of 17th June fixed the maritime question upon its true basis; it arrogated no peculiar privilege to Great Britain, subjected to no exclusive humiliation the neutral states, but prescribing one equal rule for all belligerent powers, and imposing one equal obligation upon all neutrals, settled the right of search and blockade upon that equitable footing, which, alike obligatory upon England and inferior nations, must ever remain the law of the seas, while ambition and revenge continue to desolate the world.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

AUGUST, 1799—OCTOBER, 1801.

ARGUMENT.

State of the Egyptian army when left by Napoléon—Desponding letter of Kléber to the Directory—It falls into the hands of the English, who forward it to Napoléon—Mourad Bey issues from the Desert, and is defeated—Advance of the Turkish force—Defeat of a detachment at the mouth of the Nile—Convention of El-Arish—The British Government had previously prohibited such a convention—Hostilities are in consequence resumed—Battle of Heliopolis—Total defeat of the Turks—Desperate situation of the garrison at Cairo—Storm and massacre at Poulak—Cairo is retaken—Defeat of the Turks in every quarter—Improved

tack alone—Arrival of the expedition on the coast of Egypt—Landing of the troops—Severe action on the 5th of July, and defeat of the French there—Cautious measures of the English general—Bloody encounter with the French advanced guard—Description of the ground now taken up by the British Army—Position of the French—Interesting recollections connected with the spot—Battle of Alexandria—Wound and death of Sir Ralph Abercromby—Immense moral effects of this victory, but its first results are not equally decisive—Surrender of Dsmietta—Divisions break out among the French generals—Indecisive measures of Menou—General Hutchinson assumes the command of the English army, and advances towards Cairo—Capture of Ramanieh—General Beliard is repulsed near Cairo—Which is invested—Advance of Sir David Baird's division from the Red Sea—Their march from Cosnier to Thebes across the Desert—General Hutchinson moves against Menou at Alexandria—Progress of the Siege—Surrender of Menou—Change in the Government of Egypt—Which falls into the hands of the Turks—Extravagant rejoicings in Constantinople and London at these events—Great maritime exertions of Napoléon to preserve Egypt—Naval action in the bay of Algesiraz—The English are worsted—Second battle of Algesiraz—Terrible catastrophe of the Spanish vessels, and defeat of the French—Attack of Napoléon on Portugal—Treaty with Spain for this purpose—The Portuguese apply to the English for aid—But can make no resistance to France—Peace concluded, which the first Consul refuses to ratify—A French army invades Portugal—Peace purchased by enormous pecuniary spoliation—Napoléon offers Hanover to Prussia—which declines the proposal—Preparations for the

clusion of the contest.

State of the Egyptian army when left by Napoléon

WHEN Napoléon quitted the Egyptian shores, and the career of Asiatic glory, to follow his fortunes on the theatre of Europe, he left Kléber in the command of the army, and addressed to him a long letter, containing minute directions for the regulation of his conduct in all possible emergencies which might occur. As it was evident

that the victory of the Nile had completely cut off all chance of maintaining a regular intercourse with France, and it was therefore more than probable that the Egyptian army would be compelled to capitulate, he distinctly authorized his successor to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Egypt, if he received no succours or assistance from France during the following year, and the deaths by the plague should amount to above fifteen hundred persons. Immediately after being invested with the command, Kléber wrote a letter to the Directory, in which he gave the most desponding view of the situation of the army; asserted that it was reduced to half its former amount; was destitute of every thing, and in the lowest state of depression; that the manufactories of powder and arms had totally failed; that no resources existed to replace the stores which had been expended; that General Bonaparte, so far from leaving any money behind him to maintain the troops, had bequeathed to them only a debt of 12,000,000 of francs (L.480,000), being more than a year's revenue of the province; that the soldiers were 4,000,000 (L.160,000) in arrear of their pay; that the Mamelukes were dispersed, not destroyed; and that the Grand Vizier and Djezzar Pacha had arrived at Acre at the head of 50,000 men. He concluded in these terms: "Such are, citizen directors, the circumstances under which General Bonaparte has laid upon me the enormous burden of the Army of the East. He saw the fatal crisis was approaching; your orders doubtless prevented him from attempting to surmount it. That the crisis was at hand is attested equally by his letters, his instructions, his negotiations. It is notorious to all the world, and unhappily as well known to our enemies as to the French in Egypt. In these circumstances, I think the best thing I can do is to continue the negotiations commenced by Bonaparte, even if it should lead to no other result than to gain time. I have annexed the letter I have written to the Grand Vizier, sending him at the same time the duplicate of that of Bonaparte (1)."

Desponding letter of Kléber to the Directory.

(1) Napoleon and Kléber's letters, in Dum. iv. 110, 125.

Aug. 17, 1799. The letter which Napoleon had addressed to the Grand Vizier previous to his departure from the East, is one of the most characteristic of all his compositions. "Alas!" said he, "why are the Sublime Porte, and the French nation, after having been friends for so many years, now at war with each other? Your excellency cannot be ignorant that the French nation has ever been warmly attached to the Sublime Porte. Endowed as your excellency is with the most distinguished talents, it cannot have escaped your penetration, that the Austrians and Russians are united in a perpetual league against the Turkish empire, and that the French, on the other hand, have done every thing in their power to arrest their wicked designs. Your excellency knows that the Russians are the enemies of the Mussulman faith; and that the Emperor Paul, as Grand-Master of Malta, has solemnly sworn enmity to the race of Osmanlis. The French, on the other hand, have abolished the Order of Malta, given liberty to the Mahometan prisoners detained there, and profess the same belief as themselves, 'That there is no God but the true God.' Is it not strange then, that the Sublime Porte should declare war on the French, its real and sincere friend, and contract alliance with the Russians and Germans, its implacable enemies?"

"As long as the French were of the sect of the Messiah they were the friends of the Sublime Porte; nevertheless that power declares war against them. This has arisen from the error into which the Courts of England and Russia have led the Turkish Divan.

We had informed it by letter of our intended expedition into Arabia; but these Courts found means to interrupt and suppress our letters; and although I had proved to the Sublime Porte that the French Republic, far from wishing to deprive it of any part of its dominions, had not even the smallest intention of making war on it, his most Glorious Majesty, Sultan Selim, gave credit to the English, and with unaccountable precipitance declared war on the French his ancient allies. Though informed of this war, I despatched an ambassador to avert it; but he was seized and thrown into prison, and I was obliged, in spite of myself, to cross the Desert and carry the war into Syria.

"Though my army is as innumerable as the sands of the sea, full of courage; though I have fortresses and castles of prodigious strength; though I have no fear or apprehension of any sort; yet, out of commiseration to the human race, and above all from a desire to be reunited to the first and most faithful of our allies, the Sultan Selim, I now make known my disposition for peace. If you wish to have Egypt, tell me so. France never entertained an idea of taking it out of the hands of the Sublime Porte and swallowing it up. Give authority to your minister who is at Paris, or send some one to Egypt with full powers, and all shall be arranged without animosity, and agreeably to your desires."

Under such a specious guise did Napoleon conceal his ambitious designs on the East; his resolution, so early formed and steadily adhered to, of making Egypt a French colony; his unprovoked seizure of that country while at peace with the Ottoman empire, and his attempt which, but for the repulse at

It falls into
the hands
of the Eng

That this letter contained an exaggerated picture of the circumstances and sufferings of the army, is abundantly proved by the reports when they
In truth, Kléber

had deserted the Egyptian army, and his letter is tinged by those gloomy colours in which all exiles, but in an especial manner the French, regard the country of their banishment. It fell into the hands of the English during its passage across the Mediterranean, and was by their Government forwarded to the first consul

tian officers, and never sought to revenge upon his absent lieutenant the spiteful expressions which, in an official despatch to Government, he had used towards himself (1)

Mourad
Bey issues
from the
Desert and
is defeated
Aug 6
1799

But although Kléber, under the influence of these gloomy views, addressed proposals of accommodation to the Grand Vizier, he made the most vigorous preparations to repel the attack with which he was threatened from the Ottoman army. The greater part of the French troops were stationed at El-Arish and the eastern frontier to watch the motions of the Syrian host, while six thousand were scattered along the course of the Nile, from the cataracts to the ocean, to overawe the Mamelukes, and guard the sea-coast from Turkish invasion. Encouraged by the approach of the Grand Vizier's army, the indefatigable Mourad Bey again issued from the Desert, at the head of two thousand Mamelukes; but he was attacked by Desaix, early in August, at Syout, and obliged to fall back. Following up his success, the French general mounted his infantry on dromedaries, and, at the head of a chosen band, pursued the Mameluke chief into his farthest recesses. The latter, conceiving he had only to deal with horsemen, charged the attacking column with great impetuosity, but the cavaliers instantly dismounted, placed their dromedaries in the centre,

order into the Desert, and did not again appear on the theatre of Egyptian warfare (2).

Advance of
the Turk-
ish force
Defeat of
a detach-
ment at the
mouth of
the Nile
Nov 1

The Turkish army which Napoléon destroyed at Aboukir, was but the advanced guard of the vast force which the Sublime Porte had collected to recover Egypt from the Republican arms. Their main body, consisting of twenty thousand Janizaries and regular soldiers, and twenty-five thousand irregular troops, arrived in the end of October in the neighbourhood of Gazah, on the confines of the Desert which separates Syria from Egypt. At the same time a corps of eight thousand Janizaries, under the convoy of Sir Sidney Smith, arrived at the mouth of the Nile, to effect a diversion in that quarter. The leading division, consisting of four thousand men, landed, and made themselves masters of the tower of Bogaz, at the mouth of the Nile, where they immediately began to fortify themselves; but before their works had made any progress, they were attacked by General Verdier, at the head of a thousand French, routed, and

would in all probability have succeeded, of revolutionizing the whole of Asia Minor, and mounting himself on the throne of Constantine.—See the Original Letter in *Ann. Reg.* 1800, 218. 219

(1) *Dum.* iv. 130, 131. *Join.* iv. 376. *Nap.* in Mouth 11 215
(2) *Join.* xiv 377, 378. *Dum.* iv 151. *Berth.* 191

driven into the sea, with the loss of five pieces of cannon, and all their standards (1).

Convention of El-Arish. Relieved by this decisive victory from all apprehensions in that quarter, Kléber turned his whole attention to the great array which was approaching from the Syrian Desert. The check at the mouth of the Nile rendered the Grand Vizier more disposed to enter into negotiations, while the declining numbers and desponding spirits of the French rendered them desirous on any terms to extricate themselves from a hopeless banishment, and revisit their beloved country. Napoléon had made propositions for an accommodation so early as 17th August; and Sir Sidney Smith had warned Kléber that, in virtue of the treaty, 5th January, 1799, Turkey could no longer make peace with France, but in concert with Russia and Great Britain. An unexpected reverse facilitated the negotiation; the Grand Vizier having crossed the Desert laid siege to El-Arish. The operations were conducted by Major Douglas and other British officers, and the fort carried, during a tumult Dec. 29. of insubordination on the part of the garrison, on the 29th December. After their means of defence were exhausted, the garrison capitulated; but the terms were disregarded by the unruly crowd of Mussulmans, and in spite of the utmost efforts of the British officers, above three hundred French were put to the sword. The capture of this stronghold, which Napoléon termed one of the keys of Egypt, and the proof it afforded of the degree to which the spirit of the troops had been shaken, had a powerful effect in Jan. 24, 1800. accelerating the negotiations; and a convention was signed at El-Arish about a month afterwards, by which it was stipulated, that the French army should return to Europe with its arms and baggage, on board its own vessels, or those furnished by the Turkish authorities; that all the fortresses of Egypt, with the exception of Alexandria (2), Rosetta, and Aboukir, where the army was to embark, should be surrendered within forty-five days; that the prisoners on both sides should be given up, and that the Grand Vizier should pay L.120,000 during the three months that the evacuation was going forward.

This convention was not signed by the British admiral, Sir Sidney Smith; nor was he vested either with express authority to conclude such a treaty, nor with such a command as necessarily implied such a power. It was, however, entered into with his concurrence and approbation, and like a man of honour, he felt himself as much bound to see it carried into effect, as if his signature had been affixed to the instrument. But the British Government had, three months before; sent out orders to Lord Keith, commanding the English fleet in the Mediterranean, not to consent to any treaty in which it was not stipulated that the French army were to be prisoners of war; and Lord Keith, on the 8th January, a fortnight before the convention of El-Arish was signed, had sent a letter from Minorca, to Kléber, warning him that any vessels having on board French troops, returning home in virtue of a capitulation, other than an unconditional surrender, would be made prisoners of war (3). No sooner was this letter received by General Kléber, in February following, than he was filled with indignation, despatched instant orders to put a stop to the evacuation of the country, which had commenced, and resolved to resume hostilities. In an animated proclamation to his troops, he declar-

The British Government had previously prohibited such a convention.

Hostilities in consequence resumed.

(1) Ann. Reg. 1799, 217. Dumas, iv. 132, 133. Join. xiii. 396, 397.

(2) Join. xiv. 402. Ann. Reg. 1800, 219. State papers, 223. Berth. 310, 313.

(3) See Lord Keith's letter in Berthier, 391.

ed :—"Soldiers! we can only answer such insolence by victories—prepare to combat (1)." This announcement was received with loud shouts by the troops, who had already become highly dissatisfied at the humiliating convention which had been concluded, and they joyfully prepared to forget all their cares in the excitement of a battle (2).

March 30,
1800
Battle of
Heliopolis

Kleber drew up his army, which had now arrived from all parts of Egypt, and was twelve thousand strong, by moonlight, on the night of 19th March, in four squares, in the plain of Koubbe, in front of the ruins of Heliopolis. The heavens ever serene in those latitudes, enabled them to perform the movement with precision, though the light was too feeble to permit the enemy to perceive what was going forward. In front were stationed the four squares, with artillery at the angles, and the cavalry in the intervals. Companies of grenadiers doubled the corners of each square, and were ready to be employed either in resisting an attack, or offensive movements. Order, silence, and regularity prevailed in the European army; the solemnity of the occasion had subdued the usual vivacity of the French character, they felt that the moment had arrived when they must either conquer or die. The Turks, on the other hand, were encamped, after the manner of Asiatics, in confused masses, in the neighbourhood of El-Hanka, six thousand Janizaries lay in the village of Matarich, where they had thrown up some rude fortifications; their numerous cavalry, with the Mamelukes of Ibrahim Bey, extended on the right of that advanced guard as far as the banks of the Nile. Their whole force amounted to nearly fifty thousand men; but more than half of this array consisted of irregulars, upon whom little reliance was to be placed, and the situation of the regular corps in the village of Matarich suggested the hope that they might be cut off before the remainder of the army could come up to their support. For this purpose, General Friant advanced before daybreak straight towards that village, while Regnier, with his division, moved forward in front of the ruins of Heliopolis to cut off the communication between their detached corps and the bulk of the Turkish army. No sooner did the Janizaries perceive that the enemy were approaching their intrenchments, than they sallied forth with their redoubtable scimitars in their hands, and commenced a furious attack.

of Hel and Kleber had consented to a renewal

letter was founded on instructions sent out by the English Cabinet to Lord Keith, dated December 17th, in consequence of the intercepted letters of Kleber, which had fallen into their hands immediately after Napoleon's return. Kleber no sooner re-

on the French squares. But Asiatic valour could effect nothing against European steadiness and discipline; the Ottomans were received in front by a murderous rolling fire, and charged at the same time, while disordered by their rush forward, in flank. In a few minutes they were mown down and destroyed; the ditches filled by their wounded fugitives, and over the breathing and bleeding mass the French grenadiers pressed on and scaled the works. Instantly the camp of the Janizaries was carried; cannon, ammunition, tents, all fell into the hands of the victors; and the small remnant who fled towards the main army were swept away by the fire of Friant's division, or cut down by the charges of the French cavalry (1).

Total defeat of the Turks. The Grand Vizier no sooner saw his advanced guard destroyed than he moved forward with his whole army to avenge their loss. The French were reposing after the fatigues of their first onset, when the rays of the newly-risen sun were intercepted by a cloud of dust in the east. It was the Ottoman army, still forty thousand strong, which was approaching to trample under their horses' hoofs the diminutive band of Franks which had dared to await their charge. Immediately the French order of battle was formed; the troops were drawn up in squares, Friant on the left, Régnier on the right; the cannon advanced into the intervals between the masses; the cavalry remained close behind, ready to break through the moment a favourable opportunity occurred. The cannonade soon became extremely warm on both sides; but the balls of the Ottomans, ill-directed, flew over the heads of the Republicans, while their own artillery was rapidly dismounted by the well directed fire of their adversaries, and even the Grand Vizier's staff was melting away under the deadly tempest of bombs. Torn to pieces by the hail-storm of bullets, the Osmanlis prepared for a general charge. The concentration of their standards along their whole line gave the French warning that it was approaching; a cloud of dust filled the sky, the earth trembled as if shaken by an earthquake, and the roar of twenty thousand horsemen at full speed was enough to have struck terror into the most dauntless breasts. But nothing could break the firm array of the Republicans: As the enemy approached, they were received by a terrible discharge Total defeat of the Turks. of grape-shot; their front rank almost all fell under the fatal storm; the rear wheeled about and fled, and in a few minutes the mighty array had disappeared, without a single musket having been fired by the French infantry. The Vizier rallied his troops, and brought them up again to the attack; but they were unable to break those flaming citadels, from which a devouring fire issued on every side. Surrounded by an innumerable multitude, not one of the balls from the French squares fell without effect, and in a short time the carnage became intolerable, and the Ottomans fled in indescribable confusion towards the desert. Kléber, following up his success, advanced rapidly to El-Hanka; the Turks fled the moment the French bayonets appeared; the whole army pressed forward, and before nightfall they had made themselves masters of the Ottoman camp, and reposed in the splendid tents, where the luxury of the East had displayed all its magnificence (2).

While these important events were going forward in the plain of Heliopolis, the garrison of Cairo were reduced to the last extremity. Two thousand men had been left in that city, under the command of Generals Verdier and Zayoncheck, with orders, if a general insurrection broke out, to retire

(1) Berth. 399, 400. Jom. xiii. 406, 407. Dum. iv. 137, 138.

(2) Berth. 400, 403. Jom. xiii. 407, 408. Dum. iv. 138.

Menou
takes the
command

Upon Kléber's death, Menou, the governor of Cairo, and the oldest of the generals of division, assumed the command. Intoxicated with the prosperity of his situation, and carried away by the idea that he would succeed in amalgamating the French and Egyptians, so as to render them impervious to any foreign attacks, he declined all steps towards an accommodation, rejected the new overtures of the Grand Vizier to evacuate the country at the conclusion of a general peace, and refused to listen to the proposals of Sir Sidney Smith, who was now empowered by his government to carry into effect the unauthorized convention of El-Arish. At the same time he exasperated the inhabitants by the imposition of additional imposts to meet the expenses of government, which had increased 400,000 francs (L 16,000) a-month since the death of his predecessor, and vainly flattered himself that, by assuming the title of Abdallah (the servant of God), wearing the Oriental costume, and embracing the religion of Mahomet, which he publicly did, he would succeed in maintaining the country against the united hostility of the Turks and English (1)

But the time was now approaching when the Republicans were to pay dear for their resolution to maintain themselves in Egypt, and that glorious train of military triumphs was to commence, which was destined to throw into the shade the disasters of former years, and terminate in the final overthrow of Napoleon on the field of Waterloo. The English Government no sooner received intelligence of the resolution of Menou to decline the execution of the convention of El-Arish than they put in motion all their resources to effect the expulsion of the French from that important settlement. For this purpose their ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Elgin, received orders to use his utmost efforts to induce the Turks to make a grand exertion, in conjunction with the forces of Great Britain, the corps of Abercromby, so long doomed to hurtful inactivity in the Mediterranean, was to bear the brunt of the contest, and an English expedition from India was to ascend the Red Sea, cross the Desert, descend by the waters of the Nile, and display the standards of Brama on the shores of Alexandria. So great and

(1) Num iv 150, 151 Regu. 93, 97. Jour. 217.

312 Bign 11 28

Sidney Smith on the 21st February, 1800 stated, in a letter to General Kléber that he had received such instructions as prevented him from acquiescing in the convention of El-Arish. He added, "You will observe that the despatches I enclose are of old date (1st January) written after orders transmitted from London on the 15th or 17th December, evidently dictated by the idea that you were about to treat separately with the Turks, and to prevent the execution of any measure contrary to our treaty of alliance. But now that my Government is better informed, and that the convention is really ratified, I have not the slightest doubt that the restriction against the execution of the treaty will be removed."

ment, that though they had previously resolved to agree to no treaty between the Turks and French, in which the latter did not surrender as prisoners of

nary to carry into execution the treaty of El-Arish. He had presented himself at Alexandria but was refused admittance, and he had come round by the Desert. He had endeavoured to induce the troops to revolt again at the generals who refused to lead them back to Fezzee. He was sent back. And this is what the French call the British want of faith in refusing to ratify the treaty of El-Arish, and yet these declamations on the subject received frequent and able support from the Opposition in the English Parliament.—See *Parl. Debates*, 222v. 303, 309, and 3436, 4438.

Magnificent conception of the attack.

extensive a project had never been formed by any nation, ancient or modern; and it was not the least marvellous circumstance of this eventful period, that a remote province of the Roman empire should have assembled at the foot of the Pyramids the forces of Europe, Asia, and Africa, in one combined enterprise, and brought to the shores of the Nile tribes unknown to the arms of Caesar and Alexander (1).

Agreeably to this plan, the corps of SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY, which had so long been tossed about by the winds in the bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean sea, set sail from Malta on December 10th, and after a tedious voyage of six weeks, and remounting two hundred of its cavalry with Turkish horse, arrived at Marmarice in the Levant in the beginning of February. Eight thousand men, under Sir David Baird, were to embark at Bombay at the same time, and proceed by the Red Sea to Suez, while the army of the Grand Vizier, which was to be reinforced since its late disasters, was to break up from Acre, and again cross the Desert which separates Egypt from Syria. The project was magnificently conceived, but it presented almost insurmountable difficulties in the execution, and it was easy to perceive that the weight of the contest would fall upon Abercromby's forces. To combine an attack with success from various quarters, on an enemy in possession of a central position from whence he can at pleasure crush the first which approaches, is at all times a difficult and hazardous operation. But what must it be, when the forces brought together for the enterprise are drawn from different quarters of the globe, and the tumultuary levies of Asia Minor were to be supported by the infantry of England and the sable battalions of Hindostan (2)?

Whole contest falls on Abercromby's corps. The English army had long delayed the commencement of operations in Egypt, in order to await the reorganization of the Turkish forces, and give time to the Grand Seignior to collect an armament of the promised strength on the Syrian side of the Desert. But when the fleet approached the Levant, they learned that no reliance could be placed on any co-operation in that quarter. The Ottoman forces, notwithstanding all the levies ordered in Asia Minor, did not yet amount to twelve thousand men, and they were all in the most wretched state of discipline and equipment. So completely had their spirit been broken by the recent disasters, that they anticipated with the utmost dread a renewal of the contest, and it was extremely doubtful whether they ever could be brought to face the French infantry. To complete their inefficiency, the plague had broken out in the camp, and rendered their co-operation a subject of dread rather than ambition; a frightful epidemic ravaged Palestine; the most violent discord raged between the Grand Vizier and the Pacha of Acre, and a reinforcement of ten thousand mén, who had been collected at Aleppo to repair their losses, received a different destination, from the alarming rebellion of Oglou Pacha, one of the eastern satraps of the Turkish empire (3).

Deprived of all hope of co-operation in this quarter, and unable to rely on the distant and uncertain aid of the Red Sea expedition, Sir Ralph Abercromby perceived that the success of this great enterprise, on which the hopes of the nation had so long been set, and on which, in some measure, the fate of the war was involved, would depend on his own troops. Fortunately, he was of a character not to be intimidated by the prospect of danger, and although the forces at his disposal were little more than half of

(1) Wilson's Egypt, 3. Jom. xiv. 308.

(3) Wils. 6. Dum. iv. 154. Regn. 146.

(2) Wils. 4, 5. Ann. Reg. 1801, 226. Jom. xiv. 309.

Sir Ralph
resolves to
make the
attack
on the
Feb 23 1801

those which it was ultimately proved were in the hands of his adversary, he gallantly resolved, alone and unaided, to make the attempt. Orders, therefore, were given to the fleet to weigh anchor, and although the weather was still very tempestuous, and the Greek pilots unanimously declared that it was impracticable to attempt a landing on the Egyptian coast till the equinoctial gales were over, the admiral stood out to sea, bearing with him a noble array of two hundred ships (1).

On the 1st March the leading frigate made a signal for land, and on the following morning the whole fleet anchored in Aboukir bay, precisely on the spot where Nelson's great victory had been gained three years before. The remains of that terrible strife were still visible, the Foudroyant chafed her cables against the L'Orient's wreck, and soon after fished up her anchor. A nobler sight could hardly be imagined, two hundred vessels covered the ocean almost as far as the eye could reach, the sand-hills of Egypt were already covered with cannon and hostile troops, while every heart beat high with exultation at the prospect of soon measuring their strength with the enemy, and engaging in a contest on which the whole eyes of the world were fixed. The state of the weather for several days prevented the possibility of landing, but at length the wind having abated, the preparations were completed on the evening of the 7th, and on the morning of the 8th, at two o'clock, the first division, five thousand five hundred strong, assembled in the boats, one hundred and fifty in number, which were prepared to convey them to the shore. The clear silence of the night, the solemnity of the scene, the magnitude of the enterprise on which they were engaged, the unknown dangers to which they were approaching, filled every mind with anxious suspense, and thousands of brave hearts then throbbed with emotion, who were yet destined to astonish Europe by their gallant bearing, when the hour of trial approached. But not a vestige of confusion or trepidation appeared in the conduct of the debarkation, silently the troops descended from their transports, and took their places assigned them in the boats, and not a sound was heard as they approached the coast, but the measured dip of thousands of oars in the water, incessantly urging towards the shore the flower of the British empire (2).

(1) Wils. 7 Ann Reg 1801 220

The forces on board the fleet and those to which they were opposed in Egypt stood as follows —

English		French	
Infantry,	15 463	Infantry,	23 690
Cavalry	472	Cavalry,	1 250
Artillery,	578	Artillery	1 100
		Dismounted Cavalry,	450
	16 513		26 520
Sick,	999	Sick,	990
Total,	17 512		27 510

[Sir Ralph Abercromby's return Wilson 270 273]

[Jom XIV 316]

There were 999 sick in the British army when it landed and 996 in the French, so that this number left the relative forces of the two nations the same as before.

The French troops who capitulated at

Caïro were,	13 672
And at Alexandria	10 508
	24 180

So that supposing 4 000 had been lost in the field and two indel, and 1 prisoners, during the campaign, the total force at its commencement must have been

Tableau, No. 2

(2) Ann Reg, 1801, 227 Wils. 12. 13 Jom XIV 322.

Severe action on the sand-hills The French on the heights were about two thousand strong, posted in a concave semicircle, about a mile in length, supported by twelve pieces of artillery on the one side, and the castle of Aboukir on the other. The boats remained for some time in the middle of the bay, menacing different points of the coast, and at length the whole being assembled, the signal was made to advance at nine o'clock. One hundred and fifty boats, each filled with fifty men, instantly moved forward with extraordinary rapidity, while the armed vessels, which covered their flanks, began to cannonade the batteries on shore. The French allowed them to approach within easy range, and then opened at once so heavy a fire that the water seemed literally to be ploughed up with shot, and the foam raised by it resembled a surf rolling over breakers. Silently the boats approached the tempest, the sailors standing up and rowing with uncommon vigour, the soldiers sitting with their arms in their hands anxiously awaiting the moment to use them. When they reached the fire, several boats were sunk, and the loss among their crowded crews was very severe; but notwithstanding this the line pressed forward with such precision, that the prows of almost all the first division struck the sand at the same time. The troops instantly jumped out into the water, and rapidly advancing to the beach, formed before they could be charged by the enemy; the 42d, 23d, and 40th regiments rushed up the steep front of the heights with fixed bayonets, and carried them in the most gallant style; the guards followed, and though disordered for a moment by a charge of horse before their formation was completed, made good their ground, and drove back the enemy; while the 5th and Royals landed in time to defeat a column which was advancing through a hollow against the flank of their newly established line. In an hour the whole division was established on the heights, though weakened by five hundred men killed and wounded; the enemy retired with the loss of three hundred, and left eight pieces of cannon in the hands of the victors (1).

And defeat of the French there. This brilliant opening had the most important effects on the fate of the campaign. The gallant conduct of the troops, the splendid spectacle which their landing in presence of the enemy had afforded, the rapidity of their success in the sight of the whole fleet, filled both the soldiers and sailors with exultation, and already began to produce that confidence in their own prowess which in military affairs, as well as elsewhere in life, is not the least important element in success. Sir Ralph hastened to profit by his good fortune, by landing the other divisions of the army, which was effected in the remainder of the day with the greatest expedition. Some uneasiness was at first experienced by the want of water, but Sir Sidney Smith soon relieved their anxiety by telling them that wherever date-trees grew water must be near; a piece of grateful information which, like every other furnished by that enterprising officer, proved to be correct (2).

It is now ascertained, that if the English army had pushed vigorously on before the enemy had time to recover from their consternation, they might soon have taken Alexandria with very little difficulty; and had they been as well aware of their prowess as they have since become, they would probably have done so (3). But they were then only novices in the military art, and

(1) Regn. 205, 209. Wils. 14, 15. Ann. Reg. 1801, 227, 228.

"This debarkation," said General Bertrand, "was admirable; in less than five or six minutes they presented 5,500 men in battle array; it was like a

movement on the opera stage; three such completed the landing of the army."—LAS CASES, i. 242.

(2) Wils. 17, 18. Ann. Reg. 1801, 228.

(3) Regn. 209. Dunn. iv. 157.

naturally distrustful of themselves when opposed to the far famed veterans of France Abercromby, therefore, advanced with caution His first care was to complete the disembarkation of the troops, cannon, and stores, a service of considerable difficulty and danger, from the tempestuous state of the weather, and which occupied the three following days The castle of Aboukir was at the same time invested, and intrenchments thrown up round the camp It then appeared how much reason the British had to congratulate themselves on the supineness of Menou in retaining his principal force at Cairo when so formidable an enemy was establishing himself in his colony, for had he appeared with eighteen thousand men on the heights of Aboukir, the only point on the coast where a descent was practicable, the landing could never have been attempted, or if it had, it would in all probability have terminated in disaster The truth was, the French general like all his contemporaries at that period, greatly underrated the British military forces, and he gladly heard of their debarkation, from a belief that they would soon become prisoners of war Thus, while the English, from not being aware of their own strength, lost the opportunity of taking Alexandria in the outset of the campaign, the French, from an overweening confidence in theirs, reduced themselves, in the end, to the humiliation of the Caude Forks (1)

The preparations being at length completed, the army moved forward, on the evening of the 12th, to Mandra tower, where they encamped in three lines The enemy had by this time been considerably reinforced from Cairo and Rosetta, so that their force amounted to five thousand four hundred infantry, six hundred cavalry, and twenty five pieces of cannon Notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, Generals Friant and Lanusseres resolved to make good their ground against the invaders, trusting to their great superiority in cavalry, the strength of their position in front of an old Roman camp, and the facility of retiring to Alexandria in case of disaster The English general advanced cautiously, at day break on the morning of the 13th, in three lines, the enemy's force was unknown, and it was in an especial manner necessary to take precaution against his decided superiority in horse The first line, when it came within range of the enemy, was received with a heavy fire of grape and musketry, while a regiment of cavalry impetuously charged its flank, but both attacks were gallantly repulsed by the 90th and 92d regiments, and the advance of the second line soon compelled the Republicans to retreat Then was the moment to have followed up their success, and by a rapid charge completed the defeat of the enemy, in which case Alexandria would probably have fallen an easy conquest, but the English were still ignorant of their own powers, and the want of cavalry prevented them from taking the advantage which they might have derived from their victory They contented themselves, therefore, with occupying the ground so easily won, and halted within cannon shot of their second line of defence, and it was not till the enemy had established themselves on the heights in their rear in front of Alexandria, that they again moved forward to the charge They then advanced with admirable coolness, and in parade order, under a murderous fire of cannon shot, but the attack was not conducted with the vigour and rapidity necessary to ensure decisive success, nor was any attempt made to turn a position which his great superiority of numbers would have enabled the English general so easily to outflank The consequence was that the British sustained a

loss double of that of their adversaries (1); and though the second position was at length abandoned by the French, who withdrew the bulk of their forces within the walls of the town, yet this was done in perfect order, and without any loss of artillery; whereas had Abercromby possessed the confidence in himself and his soldiers which subsequent triumphs gave to Wellington or Picton, he would have carried the position of the enemy, by a combined attack in front and flank (2), in half an hour, and entered Alexandria along with their broken battalions.

The position now occupied by the British was by nature strong; the right was advanced before the rest of the line nearly a quarter of a mile, on high ground, and extended to the large and magnificent ruins of a Roman palace within fifty yards of the sea; their left rested on the lake Maadieh; the intervening space, about a mile in breadth, consisted of a succession of low sand-hills. In front of the position was a level sandy surface, which commenced before the left, and extended as far as the French lines; on this plain cavalry could act, but as they approached the British videttes, they found the ground strewed with large stones, the remains of Roman edifices which formerly had covered all that part of the shore. Gun-boats in the sea and the lake Maadieh, protected each flank; on the left, in front of the lines occupied by the troops, was a redoubt mounted by twelve pieces of cannon; two were placed on the ruins of the Roman palace, and in the centre slight works were thrown up to aid the fire of the musketry. In this position the British army, now reduced by sickness, the sword, and detachments to the rear, to 11,500 men, with thirty-six pieces of cannon, awaited the attack of the enemy (5).

The position of the French was still stronger. A high ridge of hills extended from the sea to the canals of Alexandria; along this elevated ground their troops were placed, with fort Cretin rising in deceitful grandeur in the centre, and fort Caffarelli in the rear of the left. Their generals were at first fearful that the advance of the English had cut off the dikes which formed their line of communication with Menou; but that commander discovered a circuitous route, by which he was enabled to reach Alexandria, and on the evening of the 19th, the whole disposable French troops, 11,000 strong, including 1400 cavalry, with 46 pieces of cannon, were drawn up on this imposing position. Every thing conspired to recommend early and decisive operations; the ancient fame and tried prowess of the Egyptian army left no room for doubt that they would speedily drive the presumptuous islanders into the sea; while by protracting operations, time would be afforded for the Grand Vizier to cut off the garrisons on the frontier of Syria, and the Indian army to menace their rear from the Red Sea (4).

The ground occupied by the two armies was singularly calculated to awaken the most interesting recollections. England and France were here to contend for the empire of the East in the cradle of ancient civilisation, on the spot where Pompey was delivered up to the victorious arms of Cæsar, and under the walls of the city which is destined to perpetuate to the latest generation the prophetic wisdom of Alexander.

(1) The English lost 1,200, the French 500 men in this affair. It is impossible to refuse a tribute of admiration to the skill of the generals and valour of the soldiers, which, with such inferior forces, enabled the Republicans, at so slight a cost, to inflict so serious a loss upon their adversaries.—See WILSON, 23; REZENAIER, 217, 219; and *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 227.

(2) Wils. 20, 23. *Regn.* 215, 219. *Jom.* xiv. 327, 328. *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 229.

(3) Wils. 21, 25, 30. *Regn.* 220, 222. *Jom.* xiv. 330. *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 232.

(4) Wils. 25. *Jom.* xiv. 329, 330. *Regn.* 222, 223. *Hard.* viii. 152.

Every object which met the eye was fraught with historic renown. On the right of the French line rose Pompey's Pillar, on the left Cleopatra's Needle, in the distance were seen the mouldering walls and Eastern domes of Alexandria, while on the extreme horizon, stretching into the sea, appeared the far-famed tower of Pharos. The British, as well as their antagonists, felt the influence of the scene and the grandeur of the occasion, and these ancient rivals in military renown prepared to join in their first serious contest since the Revolution (1), with a bravery worthy of the cause in which they were engaged, and the animating presence in which they stood.

Battle of
Alexan-
dria

On the 20th, the castle of Aboukir, with its garrison of 190 men, surrendered. On the morning of the 21st, the army was under arms at three o'clock, eagerly expecting the attack which the movements of the preceding evening had led them to anticipate. A gloomy mist covered the plain, through which every eye was painfully striving to pierce; every ear was straining to catch the smallest sound, the eastern horizon was anxiously regarded, but though the grey of the morning was perceptible, it seemed reluctant to break. Suddenly the report of a musket was heard, followed by two cannon shots on the left, the officers, thinking the attack was to commence there, were already galloping in that direction, when a sharp rattle broke out on the right, followed by the loud shouts which too surely announced that the attack had begun in that quarter. In fact the enemy, under Lanusse, were advancing in great force against the Roman ruins, where the 58th and 25d regiments were placed; the English officers no sooner saw the glazed hats of the Republicans emerging through the mist, than they poured in a fire by platoons, so heavy and well-directed, that the French were compelled to swerve to their left, and in making this movement the brave Lanusse received a mortal wound. His division was so disconcerted by this event, and the fire of the English, which was kept up with uncommon vigour, both on their front and flank, that they broke and fled in confusion behind the sand-hills. But at this instant, General Rampon advanced at the head of a fresh column, two thousand strong, and joining the broken remains of Lanusse's division, renewed the attack with greater force, and succeeded in turning the Roman ruins so as to take the troops who defended them both in front and flank. Menou supported this attack by a grand charge with all his cavalry. No sooner did Sir Ralph perceive it advancing than he moved up the 12d and 28th regiments from the second line to the support of the menaced wing, but soon after it arrived in the fire, the first of these corps was suddenly charged in flank by the Republican horse, and broken. Notwithstanding this, the brave Highlanders formed in little knots, and standing back to back, resisted the cavalry when they endeavoured to cut them down. The 28th regiment was maintaining a severe action in front, when they were startled by hearing French voices behind their line, the rear rank had just time to face about,

column, the Republicans, in their turn, were assailed at once in front and flank, and driven into the ruins, where a battalion which, by its great success in the Italian wars, had acquired the surname of the Invincibles, was obliged

to lay down its arms, after having lost above two-thirds of its numbers. The French cavalry also, having now lost half their force by the close and murderous fire of the English infantry, prepared to cut their way back to their own lines. For this purpose they charged the English reserve with the utmost fury; but those steady men with admirable coolness opened their ranks so as to let the squadrons sweep through, and instantly closing them again, and wheeling about, threw in so deadly a fire upon the disordered horsemen, that they almost all, with their commander Roize, perished on the spot. The remnant, both foot and horse, of the force which had made this formidable attack, escaped in confusion from the scene of slaughter, and regained in dismay the French position (1).

Retreat of the French. The defeat of this desperate attack terminated the important operations of this eventful day. On the left of the English position the operations of the Republicans were confined to a distant cannonade; and a more serious attack on the centre was repulsed by the close and destructive fire of the English guards. At length Menou, finding that all his efforts had proved unsuccessful, ordered a general retreat, which was effected in the best order, to the heights of Nicopolis on his rear, under cover of the cannon placed on that formidable position. The loss of the English amounted to 1500 in killed and wounded; that of the French to above 2000; but this was of comparatively little importance. They had lost the character of invincibles; the charm which had paralysed the world was broken; and on the standards taken by the victors, they pointed with exultation to the names, "Le Passage de la Scrivia, le Passage du Tagliamento, le Passage de l'Isonzo, la Prize de Gratz, le Pont de Lodi (2)."

Wound and death of Sir Ralph Abercromby. But this important triumph was mingled with one mournful recollection. Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had the glory of first leading the English to decisive victory over the arms of revolutionary France, received a mortal wound in the early part of the day, of which he died a few days afterwards. No sooner did that gallant veteran hear of the furious irruption of the French cavalry into the lines on the right, than he mounted his horse, and galloped in that direction; he arrived while it was yet dark, when almost unattended by his aides-de-camp, whom he had despatched in various directions, on the ground over which the cavalry were sweeping, and was assailed by the French dragoons, one of whom he disarmed in a personal conflict; but soon after he received a wound from a musket-shot on the thigh, which compelled him to dismount, and walk to the redoubt on the right of the guards, where he remained for the rest of the day, walking about, exposed to a terrible cannonade, insensible alike to the pain of wound and the danger of his situation. With anxious hopes he watched progress of the action, every part of which was visible from that elevated station, and had the satisfaction of seeing the French retire and the victory finally decided before the loss of blood began to darken his eyes. He lived till the morning of the 29th, expressing no solicitude but for the issue of the contest; he bore a painful operation for the extraction of the ball with the greatest firmness; but it could not be reached by the skill of the surgeons, and he succumbed at length in the arms of glory, leaving a name enshrined in the grateful collection of his country (3).

The battle of Alexandria not only delivered Egypt from the Republican yoke; it decided, in its ultimate consequences, the fate of the civiliza-

(1) Wils. 31. 23. Ann. Rep. 1801. 203, 221. 1801. 202. Ann. Rep. 1801. 217. Encl. VII. 115, 116. Rep. 203, 207. Ann. Rep. 304, 315.
(2) Wils. 32. 18. Ann. Rep. 204, 211. Ann. Rep.
(3) Wils. 32. 18. Ann. Rep. 204, 211. Ann. Rep.

Every object which met the eye was fraught with historic renown. On the right of the French line rose Pompey's Pillar, on the left Cleopatra's Needle; in the distance were seen the mouldering walls and Eastern domes of Alexandria, while on the extreme horizon, stretching into the sea, appeared the far-famed tower of Pharos. The British, as well as their antagonists, felt the influence of the scene and the grandeur of the occasion; and these ancient rivals in military renown prepared to join in their first serious contest since the Revolution (1), with a bravery worthy of the cause in which they were engaged, and the animating presence in which they stood.

Battle of
Alexan-
dria On the 20th, the castle of Aboukir, with its garrison of 190 men, surrendered. On the morning of the 21st, the army was under arms at three o'clock, eagerly expecting the attack which the movements of the preceding evening had led them to anticipate. A gloomy mist covered the plain, through which every eye was painfully striving to pierce; every ear was straining to catch the smallest sound; the eastern horizon was anxiously regarded, but though the grey of the morning was perceptible, it seemed reluctant to break. Suddenly the report of a musket was heard, followed by two cannon shots on the left, the officers, thinking the attack was to commence there, were already galloping in that direction, when a sharp rattle broke out on the right, followed by the loud shouts which too surely announced that the attack had begun in that quarter. In fact the enemy, under Lanusse, were advancing in great force against the Roman ruins, where the 58th and 23d regiments were placed, the English officers no sooner saw the glazed hats of the Republicans emerging through the mist, than they poured in a fire by platoons, so heavy and well-directed, that the French were compelled to swerve to their left, and in making this movement the brave Lanusse received a mortal wound. His division was so disconcerted by this event, and the fire of the English, which was kept up with uncommon vigour, both on their front and flank, that they broke and fled in confusion behind the sand-hills. But at this instant, General Rampon advanced at the head of a fresh column, two thousand strong, and joining the broken remains of Lanusse's division, renewed the attack with greater force, and succeeded in turning the Roman ruins so as to take the troops who defended them both in front and flank. Menou supported this attack by a grand charge with all his cavalry. No sooner did Sir Ralph perceive it advancing than he moved up the 12d and 20th regiments from the second line to the support of the menaced wing, but

the cavalry when they endeavoured to cut them down. The 20th regiment was maintaining a severe action in front, when they were startled by hearing French whet their bayonets on the barrels of their rifles. The French then came back in a column, which they had threatened the English. The British reserve moved up in admirable order, and threw in a close and well-directed fire upon the attacking column, the Republicans then turned and fled. Their turn were assailed at once in front and flank, and driven in the Italian wars, when they were

Divisions
break out
among the
French ge-
nerals.

out among the French generals. General Regnier strongly urged the expedience of leaving garrisons only in Alexandria, Cairo, and other important points, and concentrating the mass of the troops at Ramanieh, in a situation either to fall upon the English army, if they should leave their lines to attack Rosetta or Alexandria, or crush the Grand Vizier if he should attempt to cross the Desert. But nothing could induce Menou to adopt any thing but half measures. He detached four thousand troops to relieve Rosetta, who arrived on the Nile too late to disengage that place, and retired to El-Aft, where they threw up intrenchments, and awaited the movements of the English; but himself remained at Alexandria, obsti-

Indecisive
measures of
Menou.

nately persisting in the belief that the Grand Vizier would never cross the Desert, that the English would not venture to quit their position, and that if he remained firm a little longer, they would again betake

April 13.

themselves to their vessels. Meanwhile General Hutchison was rapidly circumscribing his limits at Alexandria; he cut the isthmus which separated the lake Maadieh from the dried bed of the lake Marcotis, and filled with the sea that monument of ancient industry, which in a great degree isolated Alexandria from the rest of Egypt; while the British flotilla ascended the Nile, and captured an important convoy descending that river for the use of its garrison. These disasters produced the greatest discouragement in the French army (1); the dissensions among the officers increased in vehemence, and General Regnier's language in particular became so menacing that the commander-in-chief, apprehensive that he might, with the concurrence of the army, assume the command, had him arrested and sent back to France (2).

General
Hutchison
assumes
the com-
mand, and
advances
towards
Cairo.

The detachment of La Grange, with four thousand men, having reduced the garrison of Alexandria to little more than six thousand, General Hutchison at length moved forward, with the main body of his forces, towards Ramanieh, in order to menace Cairo, and carry the war into the upper parts of Egypt. Four thousand British and six thousand Turks, in the first instance, advanced against the intrenched position of La Grange at El-Aft. On the approach of such considerable forces, he retired to the fortified position of Ramanieh, an important post on the Nile, from which the canal branches off which connects it with Alexandria, where he collected four thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry,

May 7.

and forty pieces of cannon. After a sharp skirmish, however, this position was abandoned, and the advance of Hutchison having cut off their retreat to Alexandria, the Republicans were compelled to fall back upon

Capture of
Ramanieh.

Cairo, which they reached a few days afterwards. The capture of Ramanieh was an important step in the campaign, as it completely isolated the troops at Cairo from those at Alexandria, cut off the chief supplies from the latter city, and rendered all attempt at co-operation impossible between them. The fruits of this acquisition soon appeared in the capture of a convoy of four hundred men and six hundred camels, bound for Alexandria, which, in the pathless solitude of the Desert, fell a prey to the activity and vigilance of the English cavalry (3).

(1) *Jom.* xiv. 339, 340. *Regn.* 235, 252. *Wills.* 56.

(2) The characters of Menou and Regnier are thus given by Napoleon:—"Menou appeared to have all the qualities fitted for the command; he was learned, upright, and an excellent civil governor. He had become a Mussulman, which, how ridiculous soever, was agreeable to the natives of the country; a doubt hung over his military capacity, but none over his personal courage; he had acted well in la Vendée and at the assault of

Alexandria. General Regnier was more habituated to war; but he wanted the chief quality in a general-in-chief; excellent when second in command, he was unfit to take the lead. His character was silent and solitary; having no knowledge of the means of electrifying, ruling, or guiding mankind."—*NAP. in MONTH.* i. 73, 74.

(3) *Jom.* xiv. 339, 341. *Wills.* 84, 96. *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 234.

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world The importance of a triumph is not always measured by the number of troops engaged, twenty-four thousand Romans, under Cæsar at Pharsalia, changed the face of antiquity; thirty thousand Republicans, at Marenco, seated Napoleon on the consular throne, and established a power which overturned all the monarchies of Europe. The contest of twelve thousand British, with an equal number of French, on the sands of Alexandria, in its remote effects overthrew a greater empire than that of Charlemagne, and rescued mankind from a more galling tyranny than that of the Roman emperors. It first elevated the hopes and confirmed the resolution of the English soldiers, it first broke the charm by which the continental nations had so long been enthralled, it first revived the military spirit of the English people, and awakened the pleasing hope that the descendants of the victors at Crecy and Agincourt had not degenerated from the valour of their fathers. Nothing but the recollection of this decisive trial of strength could have supported the British nation through the arduous conflict which awaited them on the renewal of the war, and induced them to remain firm and unshaken amidst the successive prostration of every continental power, till the dawn of hope began over the summit of the Pyrenees, and the eastern sky was reddened by the conflagration of Moscow. The continental nations, accustomed to the shock of vast armies, and to regard the English only as a naval power, attached little importance to the contest of such inconsiderable bodies of men on a distant shore, but the prophetic eye of Napoleon at once discerned the magnitude of its consequences, and he received the intelligence of the disaster at Alexandria with a degree of anguish equalled only by that experienced from the shock of Trafalgar (1)

But though destined in its ultimate effects to produce these important consequences, the victory of Alexandria was not at first attended by results at all commensurate to the ardent anticipations of the English people. The movements of the English army were for long cautious and dilatory, but, though their operations were not brilliant, they were skilful, and ultimately produced the desired results. For some days after the battle they remained on the ground where they had so bravely combated, and the French occupied the heights of Nicopolis—both parties being busied in repairing their losses, and restoring the strength of their forces. At length a reinforcement of six thousand Albanians having arrived in the bay of Aboukir, they were joined by a British detachment of a thousand men, and the combined forces approached Rosetta, situated on one of the mouths of the Nile. On their approach, the French garrison retired to Damietta, leaving a hundred and fifty men in fort Julien, who, after a short resistance, surrendered on the 19th April. Shortly after

Apr 1 19
Surrender
of Da ui
etta
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Meanwhile divisions, the natural result of such unwarlike

(1) Bour ie 259 D Abr v 202 Jom xiv 338
"I can with safety affirm, said Junot, that

the issue
I can
agon
and thren

dreams have been destroyed by this same
great conqueror.—Duchess of TRESSAS, v 202,
203

England on that occasion. Junot alone was my

[2] Ann Reg 1861, 233 Jom, xiv 338, 339.

a lasting monument of the important triumph gained by the British arms on the sands of Alexandria (1).

Shortly after this capitulation was signed, the army of General Baird, six thousand four hundred strong, of whom 3600 were British and 2800 sepoy, appeared on the banks of the Nile from India (2). They had sailed from Bombay in the end of December, but unfortunately the monsoon had set in before they arrived at the mouth of the Red Sea, which rendered it impossible for them to reach their original destination, which was Suez, in time to operate as a diversion to the British force when it first landed at the mouth of the Nile. After struggling hard with contrary winds for above two months, in the course of which two transports were lost, the expedition arrived at Cosseir, in Upper Egypt, in the beginning of July, and preparations were instantly made for crossing the Desert which separates the Red Sea from Thebes. This passage is one hundred and forty miles long; and as it was the first instance recorded in history of a European army, with the artillery and encumbrances of modern warfare, crossing one of the Eastern deserts, it is in a peculiar manner worthy of observation. The first detachment began its march from Cosseir, and in nine days it arrived at Kinneh on the Nile. The road across the arid wilderness lies almost the whole way through a succession of ravines, winding amongst hills varying from five to fifteen hundred feet in height. These hills are very remarkable, rising often perpendicularly on either side of the valley, as if they had been scarped by art, here again rather broken and overhanging, as if they were the lofty banks of a mighty river, and the traveller traversing its dry and naked bed. Now you are quite land locked; now again you open on lateral valleys, and see upon heights beyond small square towers. Dépôts of provisions had been provided at the eight stations where the army halted, and wells dug by the Arabs, from which a tolerable supply of water was obtained, though in many places rather of a brackish quality. Not a dwelling was to be seen, and hardly any traces of vegetation were discovered along this dreary tract; nothing met the eye but bare and arid rocks in the mountains, and loose sand or hard gravel in the hollows. The sufferings of the soldiers from heat and thirst were very great; for though they marched only during the night, yet the atmosphere, heated to 115 degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade during the day, was at all times sultry and oppressive in the highest degree. It was soon found that it was impossible by drinking to allay the thirst, and that indulgence in that respect only augmented the desire; a little vinegar mixed with water proved the only effectual relief. Every where the cannon and ammunition waggons passed with facility, drawn by oxen brought from India. No words can describe the transports of the soldiers when at Rensch they first came in sight of the Nile, flowing in a full majestic stream in the green plain at their feet; the bonds of discipline were unavailing to prevent a tumultuous rush of men, horses, camels, and oxen, when they approached its banks, to plunge into the waves. At length by great efforts the army was assembled at Thebes with very little loss, considering the arduous service they had undergone. They there gazed with wonder at the avenues of sphinxes and stately temples which are destined to transmit to the latest posterity the wonders of ancient Egypt, and embarking on the Nile, fell down in boats in nine days, a distance of three hundred miles, to Grand Cairo, where they arrived on the 10th

(1) *Jam.* xiv. 345, 346. *Wils.* 157, 265. *Ann.* (2) *Wils.* 168, 189.
Reg. 1801, 236, 237.

General
Bel and is
defeat d
n at Cairo

Meanwhile the Grand Vizier, encouraged by the unwonted intelligence of the defeat of the French forces, and relieved by the cessation of the plague in his army, one great cause of his weakness, mustered up courage to cross the Desert, and in the middle of April drew near to the French fortified position, on the frontiers of Syria, at the head of twelve thousand men. At his approach, the Republicans evacuated Salalah and Balbeis, on the edge of the Desert, and Damietta, at the mouth of one of the branches of the Nile, and drew back all their forces to Cairo, the arrival of La Grange with the troops from Ramanieh having increased the disposable force of general Belhard to ten thousand veterans, he moved forward at the head of six thousand chosen troops to El Hanka, to meet the Turkish force. But the Mussulmans were now under very different direction from that which led them to destruction at Ichopolis. Major Hope, afterwards one of the most distinguished lieutenants of Wellington, was with the artillery, and Major Holloway directed all the movements of the Grand Vizier. These able officers brought up the Turkish artillery and infantry to the fight in a wood of date-trees, where the superiority of European discipline was not so decisive as in the open plain, while a skilful movement of the cavalry towards their rear threatened to cut off the enemy's retreat to Cairo. The consequence was, that after an indecisive action of five hours, Belhard retreated to the capital, a result so different from any which had yet attended their warfare with the Republicans, that it elevated immensely the spirits of the Ottomans, and what was of still greater consequence, disposed them to resign themselves implicitly to the guidance of the British officers attached to their staff (1).

This important advantage having thrown the enemy on all sides back into the capital, and the success of the Turks having proved that under proper guidance some reliance could be placed upon them in active operations,

Cairo is
loved ed.

General Hutchison resolved to advance immediately against Cairo, although the promised co-operation of the troops from the Red Sea could not be calculated upon, as, from the prevalence of contrary winds in that dangerous strait, they had been detained much beyond the appointed

time. The English army invested Cairo on the 20th May on the left, while the Grand Vizier did the same on the right bank of the Nile. The fortifications of the town, begun by Kléber, had been assiduously continued by Menou, but they were too extensive, stretching over a circumference of fourteen miles, to be adequately guarded by nine thousand men, to which the effective part of the garris

with the Indian army, had

would make their appearance

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length of time. Impressed with these considerations, and fearful that by delay he might not obtain equally favourable terms, Belhard,

May 21
baggage. They were immediately agreed to. The troops embarked on the Nile in virtue of this capitulation, amounted to 15,672, besides the civil servants, and they left in the hands of the British 520 pieces of heavy cannon, besides the field pieces of the corps which they carried with them, an astonishing conquest to have been achieved by a European force of smaller amount, and

stances against such a condition, and threatened to destroy them rather than that they should fall into the hands of the victors, General Hutchison, with a generous regard to the interests of science and the feelings of these distinguished persons, agreed to depart from the stipulation, and allow those treasures of art to be forwarded to France. The sarcophagus of Alexander, however, was retained by the British, and formed the glorious trophy of their memorable triumph (1).

The military results of this conquest were very great. Three hundred and twelve pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, were found upon the works of Alexandria, besides seventy-seven on board the ships of war. No less than 195,000 pounds of powder, and 11,000 gun cartridges were taken in the magazines; while the soldiers who capitulated were 10,011, independent of 500 sailors and 633 civil servants. The total troops who capitulated in Egypt were nearly 21,000, all tried veterans of France; an astonishing success to have been achieved by a British force which had hardly ever seen a shot fired, and even including those who came up from India six weeks after Cairo had surrendered, never amounted to the same numerical strength (2).

(1) Act. Reg. 1801, 233, 259. Wils. 194, 212.
Jenn. 20, 850, 853, Regu. 280, 489.

(2) *Wob.* 179, 216, 217. *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 239.
Jan. xiv. 352, 353. *Regn.* 280, 289.

The troops who capitulated at Cairo, exclusive of	
civil servants, were:—	13,672
At Alexandria	10,128
	<u>23,800</u>

[Wils. 179, 217.] which, supposing 1000 lost in the previous engagement, leaves a total of 23,000 men, to oppose the British in Egypt, having at their command in heavy cannon and field pieces, above 700 guns. The amount of the force which the French had in this context, is ascertained by the best possible evidence, that of an unwilling witness, perfectly acquainted with the fact, and never disposed to exaggerate the amount of his beaten troops. "In March, 1801," says Napoleon, "the English disembarked an army of 18,000 men, without artillery or cavalry horses; it should have been destroyed. The army, vanquished after six months of false manoeuvres, was disembarked on the shores of Provence still 21,000 strong. When Napoleon quitted it, in the end of August 1799, it amounted in all to 23,500 men. As the British and allied forces did not enter simultaneously into action, but on the contrary, at an interval of several months from each other, the victory must have remained with the French if they had had a general of capacity at their head, who knew how to avail himself skilfully of the advantages of his central position." [Nap. in Month. i. 80, 81, and ii. 216.] The British forces which came with Sir Ralph Abercromby were 18,599

were	18,599
Landed in April.	3,000
Came with Sir David Baird,	5,919

Total British and Indian troops, . 25,518

[Wils. 270, 308] The army of the Grand Vizier, which advanced against Cairo after the battle of Alexandria, was only 14,000 strong, and in such a state of disorganization as to be capable of effecting very little in the field; [Wils. 116.] and the corps which landed at Rosetta was only 6000 men, and effected very little against the enemy. When, therefore, it is recollected that the campaign was really concluded by the capitulation of General Belliard at Cairo on the 26th June, that the forces from the Red Sea only landed at Casser on the 8th July, and arrived at Cairo on the 10th August, and consequently that the contest was decided by

12,500 British against 23,000 French, having the advantage of a central position and possession of all the fortified places in the country, it must be admitted that modern history has few more glorious achievements to commemorate.

This being the first great disaster which the Republicans had sustained by land since the commencement of the revolution, and it having fallen on so distinguished a portion of their army as that which had gone through the Italian and Egyptian campaigns, they have been indefatigable in their endeavours to vindicate the credit due to the English troops on the occasion; forgetting, that if the British acted feebly, what must the French have been when, with such a superiority of force, they were compelled to capitulate. It is true, that the movements of Hutchinson after the battles of 21st March were slow and cautious; but that they were not unreasonably so, is proved by the consideration that he had to advance with less than half his army against a force at Grand Cairo, which amounted to 15,000 men, and could send 10,000 into the field, and that even after all he arrived at the scene of action, and concluded the capitulation of Cairo, six weeks before the arrival of the troops from the Red Sea, with no more than 1,500 Europeans, and a disorderly rabble of 25,000 Turks, hardly provided with any battering train. [Wils. 158.] All the ingenuity of the French cannot obviate the important fact that, by Hutchinson's advance to Ramani, he separated their armies at Cairo and Alexandria from each other, and enabled him, with a force greatly inferior to the two taken together, to be superior to both at the point of attack, the surest test, as Napليون justly observes, of a good general. The British officers, after Alexandria was taken, discovered that the works on the heights of Nicomells, and, in particular, forts Gedin and Caffarelli, were in such a state that they could have opposed no effectual resistance to a vigorous attack, and they were thus led to regret that they had been induced by their imposing appearance to relinquish the active pursuit of their advantages before Minou's arrival on the 13th March: [Wils. 215.] but if they had done so, and Alexandria had thereby fallen, it is doubtful whether the ultimate success of the expedition would not have been endangered; as it would have only deprived the enemy of 1000 men, and led to the concentration of the remainder, above 20,000 strong, in the central position at Cairo, from whence they might have destroyed either the grand Vizier, Sir D. Baird, or General Hutchinson, as they successively approached the in-

August. There, for the first time in the history of the world, the sable Hindoos from the banks of the Ganges, the swarthy Asiatics from the plains of the Euphrates, and the blue-eyed English from the shores of the Thames, met in arms at the foot of the Pyramids (1).

General
Hutchison
moves
up
the ion at
Alexan
dria

When Menou was informed of the capitulation of Cairo, he professed himself highly incensed at its conditions, and loudly proclaimed his resolution to bury himself under the ruins of Alexandria.

He refused to take advantage, in consequence, of the proposal made to him to accede to the capitulation of the capital, and embark on the same terms for France. This determination was founded on intelligence he had received by the brig *Lodi*, which had eluded the vigilance of the English cruisers and penetrated into Alexandria, of the approach of Admiral Gantheaume with seven sail and five thousand men, accompanied with the most peremptory orders from the first consul to hold out to the last extremity. Finding that the reduction of this last stronghold could only be effected by force, General Hutchison, after the embarkation of General Belliard and his division, brought down the greater part of his troops from Cairo, and, in the beginning of August, commenced active operations, at the head of sixteen thousand men, against Alexandria. A flotilla was rapidly collected on the lake Marcotis, but to complete the investment of the place, it was necessary to reduce fort Marabon, situated on a tongue of land which unites the town to the opposite side of the lake, and by which alone the garrison received supplies of provisions from the Arabs. Four thousand men were embarked on

August, 17 the flotilla, and landed near the fort on the 17th, while a feint was made of a general attack on the heights of Nicopolis by General Hutchison. These operations were completely successful; the landing of the troops was effected with very little opposition; batteries were rapidly constructed, and so heavy a fire kept up, both by land and sea, that the fort was soon reduced

Progresses of
the siege

to a heap of ruins; and the garrison, consisting of a hundred and sixty men, was compelled to capitulate. At the same time, some of the advanced batteries of the Republicans were carried on the heights near the sea, and a column of six hundred men, detached by Menou to recover them, driven back by Colonel Spence, at the head of seven companies of the 50th, with the most distinguished gallantry. In endeavouring to set fire to the English flotilla, the French burnt their own schooners on the lake; while the light vessels of the fleet boldly sailed into the harbour of Alexandria, and opened a cannonade upon the enemy's squadron in the inner port. On the following day, General Coote followed up his success; and advancing along the 1st

Aug 20 disasters at

Aug 21 resolution to conquer or die, and agreed to a capitulation, in virtue of which the French were to surrender Alexandria, with all its artillery, and be transported back to France, with their arms, baggage, and ten pieces of cannon only. It was agreed between the military commanders that the collections of antiquities and drawings which had been made by the artists and learned men who accompanied the expedition should be surrendered to the British; but as they made the most vigorous remon-

Surrender
of Menou

(1) Scherer's Egypt, 68, 69 Wals. 171, 173
Ann Reg 1801 237

A singular incident occurred on this occasion. When the Sepoy regiments came to the monuments of ancient Egypt, they fell down and worshipped

the images, and her proof among the many which exist, of the common origin of these early nations. I have heard the curious fact from several officers who were present on the occasion.

The military results of this conquest were very great. Three hundred and twelve pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, were found upon the works of Alexandria, besides seventy-seven on board the ships of war. No less than 125,000 pounds of powder, and 11,000 gun cartridges were taken in the magazines; while the soldiers who capitulated were 10,011, independent of 500 sailors and 633 civil servants. The total troops who capitulated in Egypt were nearly 24,000, all tried veterans of France; an astonishing success to have been achieved by a British force which had hardly ever seen a shot fired, and even including those who came up from India six weeks after Cairo had surrendered, never amounted to the same numerical strength (2).

The troops who capitulated at Cairo, exclusive of civil servants, were:—	13,472
At Alexandria	10,528
	<hr/> 23,999

Came with Sir David Baird,	5,919
Landed in April,	3,000
Came with Sir David Baird,	16,599

This being the first great disaster which the Republicans had sustained by land since the commencement of the revolution, and it having fallen on so distinguished a portion of their army, as that which had gone through the Italian and Egyptian campaigns, they have been indefatigable in their endeavours to undulate the credit due to the English troops on the occasion; forgetting, that if the British acted feebly, what must the French have been when, with such a superiority of force, they were compelled to capitulate. It is true, that the movements of Hutchinson after the battles of 21st March were slow and cautious; but that they were not unreasonably so, is proved by the consideration that he had to advance with less than half his army against a force at Grand Cairo, which amounted to 15,000 men, and could send 10,000 into the field, and that even after all he arrived at the scene of action, and concluded the capitulation of Cairo, six weeks before the arrival of the troops from the Red Sea, with no more than 1,500 Europeans, and a disorderly rabble of 25,000 Turks, hardly provided with any battering train. [Wils. 158.] All the ingenuity of the French cannot obviate the important fact that, by Hutchinson's advance to Raouaieh, he separated their armies at Cairo and Alexandria from each other, and enabled him, with a force greatly inferior to the two taken together, to be superior to both at the point of attack, the surest test, as Napoleon justly observes, of a good general. The British officers, after Alexandria was taken, discovered that the works on the heights of Nicopolis, and, in particular, forts Cetin and Caffarelli, were in such a state that they could have opposed no effectual resistance to a vigorous attack, and they were thus led to regret that they had been induced by their imposing appearance to relinquish the active pursuit of their advantages before Memon's arrival on the 13th March. [Wils. 212.] but if they had done so, and Alexandria had thereby fallen, it is doubtful whether the ultimate success of the expedition would not have been endangered; as it would have only deprived the enemy of 4000 men, and led to the concentration of the remainder, above 20,000 strong, in the central position at Cairo, from whence they might have destroyed either the grand Vizier, Sir D. Baird, or General Hutchinson, as they successively approached the in-

After the reduction of Alexandria, the greater part of the army, with General Hutehison, returned to England, leaving twelve thousand men, including the Indian troops, to secure the country, until a general peace. The European officers and soldiers were much struck by the luxury of their comrades in the Indian service, and, accustomed to sleep on the bare sand, with no other covering than a tented canopy, beheld with astonishment the numerous retainers and sumptuous equipages which attested the magnificence of Asiatic warfare. But Sir David Baird soon showed that if they had adopted the pacific habits of the soldiers of Darius, they had not forgotten the martial qualities of those of Alexander, and their morning exercises in the camp of Alexandria exhibited a combination of activity and discipline never surpassed by the finest troops of the Western world (1).

<sup>Attempted
treachery of
the Tuks.</sup> The expulsion of the French from Egypt was followed by a piece of treachery on the part of the Ottomans, which, if not firmly resisted by the English commander, would have brought indelible disgrace on the British name. The Turkish Government, aware of the insecure tenure by which their authority in Egypt was held, as long as the Beys retained their ascendancy in the country, had secretly resolved upon extirpating them, and in order to carry their design into effect, seven of the chiefs were invited to Alexandria, to hold a conference with the Capitan Pacha, by whom they were received with every demonstration of respect, and invited on board a British vessel. But when they got into the boats which were to convey them thither, they took fright, and desired to be returned ashore, and this having been refused, a struggle ensued, in the course of which three of the Beys were killed, and four wounded. This frightful violation of all public faith, though by no means unusual among Asiatic des-pots, excited the most lively indignation in the British army, General Hutehison immediately put his troops under arms, and made such energetic remonstrances to the Capitan Pacha, that he was obliged to surrender up the four Beys who had been wounded, and the bodies of the slain, who were interred with military honours at Alexandria. This resolute conduct completely cleared the British from all imputation of having been accessory to the intended massacre, though it was far from allaying the indignant feelings of the English officers, many of whom openly declared the Capitan Pacha should have been seized in the centre of his camp, and hung by the yard-arm of the frigate to which he intended to have conveyed the victims of his treachery (2).

<sup>Change in
the govern-
ment of
Egypt
which falls
on the
Tuks.</sup> When left to their own resources, however, the Mameluke chiefs were totally unable to maintain their former government in Egypt. Many of them had fallen in the contest with France, their redoubtable cavalry had perished, and out of the whole militia of the province scarce two thousand could be mustered in arms, when the Europeans withdrew. They were compelled to relinquish, therefore, their old feudal sovereignty on the banks of the Nile, and accept the offer of the Grand Seignior, to surrender on favourable terms the province into the hands of the Osmanlis. A pacha was established, who soon became the real sovereign of the country, and long contrived, by the regular payment of his tribute, to maintain himself undisturbed in his dominions. Under his able and undivided administration, order began to reappear out of chaos, life became comparatively secure, though excessive taxation was established, and the national

ter or of Egypt whereas, by the retention of Alexandria that dispersion of force was occasioned which ultimately proved fatal to them in the campaign.

(1) *Webb* 177 *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 233

(2) *Webb*, 245 *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 210 *Dum.* iv 173, 174.

resources were prodigiously augmented. By this means one singular and lasting consequence resulted from the French residence in Egypt. The old anarchical tyranny of the Mamelukes was destroyed; a powerful government established on the banks of the Nile, which, in the end, crushed the Wahabees in Arabia, extended itself over Syria, as far as the defiles of mount Taurus, and was only prevented, by the intervention of France and Russia, from utterly overturning the dominion of the Osmanlis. Thus every thing conspired to bring about the great Oriental Revolution of the nineteenth century; the power of the Turks, the chief bulwark of Mahometanism, was weakened alike by the victories of the French and the conquests of their opponents, and the Crescent, long triumphant in the East, was at length struck down, not less by the ultimate effects of the ambition of the Republicans, who ridiculed every species of devotion, than the devout enthusiasm of the Moscovites, who sought an entrance to Paradise through the breach of Constantinople.

But neither of the victorious states foresaw those remote consequences, which as yet lay buried in the womb of fate, and the demonstrations of joy at the surrender of Alexandria were as ardent on the shores of the Bosphorus as the banks of the Thames.

The cannon of the seraglio were fired, the city was splendidly illuminated, medals were struck to be distributed among the English who had served in Egypt, and a palace built for the British ambassador at Pera, as a lasting monument of the gratitude of the Ottoman empire. In London, the public thankfulness, if less noisy, was still more sincere. The people of England hailed this great achievement as a counterpoise to all the disasters of the war; as a humiliation of France on that element where it had been so long victorious, and a check to its ambition in that quarter where its hopes had been most sanguine; and as the harbinger of those greater triumphs which would await them, if the enemy should carry into execution their long threatened invasion of the British islands. Under the influence of these sentiments the early disasters of the war were forgotten; the fears, the asperity of former times were laid aside; and the people, satisfied with having redeemed their honour in military warfare by one great triumph, looked forward without anxiety to the cessation of the contest, in the firm belief that they could renew it without apprehension whenever the national safety required that it should be resumed (1).

Jan. 7.
Great naval
victories of
Napoleon to
preserve
Egypt.

Although the French were thus expelled from Egypt, it was not without the greatest efforts on the part of Napoléon to preserve so important an acquisition, that it eluded his grasp. By great exertions a squadron of seven ships of the line and five frigates, having on board six thousand men and vast supplies of all sorts, was made ready for sea, and sailed from Brest in the beginning of January; it eluded the vigilance of two British squadrons which were detached in pursuit under Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Richard Bickerton, passed the straits of Gibraltar, and crept along the coast of Africa, almost to within sight of the Pharos of Alexandria; but there one of its frigates, the *Africaine*, was encountered, and captured by the English frigate *Phœbe*, of equal force; and the admiral, discouraged by this disaster, and alarmed at the accounts he received of the strength of Lord Keith's squadron off the coast of Egypt, which, united to that of Bickerton, now amounted to seventeen sail of the line, renounced his enterprise, and returned to Toulon. One of his frigates, however, the *Régé-*

niré, passed, under false colours, through the British fleet, and made its way into Alexandria; and thus the first consul considered as decisive evidence that the whole, if directed with equal skill, might have reached the same destination. Gantheaume, therefore, received positive orders to put again to sea, and at all hazards to attempt the relief of Egypt. He set sail accordingly on

March 20 the 20th March, avoided Sir John Borlase Warren's squadron, which he met off Sardinia, and continued his route towards the coast of Africa; but Warren instantly made sail in the same direction, and arrived off Alexandria on the 25d April. No sooner was Gantheaume informed of this than he again turned about, and regained Toulon without any disaster. Irritated beyond measure by these repeated failures, Napoleon transmitted peremptory orders to the admiral to put to sea a third time, and endeavour, at all hazards, to convey the reinforcements he had on board into Alexandria; he

May 20 set sail accordingly on the 20th May, threw succours in passing to the Republican force besieging porto Ferrajo in the isle of Elba; increased his squadron by three frigates prepared for him by General Soult at Brundisium, and arrived in sight of the coast of Egypt, for the third time, on the 8th June. One of his brigs, the *Helopolis*, reached Alexandria on the day following; but when Gantheaume was making preparations for landing the troops on the sands to the westward of that town, his look-out frigates made

the enemy's fleet, and the landing of the troops in the desert shore without stores or provisions, would expose them to certain destruction. Gantheaume, therefore, refused to accede to the wishes of the officers of the army, who were desirous to incur that perilous alternative, and made sail again for the

June 24 coast of France. On his route homewards he fell in with the *Switsure*, of seventy-four guns, which Captain Hollowell defended long with his accustomed gallantry, but he was at length obliged to surrender to the vast superiority of the Republican force, and with this trophy the admiral regained the harbour of Toulon. The French journals, long accustomed to continued disasters at sea, celebrated this gleam of success as a memorable triumph, and loudly boasted of the skill with which their fleet had traversed the Mediterranean and avoided the English squadrons; "a melancholy reflection," says the historian of Napoleon, "for a country and its admirals when skill in avoiding a combat is held equivalent to a victory. (1)."

This effort, however, was not the only one made by the first consul for the relief of Egypt. His design was to support Gantheaume by a combined squadron of fifteen ships of the line, drawn from the harbours of France and Spain. For this purpose great efforts had been made by the Spanish marine; six ships of the line at Cadiz had been placed under the orders of the French admiral Dumauoir, and six others had reached that harbour from Ferrol, while the English blockading squadrons, under Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Richard Bickerton, had left their stations off these harbours in search of Admiral Linois; and Admiral Linois, with three ships of the line, was to join them from Toulon. The British Government, justly alarmed at such

when advices were received that Admiral Linois, with three ships of the line

and one frigate, was approaching from the Mediterranean. No sooner did the French admiral find that the blockade of Cadiz had been re-established by a force superior to his own, than he abandoned all hope of effecting the prescribed junction, and fell back to Algesiraz bay, where he took shelter under the powerful batteries which defend its coast. Thither he was followed by Sir James Saumarez, whose squadron was now reduced to six ships of the line by the detachment of one of his vessels to the mouth of the Guadalquivir; and the British admiral resolved upon an immediate attack notwithstanding that the forts and batteries and gun-boats, now manned by gunners from the French ships, presented the most formidable appearance. The British fleet

July 6.
Naval action in the bay of Algesiraz.

stood into the bay, headed by Captain Hood in the *Venerable*, with springs on their cables, and in a short time the action began, the

Audacious and Pompey successively approaching, and taking their stations alongside of the French vessels, between them and the batteries on shore. The wind, however, fell shortly after the leading ships got into action, so as to prevent the remainder of the squadron from advancing to their support; and when at length a light breeze from the south enabled the *Hannibal* to work into the scene of danger, she grounded in such a situation as to be exposed to the shot of the French squadron on one side, of the formidable batteries of *Almirante* and *St. Jago* on the other, while fourteen gun-boats, securely posted under her stern, kept up with great vigour a destructive raking fire. To complete the disaster, the wind totally failed soon after, so as to render it impossible for the other vessels, notwithstanding the utmost efforts, to render any effectual assistance; and the boats, which had been destined to storming the batteries on the islands, were all required to tow the line-of-battle ships which were still afloat, so as to bring their broadsides to bear upon the enemy. After several gallant attempts, therefore, on the part of Sir James Saumarez and his squadron, to throw themselves between the batteries and the grounded vessel, they were compelled to draw off, leaving her to her fate, and after an honourable resistance, she was obliged to strike her colours (1).

The English are worsted.

Great rejoicings in France at this event.

The loss of the British in killed and wounded in this action was 564; that on the part of the French and Spaniards, 586; but the unwonted occurrence of the retreat of the former, and the capture of one of their line-of-battle ships, diffused the most extraordinary joy throughout France, in which the first consul warmly participated (2). It was publicly announced at their theatres and in the gazette published on the occasion, that three French sail of the line had completely defeated six British, and captured one of their number, without the slightest mention of

(1) James, iii. 164, 172. Ann. Reg. 1801, 249. Dum. vii. 118, 121. Jom. xiv. 366, 368.

An incident, highly characteristic of the English sailors, occurred in this action. In its voyage through the Mediterranean, the French fleet had fallen in with, and captured, the brig *Speedy*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Captain LOUIS COCHRANE, and that gallant officer, with his little crew, was on board the *Formidable* when the action took place in the bay of Algesiraz. At every broadside the vessel received from the English, these brave men gave three cheers, regardless alike of the threats of instant death from the French if they continued so unseemly an interruption, and the obvious danger that they themselves might be sent to the bottom by their friendly discharges.

(2) "The first consul," says the Duchess of Abrantes, "recounted this triumph to us with the most lively satisfaction, with eyes literally over-

flowing with joy at this unlooked-for event. Naval victories were rare at that period, and Napoleon felt the full satisfaction arising from this one. Admiral Linois received the sole recompense which it was in his power at that period to bestow, a sabre of honour. All those who have narrowly studied the character of Napoleon, must have seen that the ruling passion of his great mind was the humbling of England. It was his constant object of study; and I can safely affirm that during the fourteen years that he held the reins of power, during which I certainly saw him very frequently, he was constantly set upon that object, and passionately desirous of the glory which it would produce. He constantly thought that he could give France the means of combatting that power on equal terms, and subduing it; all his measures tended towards that end."—D'ABLANCIS, v. 251, 256.

the batteries on shore, to which the Spanish official account, with more justice, ascribes the failure of the attack (1). But these transports were of short duration, and an awful catastrophe was destined to close the naval strife between the two nations. After the battle, the English fleet repaired to Gibraltar, and the utmost efforts were made night and day, to get the squadron ready for sea, but it was found that the *Pompey* was so much damaged that she could not be set afloat in time, and therefore her crew were distributed through the other vessels, and the fleet stood out to sea to avenge the affront they had received on the morning of the 12th July. Meanwhile, the Spanish squadron at Cadiz, consisting of six ships of the line and three frigates, two of which bore 112 guns each, had joined the shattered French fleet in Algesiraz bay, and the combined force was moving towards the isle of Leon, at the time that the English squadron, consisting of five ships of the line and one frigate, were working out of the harbour of Gibraltar (2).

Nothing in war could be conceived more animating than the circumstances under which the British fleet then set forth to redeem the honour of their flag. The combined squadron, consisting of nine ships of the line and four frigates, was proudly and leisurely moving towards Cadiz, with all sails set and a favourable wind, bearing with them their prize, the *Hannibal*, which they had contrived to get afloat, in tow of the *Indienne* frigate, the anxiety of the sailors to rescue her from their hands was indescribable; the day was clear, the rock covered with spectators, and loud shouts announced every successive British vessel which cleared the pier-head of Gibraltar to proceed on the perilous service. The mole, the quays, the batteries, the cliffs, were crowded with anxious multitudes, eager to witness the approaching conflict; the band of the Admiral's ship, the *Cæsar*, played the popular air, "Come, cheer up, my lads, 'tis to glory we steer," while the military bands of the garrison made the rock re-echo with the notes of "Britons, strike home!" So thrilling was the interest of the scene, so overpowering the feelings which it excited, that the foreigners who witnessed it wished they had been Englishmen; and even the wounded begged to be taken on board to share in the honours of the approaching conflict (3).

It was in truth a proud sight for the English garrison to behold their fleet, of five ships of the line, only ten days after a bloody encounter, again put to sea to give chase to an enemy's squadron of line-of-battle ships, six of whom were perfectly uninjured, and which contained two three-deckers of stupendous magnitude. The *Hannibal* soon fell astern, and with the frigate which had her in tow, returned to Algesiraz; but the remainder of the squadron cleared Cabrita point, and stood away, as darkness set in, with all sail towards Cadiz. At ten at night, a fresh breeze filled the sails of the English fleet, they gained rapidly on the enemy, and Sir James gave orders that they should engage the first vessels which they could see. His fire upon the *Requin* was soon seen to be on fire, and must fall into the hands of the remainder of the fleet as they came up, the

(1) "The action" says the *Madrid Gazette* extra

standing the utmost exertions to get her afloat it was found impossible, and the fire of the batteries very soon compelled her to strike."—See *JAMES*, iii. 173

(2) *James* iii. 170, 181. *Ann Reg* 1801, 252. *Joan*. xiv. 369. *Dum* vii. 128.

(3) *Erskine*, iii. 304. *James*, iii. 180.

of attacking her to pass between the French admiral's ship and the shore, made her ground, and notwith

Superb passed on, and in half an hour overtook and engaged the St.-Antoine, of 74 guns, which soon struck her colours. The Cæsar and Venerable came up in succession, and the chase was continued all night, in the midst of a tempestuous gale, by the light of the discharges which at intervals flashed through the gloom. But while the sailors were making the greatest efforts, and constantly nearing the enemy, a terrible catastrophe occurred, which for a moment daunted the stoutest hearts. The Superb, after having disabled the Real Carlos on her starboard, passed on, poured a broadside on the larboard into the San Hermenegildo, also of 112 guns, and soon outstripped both her first-rate antagonists. In the darkness of the night these two Spanish ships mutually mistaking each other for the enemy, were involved in a mortal combat; the violence of the winds spread the flames from the one to the other, the heavens were illuminated by the awful conflagration, and at midnight they both blew up with an explosion so tremendous as to shake Cadiz to its foundation, and spread a thrill of horror through every soul that witnessed it. Out of two thousand men, of which their crews consisted, not more than 250 were saved by the English boats, the remainder were blown into the air, or perished in the waves on that tempestuous night (1).

When morning dawned, both fleets were extremely scattered, the Venerable and Thames were far a-head of the rest of the British squadron, and the Formidable, of eighty guns, was seen in the rear of the French fleet. The British ships instantly gave chase, and soon brought her to action. It began with musket shot; and shortly the two ships were abreast of each other within pistol range, and a tremendous fire was kept up on both sides. Undismayed by the magnitude of the force brought against him, the French captain, made the most gallant resistance, which was soon rendered equal by the Thames unavoidably falling behind, and dropping out of the action. The fire of the Venerable, however, directed at the hull of her opponent, was beginning to tell severely on the enemy's crew, when the French gunners, by a fortunate discharge, succeeded in bringing down her mainmast, and with it most of her rigging, so that she fell behind, and soon after her other masts went by the board, and she struck on the shoals of San Pedro. In this desperate situation Captain Hood still maintained a contest with the stern chasers of the Formidable (2), and gave time for two other ships of the line to come up; upon the appearance of which the enemy relinquished their design of attacking the disabled vessel, and crowding all sail, stood in for Cadiz harbour, where they were soon after moored in safety.

The intelligence of this bold and fortunate engagement, in which a British fleet so severely handled an enemy's squadron of nearly double its own force, excited the greater joy in Great Britain, that the preceding failure in Algiers bay had somewhat mortified a people, nursed by long continued success to unreasonable expectations of constant triumph on their favourite element. On the other hand, the frightful catastrophe of their two first-rate men-of-war spread the utmost consternation through the Spanish peninsula, and increased that strong repugnance which the Castilian youth had long manifested for the naval service (3).

Attack of
Napoléon
on Portu-
gal.

Contemporaneous with these maritime operations was a measure, from which Napoléon anticipated much more in the way of forming a counterpoise to the vast colonial acquisitions made by Great

(1) James, iii. 180, 183. Ann. Reg. 1801, 253. Journ. xiv. 369. Dpm. vii. 130, 132. Journ. xiv. 368, 371. Dnm. vii. 132, 135. Bign. ii. 38, 39.

(2) James iii. 181, 185. Ann. Reg. 1801, 258.

(3) Journ. xiv. 371. Ann. Reg. 1801, 253, 254.

Britain during the war, and thus was an attack upon Portugal, the ancient and tried ally of England. The French, according to their own admission, had no cause of complaint against that power, the only motive of the war was to provide an equivalent to the maritime conquests of England. "We only wished," says Bignon, "to enter into that kingdom in order to leave it, and stipulate for that retreat some considerable concession from Great Britain." The most obvious means of effecting this object was to interest Spain in its execution, and this was adroitly managed by the first consul. In the treaty of Lunéville, as already observed, it was stipulated that the grand duchy of Tuscany should be ceded by the Austrian family, and erected into a separate principality in favour of Don Louis, a prince of the Spanish family, and that the duchy was soon after erected into royalty, under the title of the kingdom of Etruria. Europe was at a loss at first to divine what was the motive for this sudden condition in favour of the Spanish house of Bourbon, but it was soon made manifest, when it appeared that a treaty had been concluded between France and Spain, the object of which was, "to compel the court of Lisbon to separate itself from the alliance of Great Britain, and cede, till the conclusion of a general peace, a fourth of its territory to the French and Spanish forces (1)."

This flagrant and unprovoked invasion of the rights of a pacific state, took place at the very time when France was loudly proclaiming the principles of the armed neutrality, and the utter injustice of one belligerent interfering with the trade or alliances of independent powers. But it soon appeared that the first consul's tenderness for neutral rights was all on one element, where he was weakest, and that on the other, where his power was well nigh irresistible, he was prepared to go the utmost length of belligerent aggression, and compel every other state to enter into his projects of universal hostility against Great Britain. So early as December 1800, when the victory of Hohenlinden had relieved him of all anxiety on the side of Germany, he had given orders for the formation of an army of observation at Bordeaux, which gradually drew towards the Pyrenees, and was increased to twenty thousand men, and this was followed some months afterwards by a declaration of war on the part of Spain, against the Court of Lisbon. The ostensible grounds of complaint on which this step was rested, were the refusal by the Court of Lisbon to ratify a peace with France, signed by its plenipotentiary in 1797, accompanied with a complaint that she had furnished protection to the English fleets and sailors, and insulted the French in the harbour of Carthagená. The real reasons for the war were very different. "The Courts of Lisbon and Madrid," says the French historian, "united by recent intermarriages, had no real subjects of dispute. They were drawn into the contest because the one was attached to the political system of France, the other to that of Great Britain (2)." Spain was at this time entirely under the guidance of the Prince of Peace, a vain and ambitious favourite who had risen from an obscure origin, by court intrigue, to an elevation little short of the throne, and threw himself willingly into the arms of France, in order to seek an effectual support against the pride and patriotism of the Castilian noblesse, who were exceedingly jealous of his authority. Guided by such a ruler, Spain made herself the willing instrument of France in this tyrannical aggression. She afterwards expiated her faults in oceans of blood (3).

In this extremity the Portuguese Government naturally turned to England

(1) 15 10 A u Fr, 1801 256
(2) B 5u 1

(3) Jour. A u Fr, 1801 258
Dum. 11 61 67

The Portuguese apply to England for aid. for support, and offered, if she would send an army of twenty-five thousand men, to give her the command of the native forces. Had it been in the power of Great Britain to have acceded to this offer, the desperate struggle of the peninsula might have been accelerated by eight years, and the triumphs of Busaco and Vimiera graced the conclusion of the first part of the war. But it was impossible to make such an effort; her only disposable force was already engaged in Egypt, and the great contest in the north, as yet undecided required all the means which were at the disposal of her government. All that could be done, therefore, was to send a few regiments to Lisbon, with a loan of £500,000, in order if possible to procure a respite from the impending danger till the general peace, which it was already foreseen could not be far distant (1).

Deprived in this manner of any effectual external aid, the Portuguese Government, to appearance at least, was not wanting to its ancient renown. An animated proclamation was put forth, in which the people were reminded of their ancestors' heroic resistance to the Romans, and their imperishable achievements in the southern hemisphere; new armaments were ordered, works hastily constructed, a levy *en masse* called forth, and the plate borrowed from the churches to aid Government in carrying on the means of defence. But during all this shew of resistance, there was a secret understanding between the courts of Lisbon and Madrid; the regular troops on the frontier, about twenty thousand strong, were hardly increased by a single soldier; and when, in the end of May, the Spanish army of thirty thousand combatants invaded the country, they experienced hardly any resistance. Jurmenha and Olivenza at once opened their gates; Campo Mayor, though amply provided with every thing requisite to sustain a siege, only held out a fortnight; and the Portuguese, flying in disorder, made haste to throw the Tagus between them and the enemy. Even Elvas, which never lowered its colours in a more glorious strife, surrendered, and in a fortnight after the war commenced, this collusive contest was terminated by the signature of preliminaries of peace at Abrantes. By this treaty, which was ratified on September 29th, Olivenza, with its circumjacent territory, was ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal were shut against the English flag (2).

Which the first consul refuses to ratify. No sooner were the terms of this treaty known in France than the first consul refused to ratify them. Not that he had either any animosity or cause of complaint against the Cabinet of Lisbon, but that by this pacification the main object of the war was missed, namely, the occupation of such a portion of the Portuguese territory by the French troops, as might give weight to the demands of France for restitution of her conquered colonies from Great Britain (3). The French army of observation, accordingly, under Leclerc and St.-Cyr, five-and-twenty thousand strong, which had advanced to Ciudad Rodrigo, entered Portugal, invested Almeida, and threatened both Lisbon and Oporto. The Portuguese Government now made serious preparations; six sail of the line were detached from Lisbon to reinforce the English blockading squadron off Cadiz, and such efforts as the time would admit made to reinforce the army on the frontier. But the contest was too unequal, and England, anticipating the seizure of the continental dominions of the house of Braganza, had already taken possession of the island of Madeira, to secure its colonial dominions from insult,

(1) Ann. Reg. 256, 257, Dum. vii. 63. Jom. xiv. 294.

(2) Big. ii. 12, 13. Jom. xiv. 223, 299. Ann. Reg. 1801, 258.

(3) Big. ii. 13.

when the tempest was averted by external events. The near approach of an accommodation between France and England, made it a greater object for the first consul to extend his colonial acquisitions, than enlarge his conquests on the continent of Europe; while the arrival of a convoy with a great supply of silver from Brazil, gave the Portuguese Government the means both of satisfying his pecuniary demands, and gratifying the cupidity of his inferior agents. To use the words of a French historian—"The Portuguese Government holding the purse, threw it at the feet of the robbers, and thus saved itself from destruction (1)." Bribes were liberally bestowed on the French generals (2), and so completely did this seasonable supply remove all difficulties, that a treaty was soon concluded, in virtue of which, Olivença, with its territory, was confirmed to Spain, the harbours of Portugal were closed against English ships, both of war and commerce, one half of Guiana, as far as the Carapanatuba stream, was ceded to France, and the commerce of the Republic was placed on the footing of the most favoured nations (3). By a less honourable and secret article, the immediate payment of 20,000,000 francs was made the condition of the retreat of the French troops (4).

As the war approached a termination, the anxiety of Napoléon to procure equivalents for the English transatlantic acquisitions became more vehement. With this view, he made propositions to Prussia to seize Hanover, an insidious though tempting offer, which would have rendered that power permanently a dependent on France, and totally altered the balance of European politics. But the Prussian Cabinet had good sense enough, at that time at least, to see that no such gratuitous act of spoliation was likely to prove a permanent acquisition, and to decline the proposal (5).

Meanwhile, Napoléon, relieved by the treaty of Lunéville, from all apprehensions of a serious continental struggle, bent all his attention to the shores of Great Britain, and made serious preparations for invasion on his own side of the Channel. Though not of the gigantic character which they assumed in a later period of the contest, after the renewal of the war, these efforts were of a kind to excite the serious attention of the English Government. From the mouth of the Scheldt to that of the Garonne, every creek and headland was fortified, so as to afford protection to the small craft which were creeping round the shore from all the harbours of the kingdom, to the general rendezvous of Dunkirk and Boulogne. The latter harbour was the general point of assemblage, gun-boats and flat-bottomed praams were collected in great quantities, furnaces heated for red-hot shot, immense batteries constructed, and every preparation made, not only for a vigor-
 nance
 them
 to the
 streams to the harbours on the Channel. The immensity of these preparations was studiously dwelt upon in the French papers; nothing was talked of but the approaching descent upon Great Britain; and fame, ever the first to sound the alarm, so magnified their amount, that when a few battalions pitched their tents on the heights of Boulogne, it was universally credited

(1) Esquirol, ii. 12, note.

(2) Leclerc got 5,000,000 francs, or £ 200,000, for his own share.—HARD viii. 136.

(3) See the treaty in DUMAURIOT vii. 261. Pieces Just.

(4) Esquirol, ii. 14. Hard viii. 136.

(5) Esquirol, ii. 17, 18. Hard viii. 34, 35.

in England that the army of invasion was about to take its station preparatory to the threatened attempt (1).

Apprehensions of the British Government. Though not participating in the vulgar illusion as to the imminence of the danger, the English Government had various weighty reasons for not disregarding the preparations on the southern coast of the Channel. The fleets of Great Britain in the narrow seas were indeed so powerful that no attempt at invasion by open force could be made with any chance of success (2); but it was impossible to conceal the alarming fact, that the same wind which wafted the French flotilla out of its harbours might chain the English cruisers to theirs; and the recent expeditions of Gantheaume in the Mediterranean, and of Hoche to the coast of Ireland, had demonstrated that, notwithstanding the greatest maritime superiority, it was impossible at all times to prevent a vigilant and active enemy from putting to sea during the darkness of autumnal or winter months. It was easy too to foresee, that even although ultimate defeat might attend a descent, incalculable confusion and distress would necessarily follow it in the first instance. It was to be expected also, that the destruction of the armament might influence the issue of the negotiations for peace; and that if the first consul saw that his flotilla was not secure from insult even in his own harbours, he would probably abate of the pretensions which his extraordinary successes had induced him to bring forward (3).

Influenced by these views, the British Government prepared a powerful armament of bombs and light vessels in the Downs, and intrusted the command to Lord Nelson, whose daring and successful exploits at Aboukir and the Nile pointed him out as peculiarly fitted for an enterprise of that description. On the 1st August he set sail from Deal at the head of three ships of the line, two frigates, and thirty-five bombs, brigs, and smaller vessels, and stood over to the French coast. He himself strongly urged that the expedition, aided by a few thousand troops, should be sent against Flushing; but the Cabinet resolved that it should proceed against Boulogne, and thither accordingly he went, much against his inclination. After a reconnoissance, attended with a slight cannonade on both sides, soon after his arrival, a more serious attack took place on the night of the 15th August. But in the interval the French line of boats had been rendered wellnigh unassailable. Every vessel was defended by long poles headed by iron spikes projecting from their sides; strong nettings were braced up to their lower yards; they were moored head and stern across the harbour-mouth in the strongest possible manner, chained to the ground and each other, and on board each was from fifty to an hundred soldiers, each provided with three muskets, as in defending a breach threatened with assault. In addition to this the whole were immediately under the guns of the batteries on shore, and every eminence capable of bearing a cannon had been armed with a powerful array of artillery. Notwithstanding these formidable circumstances, Nelson commenced the attack at midnight in four divisions of boats. The second division, under Captain Parker, first closed with the enemy; and in the most gallant style instantly endeavoured to board. But the strong netting baffled all their efforts, and as they were vainly endeavouring to cut their way through it, a discharge of musketry from the soldiers on board killed or wounded above half their number,

Attack on the flotilla at Boulogne by Nelson.

Which is defeated

(1) *Dumas*. vii. 140, 141. *Jom.* xiv. 380, 381. *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 263.

(2) England at this period had fourteen ships of the line under Admiral Cornwallis off Brest, and

seventeen in the German Ocean observing the Dutch harbours.—*JAMES*, iii. Ap. No. 2, and *Dumas*, vii. 114.

(3) *Ann. Reg.* 1801, 266. *Jom.* xiv. 385.

including their gallant leader Captain Parker, who was desperately manned while cheering on his men. The darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the tide, which prevented the other divisions from getting into action at the same time as Captain Parker's, rendered the attack abortive, notwithstanding the most gallant efforts on the part of the seamen and marines engaged in the service. One of the commanders of the French division behaved like a generous enemy. He hailed the boats as they approached, and called out in English, "Let me advise you, brave Englishmen, to keep off, you can do nothing here, it is only shedding the blood of brave men to attempt it." After four hours gallant but unequal combat, the assailants were obliged to retire, with the loss of 172 men killed and wounded, but Nelson declared that, "If all the boats could have arrived at their destined points at the periods assigned to them, not all the chains in France could have prevented our men from bringing off the whole of the vessels (1)."

A singular circumstance occurred at this time, which demonstrates how little the clearest intellect can anticipate the ultimate result of the discoveries which are destined to effect the greatest changes in human affairs. At the time when all eyes in Europe were fixed on the Channel, and the orators in the French tribunate were wishing for "a fair wind and thirty six hours," an unknown individual (2) presented himself to the first consul, and said, "The sea which separates you from your enemy gives him an immense advantage. Aided alternately by the winds and the tempests, he braves you in his inaccessible isle. This obstacle, his sole strength, I engage to overcome. I can, in spite of all his fleets, at any time, in a few hours, transport your armies into his territory, without fearing the tempests, or having need of the winds. Consider the means which I offer you." The plan and details accompanying it were received by Napoleon, and by him remitted to a commission of the most learned men which France could produce, who reported that it was visionary and impracticable, and in consequence it, at that time, came to nothing (3). Such was the reception which STEAM NAVIGATION received at the hands of philosophy, such is the first success of the greatest discovery of modern times since the invention of printing, of one destined in its ultimate effects, to produce a revolution in the channels of commerce, alter the art of naval war, work out the overthrow of empires, change the face of the world. The discovery seemed made for the age, and yet genius and philosophy rejected it at the very time when it was most required, and when it seemed calculated to carry into effect the vast projects which were already matured by its great leader. But the continental writers were in error when they suppose that this vast acquisition to nautical power would, if it had been fully developed at that time, have led to the subjugation of Britain, the English maritime superiority would have appeared as clearly in the new method of carrying on naval war as the old, Albion would have been encircled by steam vessels, if the French boats, aided by such auxiliaries, could have braved the wind and the tide, the English cruisers would have been equally assisted in the maintenance of their blockade, the stoutest heart and the last guinea would have finally carried the day, whatever changes occurred in the mode of carrying on the contest, and even if their wooden walls had been broken through, the future conquerors of Vittoria and Waterloo had no cause for despondency, if the war came to be conducted by land forces on their own shores.

(1) Donibsey's 21 5 180. A n Reg 1801 211
 20 n 215 237 Donibsey's 149 159 B n 215 60

(2) B n 215 61, 62
 (3) B n 215 61, 62

But these warlike demonstrations were a mere cover on both sides to the real intentions of the two Cabinets; and in the midst of the hostile fleets and armies which covered the Channel and the coasts of France, couriers were incessantly passing, carrying despatches containing the negotiations for a general peace. In truth, the war had now ceased to have any present or definitive object with both the powers by whom it was maintained, and they were driven to an accommodation from the experienced impossibility of finding any common element in which their hostilities could be carried on. After the loss of all her colonies, the ruin of her commerce, and the disappearance of her flag from the ocean, it was as impossible for France to find a method of annoying Great Britain, as it was for England to discover the means of reducing the continental power of her enemy, after the peace of Lunéville had prostrated the last array of the military monarchies of Europe. Even if their mutual hostility were inextinguishable, still both had need of breathing-time to prepare for a renewal of the contest; the former that she might regain the commerce and colonies on which her naval strength depended, the latter that she might restore the finances which the enormous expenses of the contest had seriously disorganised.

March 21. So early as the 21st March, the British Cabinet had signified to M. Otto, who still remained in London to superintend the arrangements for the exchange of prisoners, that they were disposed to renew the negotiations which had so often been opened without success; and it was agreed between the two governments that, without any general suspension of arms, the basis of a treaty should be secretly adjusted. When the terms, however, came to be first proposed, there appeared to be an irreconcilable difference between them; nor was this surprising, for both had enjoyed a career of almost unbroken success upon their separate elements, and each was called on to make sacrifices for peace, which it was quite evident could not be exacted from

April 3. them by force of arms if the contest was continued. Lord Hawkesbury's first proposals were, that the French should evacuate Egypt, and that the English should retain Malta, Ceylon, Trinity, and Martinique, and evacuate all the other colonies which they had conquered during the war; acquisitions which, how great soever, did not seem disproportionate to the vast continental additions received by France in the extension of her frontier to the Rhine, and the establishment of a girdle of affiliated republics round the parent state. But to these conditions the first consul refused to accede. "The resolution of the first consul," says the historian of his diplomacy, "was soon taken. France could neither surrender any part of its ancient domains nor its recent acquisitions (1)."

July 23. The views of Napoléon were developed in a note of M. Otto, on the 23d July, after the dissolution of the northern confederacy had relieved England of one of the greatest of her dangers, and disposed France to proceed with more moderation in the negotiation; and their defeat in Egypt had deprived them of all hopes of retaining that colony by force of arms. He proposed that Egypt should be restored to the Porte; that the republic formed of the seven Ionian islands should be recognised; that the harbours of Italy should be restored to the Pope and the King of Naples; port Mahon ceded to Spain, and Malta to the Knights of Jerusalem, with the offer to raze its fortifications. In the East Indies, he offered to abandon Ceylon to Great Britain, upon condition that all the other colonial conquests of England in both he-

(1) *Jom.* xiv. 379. *Big.* ii. 68.

hemispheres should be restored, and in that event agreed to respect the integrity of Portugal (1). Lord Hawkebury, in answer, suggested some arrangement by which Malta might be rendered independent of both parties, and insisted for the retention of some of the British conquests in the West Indies (2). The negotiations were prolonged for several months, but at length the difficulties were all adjusted, and the preliminaries of a general peace signed at London on the 1st October (3).

By these articles it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease by land and sea between the contracting parties, that Great Britain should restore its colonial conquests in every part of the world, Ceylon in the East and Trinidad in the West Indies alone excepted, which were ceded in entire sovereignty to that power, that Egypt should be restored to the Porte, Malta and its dependencies to the order of St John of Jerusalem, the Cape of Good Hope to Holland, but opened alike to the trade of both the contracting powers, the integrity of Portugal guaranteed, the harbours of the Roman and Neapolitan states evacuated by the French, and Porto Ferraro by the English forces, a compensation provided for the house of Nassau, and the republic of the Seven Islands recognised by the French Republic. The fisheries of Newfoundland were restored to the situation in which they had been before the war, reserving their final arrangement to the definitive treaty (4).

Though the negotiations had been so long in dependence, they had been kept a profound secret from the people of both countries, and their long continuance had sensibly weakened the hope of their being brought to a satisfactory result. But from accident or design, this impression had been greatly strengthened, recently before the signature of the preliminaries, and the very day before, the report had gone abroad in London, that all hope of an amicable adjustment was at an end, and that interminable war was likely again to break out between the two nations. In proportion to the desponding feelings occasioned by this impression, were the transports of joy excited by the appearance of a London Gazette Extraordinary on the 2d October, announcing the signature of the preliminaries on the preceding day. The 3 per cents instantly rose from 59 to 66, the *five consolides* at Paris from 45 to 55.

Universal joy pervaded both capitals. These feelings rapidly spread through the whole British nation, as the arrival of the post announced the joyful intelligence, and the public satisfaction was at its height, when on the 12th of the same month Colonel Lauriston arrived, bearing the ratification of the treaty by the French Government. Never since the restoration of Charles II. had such transports seized the public mind. The populace insisted on drawing the French envoy in their carriage, and they were conducted by this tumultuary array, followed by a guard of honour from the household brigade, through Parliament Street to Downing Street, where the ratifications were exchanged, and at night a general illumination gave vent to the feelings of universal exultation. Nor was the public joy manifested in a less emphatic manner at Paris. Hardly had the cannon of the Tuileries and the Invalides announced the unexpected in-

(1) N. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

(2) N. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

(3) L. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

(4) L. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

The clause regarding Malta, which became of so much importance in the sequel, from being the ostensible ground of the rupture of the treaty, was in these terms: The island of Malta, with its de-

be placed under the guarantee of a third power to be named in the definitive treaty. — (L. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.)

telligence, when every one stopped in the streets and congratulated his acquaintance on the news; the public flocked in crowds to the theatres, where it was officially announced, and in the evening the city was universally and splendidly illuminated. There seemed no bounds to the prosperity and glory of the Republic, now that this auspicious event had removed the last and most inveterate of its enemies (1).

But it is severely stigmatised in Eu. land by many. But while these were the natural feelings of the inconsiderate populace, who are ever governed by present impressions, and were for the most part destitute of the information requisite to form a rational opinion on the subject, there were many men gifted with greater sagacity and foresight in Great Britain, who deeply lamented the conditions by which peace had been purchased, and from the very first prophesied that it could be of no long endurance. They observed that the war had been abruptly terminated, without any one of the objects being gained for which it was undertaken; that it was entered into in order to curb the ambition, and stop the democratic propagandism of France; and in an especial manner prevent the extension of its authority in the Low Countries, whereas by the result its power was immensely extended, its frontier advanced to the Rhine, its influence to the Niemen, and a military chieftain placed at its head, capable of wielding to the best advantage its vast resources. That Arguments urged against it in the country. supposing the destruction of some, and the humiliation of other powers, had absolved England from all her ties with the continental states, and left her at full liberty to consult only her own interest in any treaty which might be formed, still it seemed at best extremely doubtful whether the preliminaries which had been signed were calculated to accomplish this object; that they contributed nothing towards the coercion of France on one element, while they gave that power the means of restoring its fleets, and recruiting the sinews of war on another; and that then the result necessarily would be, that England would be compelled to renew the contest again, and that too at no distant period, in order to maintain her existence, and she would then find her enemy's resources as much strengthened as her own were weakened during its cessation; that during the struggle we had deprived France of all her colonies, blockaded her harbours, ruined her commerce, and almost annihilated her navy, and therefore had nothing to fear from her maritime hostility; but could this be affirmed, if, in pursuance of this treaty, we restored almost all her colonial possessions, and enabled her, by a successful commerce, in a few years to revive her naval power? If, therefore, the principle, so long maintained by Great Britain, had any foundation, and the hostility of revolutionary France was implacable, it was evident that she has every thing to fear and nothing to hope from this pacification; and while England unlooses her own armour, and lays aside her sword, she will in truth place in the hands of her redoubtable adversary the weapons, and the only weapons, by which ere long she will be enabled to aim mortal strokes at herself.

Arguments urged in support of it by the Administration. The partisans of administration, and the advocates for peace throughout the country, opposed to these arguments, considerations of another kind, perhaps still more specious. They contended that the real question was not, what were the views formed, or the hopes indulged, when we entered into the war, but what were the prospects which could rationally be entertained, now that we had reached its tenth year? That without pretending to affirm that the resources of Great

(1) Dum. vii, 208, 209. Ann. Reg. 1801, 277, Jom. xiv. 391, 395.

Britain were worn out or peace had become a matter of necessity, still it was impossible hostilities

reducing the military power of France had become almost hopeless; that thus the question was, whether, after it had become impossible, by the disasters of our allies, to attain one object of the war, we should obstinately and single-handed maintain the contest, without any definite end to be gained by its prosecution: that though the frontiers of France had been extended, and

extinguished. That thus the contest had ceased to be, as at first, one of life and death to England, and returned to the usual state of warfare between regular governments, in which the cost of maintaining it was to be balanced by the advantages to be gained from its prosecution; that without doubt the return of peace, and the restoration of her colonies would give France the means of increasing her naval resources, but it would probably do the same in an equal or greater degree to Great Britain, and leave the maritime power of the two countries in the same relative situation as before, that it was impossible to remain for ever at war, lest your enemy should repair the losses he had sustained during the contest, and the enormous expenses with which the struggle was attended would, if much longer continued, involve the finances of the country in inextricable embarrassment; that it was surely worth while trying, now that a regular government was established in the Republic, whether it was not possible to remain with so near a neighbour on terms of amity; and it would be time enough to take up arms again, if the conduct of the first consul demonstrated that he was not sincere in his professions, and that a renewal of the contest would be less perilous than a continuance of peace (1)

The termination of hostilities between France and England speedily drew after it the accommodation of the differences of the minor powers engaged in the war. No sooner were the preliminaries signed with Great Britain, than Napoleon used his utmost efforts to conclude a treaty on the most favourable terms with the Ottoman Porte. On this occasion the finesse of European diplomacy prevailed over the plain sense and upright dealing of the Osmanlis. The news of the surrender of Alexandria reached Paris on the 7th October, six days after the preliminaries had been signed with England; instantly the Turkish ambassador, Esseyd Ali Effendi, who had long been in a sort of confinement, was sent for, and before he was aware of the important success which had been gained by his countrymen, persuaded to agree to a treaty, which was signed two days afterwards. In this negotiation, the French diplomatists made great use of their alleged moderation in agreeing to the restoration of Egypt, which they knew was already lost, and so worked upon the fears of the ambassador by threats of a descent from Ancona and Otranto, that he agreed to give to the Republican commerce in the Levant the same advantages which the most favoured nations enjoyed, and, at the same time, the Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was recognised. Thus, by the arts of M. Talleyrand, were the French, who, in defiance of ancient treaties, had done all in their power to wrest Egypt from the Turks, placed on the same footing with the English, by whose blood and treasure it had been rescued from their grasp (2).

Oct 3
1797
Treaty of
Peace and
Talleyrand
and America.

Aug. 21. In the end of August, a definitive treaty was concluded between France and Bavaria, by which the latter power renounced in favour of the former all their territories and possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and received, on the other hand, a guarantee for its dominions on the right bank (1). The preliminaries, signed at Morfontaine on September 30, 1800, between France and America, were ratified by a definitive treaty which somewhat abridged the commercial advantages stipulated in favour of the Republic. public, although it placed the French on the footing of the most favoured nations (2). But notwithstanding all his exertions, the first consul was obliged to forego the peculiar advantages which, in the treaty of 1778, the gratitude of the Americans to Louis XVI had granted to the subjects of France. Finally, a treaty of peace was, on October 8th, concluded between France and Russia, and on December 17th, between the same power and the Dey of Algiers (3).

The preliminary articles of peace underwent a protracted discussion in both Houses of Parliament, immediately after the opening of the session in November 1801. The eyes of all the world were fixed on the only assembly in existence, where the merits of so important a treaty, and the mighty interests it involved, could receive a free discussion.

It was urged by Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and the war party in both houses, "By the result of this treaty we are in truth a conquered people. Bonaparte is as much our master as he is of Spain or Prussia, or any of those countries which, though nominally independent, are really subjected to his control. Are our resources exhausted? Is the danger imminent, that such degrading terms are acceded to? On the contrary, our wealth is unbounded, our fleets are omnipotent, and we have, recently humbled the veterans of France, even on their own element! We now make peace, it seems, because we foresee a time at no distant period, when we shall be obliged to do so; we capitulate, like General Mènou, when we have still some ammunition left. The first question for every independent power inheriting a glorious name to ask itself is, 'Is the part I am to act consonant to the high reputation I have borne in the world?' Judging by this standard, what shall we say of the present treaty? France gives up nothing, for Egypt, at the time of its conclusion, was not hers to give. England, with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon, gives up every thing. By

(1) State Papers. Ann. Reg. 1801, 297.

(2) Journ. xiv. 399.

(3) Ann. Reg. 1801. State Papers, 291, 300.

The public articles of this treaty merely re-established the relations of the two empires on the footing on which they stood prior to the commencement of hostilities; but they contained also several secret articles, which ultimately became of the greatest importance in the complicated system of European diplomacy. The first article related to the division of the indemnities provided by the treaty of Lunéville for the princes dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine. "The two cabinets bound themselves "to form a perfect concert, to lead the parties interested to adopt their principles, which are to preserve a just equilibrium between the houses of Austria and Prussia." The second article provided, that the high contracting parties should come to an understanding to terminate on amicable terms the affairs of Italy and of the Holy See. The sixth article provides, "The first consul and the Emperor of Russia shall act in concert in relation to the King of Sardinia, and with all the regard possible to the actual state

of affairs." The ninth article guaranteed the independence of the republic of the Seven Islands; "and it is specially provided, that those isles shall contain no foreign troops." Finally, the eleventh article, the most important of the whole, declares:—"As soon as possible after the signature of the present treaty, and these secret articles, the two contracting parties shall enter upon the consideration of the establishment of a general peace, upon the following basis: 'To restore a just equilibrium in the different parts of the world, and to ensure the liberty of the seas, binding themselves to act in concert for the attainment of these objects by all measures, whether of conciliation or vigour, mutually agreed on between them, for the good of humanity, the general repose, and the independence of governments.'" So early had these great potentates taken upon themselves to act as the arbiters of the whole affairs of the civilized world! These secret articles were in the end the cause of all the differences which ensued between those powers, and brought the French to Moscow and the Russians to Paris. So often does overweening ambition outwaid itself, and fall on the other side.—See BROWN, ii. 90, 93.

the result of the treaty, France possesses in Europe all the continent, excepting Austria and Prussia, in Asia, Pondicherry, Cochin, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands, in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Senegal, in the Mediterranean, every fortified port, excepting Gibraltar, so that that inland sea may now be truly called a French lake, in the West Indies, part at least of St -Domingo, Martinique, Tobago, St -Lucie, Guadaloupe, Curacao, in North America, St -Pierre and Miquelon, Louisiana, in virtue of a secret treaty with Spain, in South America, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, and Guiana, as far as the river of the Amazons. Such is the power which we are required to contemplate without *dismay*, and under the shadow of whose greatness we are invited to lie down with perfect tranquillity and *composure*. What would the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Somers, or such weak and deluded men, as viewed with jealousy the power of Louis XIV, have said to a peace which not only confirms to France the possession nearly of the whole of Europe, but extends her empire over every other part of the globe?

“But it is said that France and the first consul will stop short in the career of ambition, that they will be satisfied with the successes they have gained, and that the progress of the Revolution will stop at the elevation it has already attained. Is such the nature of ambition? Is it the nature of French revolutionary ambition? Does it commonly happen that either communities or single men are cured of the passion for aggrandisement by unlimited success? On the contrary, if we examine the French Revolution, and trace it correctly to its causes, we shall find that the scheme of universal empire was, from the beginning, what was looked forward to as the consummation of its labours, the end first in view, though the last to be accomplished, the *primum mobile* that originally set it in motion, and has since guided and governed all their movements. The authors of the Revolution wished, in the first instance, to destroy morality and religion, but they wished these things, not as ends, but as means in a higher design. They wished for a double empire, an empire of opinion, and an empire of political power, and they used the one of these as the means of effecting the other. When there is but one country interveoes between France and universal dominion, is it to be supposed that she will stop of her own accord, and quietly surrender all the fruits of her efforts, when they are just within her grasp?

“But the peace is founded, it would appear, on another hope, on the idea that Bonaparte, now that he has become a sovereign, will no longer be a supporter of revolutionary schemes, but do his utmost to maintain the rank and authority which he has so recently acquired. But although nothing seems more certain than that, in that quarter at least, the democratic mania is for the present completely extinguished, yet it by no means follows from that circumstance that it does not exist, and that too in a most dangerous form, in other states in close alliance with the present ruler of France. Though the head of an absolute monarchy in that kingdom, he is adored as the essence of Jacobinism in this country, and maintains a party here, only the more dangerous that its members are willing to sacrifice to him not only the independence of their country, but the whole consistency of their previous opinions. If any doubt could exist in any reasonable mind that the grand object of the first consul, as of all preceding governments in France, has been the destruction of this country, it would be removed by the conduct which has been pursued, and the objects that have been insisted for in this very treaty. What can be the object of demanding so many settlements in South America and the West Indies, the Cape, and Ceylon-China, and Malta, so re-

cently won by our arms, if not of building up a maritime and colonial power, which may in time come to rival that of this country? It does not argue very favourably of the intentions of a party in any transaction, that his conduct throughout has been marked by the clearest proofs of duplicity and fraud. Now, what shall we think of the candour and fairness which, in a treaty with us, proposes the evacuation of Egypt at the very time when they knew, though we did not, that at that moment all their soldiers in Egypt were prisoners of war? Where was their good faith to the Turks, when in the same circumstances they, knowing the fact and the Turks not, took credit from them for this very evacuation? What is this but ensuring the lottery-ticket at the moment when they know it to be drawn?

“What, it is said, are we to do? War cannot be eternal, and what prospect have we of reaching a period when it may be terminated under circumstances upon the whole more favourable? The extent to which this delusion has spread, may truly be said to have been the ruin of the country. The supporters of this opinion never seem to have apprehended the important truth, that if France is bent upon our destruction, there must be perpetual war till one or other is destroyed. This was the conduct of the Romans, who resolved that Carthage should be destroyed, because they were sensible that if that was not done, it would speedily be their own fate. If we are to come at last only to an armed truce, would it not have been better to have suspended the war at once in that way, that taken the roundabout course which has now been adopted? The evils of war are indeed many; but what are they compared to those of the armed, suspicious, jealous, peace which we have formed? Against all its own dangers war provided; the existence of our fleets upon the ocean, shut up at once all those attempts which are now let loose upon our possessions in every quarter of the globe. In peace, not the least part of our danger will arise from the irreligious principles and licentious manners which will be let loose upon our people, and spread with fatal rapidity, from the profligacy of the neighbouring capital. French Jacobinism will soon break through stronger bulwarks than the walls of Malta. The people of this country have enjoyed, in such an extraordinary degree, all the blessings of life during the war, public prosperity has increased so rapidly during its continuance, that they have never been able to comprehend the dangers which they were engaged in combating. If they had, we never should have heard, except among the ignorant and disaffected, of joy and exultation through the land, at a peace such as the present. When a great military monarch was at the lowest ebb of his fortunes, and had sustained a defeat which seemed to extinguish all his remaining hopes, we wrote from the field of battle: ‘We have lost all except our honour.’ Would to God that the same consolation, in circumstances likely to become in time not less disastrous, remained to Great Britain!

“France, it is true, has made great acquisitions; she has made the Rhine the boundary of her empire; but on our side we have gained successes no less brilliant and striking; we had multiplied our colonies, and our navy rode triumphant. We had rescued Egypt, we had captured Malta and Minorca, and the Mediterranean was shut up from the ships of France and Spain. In the East Indies we had possessed ourselves of every thing except Batavia, which we should have taken, if it had been worth the cost of an expedition. We had made ourselves masters of the Cape, an important and necessary step towards Eastern dominion. In the West Indies, we had every thing desirable, Martinique, Trinidad, St.-Lucie, and Guadeloupe; while on the continent of South America we had

under the name of Sardinia and Demerara, almost equal to the European power to whom we have now restored it. But what have we done with these immense acquisitions, far exceeding in present magnitude, and ultimate importance, all the conquests of France on the continent of Europe? Have we retained them as pledges to compel the restoration of the balance of European power, or, if that was impossible, as counterpoises in our hands to the acquisitions of France? No! we have surrendered them all at one fell swoop to our implacable enemy, who has thus made as great strides towards maritime supremacy in one single treaty as he had effected toward continental dominion in nine successful campaigns (1)."

To these powerful and energetic arguments it was replied by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Addington, who on this occasion found an unexpected but powerful ally in Mr. Pitt, "That after the conclusion of peace between France and the great continental powers, after the dissolution of the confederacy of the European monarchies, a confederacy which Government had most justly supported to the utmost of their power, the question of peace became merely one of time, and of the terms to be obtained for ourselves. With regard to the terms which were obtained, they were perhaps not so favourable as could have been wished, but they were decidedly preferable to a continuance of the contest, after the great objects for which it was undertaken were no longer attainable, and the difference between the terms we had obtained, and those of retaining all we had given up, would not have justified us in protracting the war. Minorcy was a matter of little importance, for experience has proved that it uniformly fell to the power which possessed the preponderating naval force in the Mediterranean, and although it was certainly a matter of regret that we could not have retained so important an acquisition as Malta, yet, if we could not do this, no better arrangement could have been made as to its future destination, than had been made in the present treaty. Ceylon, in the East, and Trinidad in the West Indies, are both acquisitions of great value, and although it would be ridiculous to assert that they afforded any compensation for the expense of the war, yet, if, by the force of external events, over which we had no control, the chief objects of the struggle have been frustrated, it becomes a fit subject of congratulation, that we have obtained acquisitions and honourable terms for ourselves at the termination of a contest, which to all our allies had been deeply checkered by disaster.

"The great object of the war on the part of Great Britain was *security*, defence of ourselves and our allies in a war waged against most of the nations of Europe, and ourselves in particular, with especial malignity. In order to obtain this, we certainly did look for the subversion of the government which was founded on revolutionary principles, but we never insisted as a *sine qua non* on the restoration of the old government of France, we only said, at different times, when terms of accommodation were proposed, there was no government with which we could treat. It doubtless would have been more consistent with the wishes of Ministers and the interest and security of this country, if such a restoration could have taken place, and it must ever be a subject of regret that efforts corresponding to our own were not made by the other powers of Europe for the accomplishment of that great work, but in no one instance did we ever insist upon restoring the monarchy. There were periods during the continuance of the

war in which we had hopes of being able to put together the scattered fragments of that great and venerable edifice; to have restored the exiled nobility of France; to have re-established a government, certainly not free from defects, but built upon regular foundations instead of that mad system of innovation which threatened, and had nearly effected, the destruction of Europe. This, it was true, had been found not attainable, but we had the satisfaction of knowing that we had survived the revolutionary fever, and we had seen the extent of its principles abated. We had seen Jacobinism deprived of its fascination; we had seen it stripped of the name and pretext of liberty; it had shown itself to be capable of destroying only, but not of building, and that it must necessarily end in military despotism.

“But being disappointed in our hopes of being able to drive France within her ancient limits, and to make barriers against her future incursions, it became then necessary with the change of circumstances to change our plans; for no error could be more fatal than to look only at one object, and obstinately pursue it, when the hope of accomplishing it no longer remained. If it became impossible for us to obtain the full object of our wishes, wisdom and policy both required that we should endeavour to obtain that which was next best. In these propositions there was no inconsistency, either in the former conduct or language of Ministers, in refusing to treat with the person who now holds the destiny of France; for it was even then announced, that if efforts should take the turn they have since done, peace would no longer be objectionable.

“Much exaggeration prevails as to the real amount of the additional strength which France has acquired during the war. If, on the one hand, her territorial acquisitions are immense, it must be recollected, on the other, what she has lost in population, commerce, capital, and industry. The desolation produced by convulsions such as France has undergone, cannot be repaired even by large acquisitions of territory. When, on the other hand, we contemplate the immense wealth of this country, and the natural and legitimate growth of that wealth, so much superior to the produce of rapacity and plunder, it is impossible not to entertain the hope, founded in justice and nature, of its solidity. When to these we add the great increase of our maritime power, the additional naval triumphs we have obtained, the brilliant victories of our armies, gained over the flower of the troops of France, we have the satisfaction of thinking, that if we have failed in some of our wishes, we have succeeded in the main object, of adding strength to our security, and at the same time shed additional lustre over our national character. Nor are our colonial acquisitions to be overlooked in estimating the consolidation of our resources. The destruction of the power of Tippoo Saib in India, who has fallen a victim to his attachment to France and his perfidy to us, cannot be viewed but as an important achievement. The union with Ireland, effected at a period of uncommon gloom and despondency, must be regarded as adding more to the power and strength of the British Empire than all the conquests of France have effected for that country. If any additional proof were required of the increase of national strength to England, it would be found in the unparalleled efforts which she made in the last year of the war, contending at once against a powerful maritime confederacy in the north, and triumphing over the French on the sands of Egypt; while at the same time the harbours of Europe were so strictly blockaded, that not a frigate even could venture out to sea but under the cover of mist or darkness. Finally, we have seen that proud array of ships, got together for the invasion of this country, driven for shelter under their own batteries, and only preserved

from destruction by the chains and nets thrown over them at their harbour mouths.

"After nine years of ceaseless effusion of blood; after contracting an increase of debt to the amount of above two hundred millions; after the indefatigable and uninterrupted exertions of this country, and, it may be added, after its splendid and unexampled achievements, there is no one who can deny that peace is eminently desirable, if it can be purchased without the sacrifice of honour. This country never volunteered into a war with France; she was drawn into it against her will by the intrigues of the Republicans in her own bosom, and the disaffection, sedition, anarchy, and revolt which they propagated without intermission in all the adjoining states; but that danger has now totally ceased, the revolutionary fervour of France is coerced by a military chieftain far more adequate to the task than the exiled race of monarchs would have been, and the only peril that now exists is that arising from her military power. But if war is to be continued till adequate security against that danger is obtained, when will it terminate? Where are the elements to be found of a new coalition against France; and how can Great Britain, burdened as she is with colonial possessions in every part of the world, descend single-handed into the continental arena with her first-rate antagonist?"

"Peace can now, for the first time since the commencement of the war, be obtained without compromising the interests of any existing ally of England. Austria, Sardinia, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Holland, the original parties to the alliance, have requested to have done

... were bound to have done either in honour or honesty. In this respect the stipulations in favour of Naples, who had not only excluded our shipping from her harbours, but joined in an alliance against us, were highly honourable to the British character. The like might be said of the stipulations in favour of Portugal; while the Ottoman Porte, the only one of our allies who remained lighting by our side at the conclusion of the contest, has obtained complete restitution. The seven islands of the Adriatic, originally ceded by France to Austria, and again transferred by Austria to France, might, from their situation, have been highly dangerous in the hands of the latter power to the Turkish dominions, and therefore they have been erected into a separate republic, the independence of which is guaranteed. We have even done something in favour of the House of Orange and the king of Sardinia, although, from having left the confederacy, they had abandoned every claim excepting on our generosity. And thus having faithfully performed our duties to all our remaining allies, and obtained terms, which, to say the least of them, took nothing from the security of this country, was it expedient to continue the contest for the sake of powers who had abandoned our alliance, and themselves given up as hopeless the objects we had originally entertained, and in which they were more immediately interested than ourselves? Compare this peace with any of those recorded in the former history of the two nations, and it will well bear a comparison. By the treaty of Ryswick and Aix-la-Chapelle we gained nothing; by that of Versailles we lost considerably: it was only by the peace of Utrecht in 1713, and that of Paris in 1763, that we made any acquisitions; but if we compare the present treaty with either of

these, it will be found that it is by no means inferior either in point of advantage or the promise of durability. Minorca and Gibraltar, obtained by the former, and Canada and Florida, by the latter, will not bear a comparison with Ceylon, the Mysore, and Trinidad, the glorious trophies of the present contest (1)."

In the Commons no division took place on the preliminaries. In the Lords the house divided, 114 to 10, in favour of the Ministers; but in the minority were found the names of Earls Spencer, Grenville, and Caernarvon (2).

The definitive treaty of peace was signed at AMIENS, on the 27th March, 1802. Its conditions varied in no material circumstance from the preliminaries agreed to at London nine months before. The fisheries in Newfoundland were replaced in the condition in which they were before the war (3); an "adequate compensation" was stipulated for the House of Orange (4), and it was agreed that Malta should be placed in a state of entire independence of both powers; that there should be neither English nor French *langues*, or branches of the order; that a Maltese *langue* shall be established, and the King of Sicily invited to furnish a force of 2000 men to form a garrison to the fortresses of the island and its dependencies, along with the Grand Master and Order of St.-John; and that "the forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if it can be done." The cession of Ceylon and Trinidad to Great Britain, and the restoration of all the other conquered colonies to France and Holland, the integrity of the Ottoman dominions, and the recognition of the republic of the Seven Islands, were provided for as in the preliminary articles (5).

A long debate ensued in both Houses on the definitive treaty, in which the topics already adverted to were enlarged on at great length. Government were supported by a majority of 276 to 20 in the Lower, and 122 to 16 in the Upper House (6).

Such was the termination of the first period of the war, and such the terms on which Great Britain obtained a temporary respite from its perils and expenses. On calmly reviewing the arguments urged both in the legislature and in the country on this great question, it is impossible to resist the conclusion, that the advocates of peace were well founded in the views they entertained of the interests of the country at that period. Even admitting all that Mr. Wyndham and Lord Grenville so strongly advanced as to the magnitude of the sacrifices made by Great Britain, and the danger to which she was exposed from the territorial acquisitions and insatiable ambition of France to be well founded, still the question remained, was it not incumbent on a prudent government to make at least the trial of a pacification, and relieve the country for a time even from the burdens and anxiety of a war, on the faith of a treaty solemnly acceded to by its new ruler. The government of the first consul, compared to any of the revolutionary ones which had preceded it, was stable and regular; and the revolutionary fervour, the continuance of which had so long rendered any safe pacification out of the question, had exhausted itself, and given place to a general and anxious disposition to submit to the ruling authority. The dissolution of the last coalition had rendered hopeless, at least for a very long period, the reduction of the military power of France; and the maritime superiority of

(1) Parl. Hist. xxxvi. 36, 38.

(2) Ibid. 191.

(3) Art. 15.

(4) Art. 18.

(5) See the treaty in Parl. Hist. xxxvi. 559. Ann. Reg. 1802. State papers, 62.

(6) Parl. Hist. xxxvi. 733, 827.

England was so decided, as to render any danger to her own independence a distant and problematical contingency. In these circumstances, it seems indisputable that it was the duty of Government, if it could be done without dishonour, to bring to a conclusion a contest of which the burdens were certain and immediate, and the advantages remote, if not illusory, and put the sincerity of the first consul's professions of moderation to such a test as might relieve them of all responsibility, in the event of their being obliged, at a subsequent period, to renew the contest. The fact of this having ultimately been found to be the case, and of the peace of Amiens having turned out only an armed truce, is no impeachment whatever of the justice of these views; it, on the contrary, affords the strongest corroboration of them, for England lost none of her means of defence during the intermission of hostilities, and she avoided the heavy responsibility which otherwise would have lain upon her to the latest generation, of having obstinately continued the war, when peace was within her power, and compelled Napoleon, although otherwise inclined, to continue a contest which ultimately brought such unparalleled calamities on the civilized world. Nor could the terms of the treaty be impugned as disgraceful, with any degree of justice towards Great Britain, when she terminated a strife, which had proved so disastrous to the greatest continental states, with her constitution untouched, and without the cession of a single acre which belonged to her at its commencement; while France, accustomed to such large acquisitions at every pacification, was compelled to surrender territories belonging to herself, or her allies, larger than the whole realm of England, and even, in their existing state, of first-rate importance.

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increase her resources at the very time when those of all the other belligerent powers were wasting away under the influence of a protracted and desolating contest. The increase of the wealth, population, commerce, and industry of these islands, was unprecedented during its whole continuance, and was so great as fully to justify Mr. Pitt's observation, that it left the relative strength of the two powers nearly the same at its termination as at its commencement (1). Great as the increase of the French army was, that of the British had been still greater, and but for the immenso

1801 was equivalent to a land force of above 500 000 men.

Nor had the military resources of the empire increased in a less striking manner. In 1793 the army amounted only to 64 000 regular soldiers and 12 000 frontiers in the British Isles and its colonial dependencies [Ann. Reg. xxviii. 250] whereas in 1801 they had increased to the immense force of 268 000 men and 80 000 militia [Parl. Ret. Dec. 31, 1800] exclusive of the Sepoys in the service of the East India Company, who amounted to 150 000.

number [Stat. de la France 591] Napoleon calculates a fleet of 30 ships of the line, and frigates in proportion, as equal to an army of 120 000 men: measured by that standard, the British navy in

33 [Stat. de la France, 513] exclusive of

(*) The total navy on 1st October 1801 was—

Line in commission	104
Line in ord. navy and building	94
24 stores in commission	126
21 stores in ordinary and building	151
Sloops, brigs, &c.	108

Total 398

— See Jones, vol. vi. tab. 29, of &c.

surface which she had to defend, and the vast colonial possessions to protect, England might have descended with confidence into the continental arena, and measured her strength, single-handed, with the conqueror of Europe (1).

General result of these details.

During the war the British navy increased a half, while the French declined to a half. The British army was more than doubled, and the French increased in nearly the same proportion. The French revenue, notwithstanding all its territorial acquisitions, was diminished, while the permanent income of England was nearly doubled; the French debt, by the destruction of a large proportion of its proprietors, was diminished, while that of England was doubled; the French exports and imports were almost annihilated, while the British exports were doubled, and the imports had increased more than fifty per cent; the French commercial shipping was almost destroyed, while that of England had increased nearly a third (2).

77,000 provincial troops; in 1801, they amounted to 350,000 regular soldiers, exclusive of the national guards. [Dum. vi. 70, 71.]

(1) General Mathieu Dumas estimates the regular force of France, after the peace of Luneville, at 277,000 men, exclusive of the coast guards, the gendarmerie, the depots of the corps, and the national guard, on active service. It is a most moderate computation to take them at 73,000 more

In 1805 the military establishment of France consisted of the following forces:—

Infantry of the line,	341,000
Light infantry,	100,000
Infantry,	441,000
Light cavalry,	60,500
Heavy cavalry,	17,000
Cavalry,	77,500

Foot and horse artillery, pontoneers engineers, etc.	53,500
Imperial guard,	8,500
Gendarmerie,	15,600

This would amount to a total of—	
Infantry,	441,000
Cavalry,	77,500
Artillery and Engineers,	53,500
Imperial Guard,	8,500
Gendarmerie,	15,600

Total, 596,100 men.

See DUMAS, vi. 70-71; and PEUCHET, *Statistique de la France*, 576, 580.

(2) The regular revenue of France in 1789 (for no approximation even to a correct estimate can be formed of its amount during the period of confiscation and assignats) had reached 469,000,000 francs, or L.18,800,000; [Lac. vi. 110. *Etat de la Dette Pub-*

lique, 8. Young, i. 577.] while that of England amounted to L.16,382,000. At the termination of the war, the revenue of France was 450,000,000 fr.. or L.18,000,000, and its total expenditure 560,000,000 francs, or L.22,400,000; while the permanent revenue of England at the same period amounted to L.28,000,000 exclusive of L.8,000,000 war taxes, and its total expenditure to L.61,617,000. [Ann. Reg. 1793, 250. Moreau and Pebrer's Tables. Feb. 154. Bigu ii 130, 131.] (*)

The public debt of France, which, at the commencement of the Revolution, was 5,587,000,000 fr., or L.249,000,000, and occasioned an annual charge of 259,000,000 francs, or L.10,450,000, was still very considerable, amounting to 1,380,000,000 fr. or L.55,000,000, and occasioning an annual charge of 69,000,000 francs, or L.2,800,000, at the termination of the war, notwithstanding the extinction of two thirds of its amount during its continuance, and the unexampled measures of spoliation by which its expenses had been defrayed. [Etat de la Dette Pub. 8. 9. Gaëta, i. 199. Peuchet, 500. Young, ii. 578.] Public debts, The public debt of England, in 1792, exports and was L.244,440,000, and occasioned an imports of the annual charge, including the sinking-two countries, fund, of L.9,317,000; while, at the termination of the war in 1801, it had risen to L.484,465,000, funded and unfunded, of which L.447,000,000 was funded, and L.37,318,000 unfunded. The annual charge of this immense burden had swelled to L.21,661,000, of which L.8,653,000 was for the debt existing before 1792, L.13,025,000 for that created since that period, and L.4,649,000 for the sinking fund. [Moreau's tables. Feb. 154, 246.] (**)

The imports of France in 1787, amounted to 349,725,000 francs, or about L.14,000,000; the exports to 310,000,000 francs, or L.12,500,000. [Young's Travels, ii. 501.] At the same period the exports of British manufactures were L.14,700,000, and of foreign merchandise L.5,460,000, and the imports L.18,660,000. [Mr. Addington's finance re-

(*) M. Necker, in 1788, estimated the total revenue of Old France at 585,000,000 francs; whereas, in 1801, notwithstanding the great addition to its territory which the Republic had received from the Low Countries, Savoy, Nice, and the frontier of the Rhine, which yielded an addition of 100,000,000 francs yearly, it had fallen to 450,000,000 francs, a striking proof how immensely the resources of the country had diminished during the Revolution. Before the increase of its territory, the territorial revenue of France was 1,200,000,000; after it had been swelled by a fifth of superficial surface, it was only 850,000,000. Greater lightness of taxation was certainly not the cause of the diminution, for the direct land and window tax of that latter year amounted to 265,000,000, or L.10,750,000, a sum equivalent to at least double that amount in the British islands, if the dif-

ference of the value of money in the two countries is taken into account. Dupin estimates the income derived from the soil in France in 1823, at 1,626,000,000 francs, or L65,000,000. Supposing the increase of cultivation between 1801 and 1828 to counterbalance the reduction of territory by the peace of Paris in 1815, it follows that the French landholders in 1801 paid about a sixth, or sixteen per cent, on their incomes.—See NECKER'S *Compte Rendu*, 1785; *Stat. de la France*, 514; GAËTA, i. 129, 310; BIGNON, ii. 130; and DUNIN, *Forces Commerciales de France*, ii. 266.

(**) In 1789, according to the Duke of Gaëta, a deficit of 54,000,000 francs, or L.2,150,000 yearly, was made "the apology for the Revolution." In 1801, when it was closed, it was above 100,000,000 francs annually, or L.4,000,000 sterling.—G.

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Nothing but this continual and rapid increase in the resources of the British empire, during the course of the struggle, could have accounted for the astonishing exertions which she made towards its close, and the facility with which, during its whole continuance, the vast supplies required for carrying it on were raised without any sensible inconvencence to the country. When we reflect that, during a war of nine years' duration, the yearly expenditure of the nation varied from forty to sixty millions, that loans to the amount of twenty or thirty millions were annually contracted, and that the British fleets covered the seas in every quarter of the globe, we are lost in astonishment at the magnitude of the efforts made by a state so inconsiderable in extent, and with a population, even at the close of the period, and including Ireland, not exceeding fifteen millions (1). But the phenomenon becomes still more extraordinary when the efforts made at the termination of the struggle are considered and the British empire, instead of being exhausted by eight years' warfare, is seen stretching forth its giant arms at once into every quarter of the globe, striking down the throne of Tippoo Saib by as great a force as combated under the standards of Napoleon at Marengo (2) while it held every hostile harbour in Europe blockaded by its fleets, and sending forth Nelson to crush the confederacy of the northern powers at the very moment that it accumulated its forces in Europe and Asia against the Republican legions on the sands of Egypt. It had been frequently asserted that the naval forces of England were equal to those of the whole world put together, but the matter was put to the test in spring 1801, when, without raising the blockade of a single harbour from the Texel to Calabria, she sent eighteen ships of the line with Abercromby to the mouth of the Nile, while nineteen under Nelson dissolved by the cannon of Copenhagen the northern confederation. The annals of Rome contain no example of a similar display of strength, and few of equal resolution in exerting it.

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increased to 143 000 exclusive of 120 000 seamen
and marines employed in the royal navy [Part
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(1) Population of Great Br tain in	
1801	10 812 000
Ireland about	4 000 000
	14 812 000

—See PARSONS'S Tables 332

(2) Thirty five thousand Br tish and Sepoy troops
formed the army of Seringapatam in May 1792
Thirty-e thousand French combated under the
Genl consul at Marengo.

(*) The revenue and charges of the Indian Empire in the years 1831 and 1832 and also, we are allowed —

	1831	1832	1832 and 1832
Revenue—Bengal,	L 3 5 000	L 6 1 2000	L 6 1 2000
Madras	1 8 00000	2 2 1 000	2 2 1 000
Bombay	22 000	2 6000	2000 5
	L 6 2 000	L 8 60000	L 9 4 1
Charges—Bengal	L 8 2 000	L 2 2 000	L 2 2 000
Madras	1 5 0000	2 0 000	2 0 000
Bombay	5 0000	1 0 000	1 0 000
	L 1 0 000	L 2 0 000	L 2 0 000
Sum total	L 16 000	L 10 6000	L 11 4 1

Compared with the niggardly exertions at its commencement. The contemplation of this astonishing display of strength at the close of the struggle, compared with the feeble and detached exertions made at its commencement, is calculated to awaken the most poignant regret at the niggardly use of the national resources so long made by government, and the inexplicable insensibility to the magnitude of the forces at their command, which so long paralysed the might of England, during the earlier years of the war. From a return laid before the House of Commons, it appears that the number of men that had been raised for the service of the army from the commencement of hostilities down to the close of 1800, was 208,808, being at the rate of 26,000 a-year on an average during its continuance (1). France, with a population hardly double that of Great Britain, raised 1,500,000 men in 1793 alone. It is in the astonishing disproportion of the land forces of this country either to her naval armaments, her national strength, or the levies of her antagonist, that the true secret of the long duration, enormous expenditure, and numerous disasters of the war is to be found. Secure in her insular situation, protected from invasion by invincible fleets, and relieved from the most disastrous consequences which resulted from defeat to the continental powers, England was at liberty to employ her whole disposable force against the enemy, yet she never brought 25,000 native troops into the field at any one point. Had she boldly levied 100,000 men in 1793, and sent them to Flanders after the route in the camp of Cæsar, when the French troops were shut up in their entrenched camps, and could not be brought by any exertions to face the allies in the field, she would beyond all question have encamped under the walls of Paris in two months, and the royalists of the south and west would have obtained a decisive superiority over the anarchical faction in the capital. During the nine years of the war, upwards of L.100,000,000 was paid in army, and a still larger sum in naval expenses, while in 1793 the military charges were not L.4,000,000, and in the latter and more expensive years of the war, only amounted annually to L.12,000,000. If a fifth part of this total sum had been expended in any one of the early years in raising the military force of England to an amount worthy of her national strength and ancient renown, triple the British force which overthrew Napoléon at Waterloo, might have been assembled on the plains of Flanders, and the war terminated in a single campaign (2).

Great part of this prosperity was owing to the paper currency. If the rapid growth of wealth, power, and prosperity in the British islands during this memorable contest, had been all grounded on a safe and permanent foundation, it would have presented a phenomenon unparalleled in such circumstances in any age or country. But though part of this extraordinary increase was undoubtedly a real and substantial addition to the industry and resources of the empire, arising from the vast extension of its colonial possessions, and the monopoly

(1) Parl. Ret. Dec. 31, 1800. Ann. Reg. 1800, 40.

(2) The expenses of the army and navy, during the war, were as follow :—

	Army.	Ordnance.	Navy.
1792, ...	L.1,819,000	L.122,000	L.1,485,000
1793, ...	3,993,000	783,000	3,971,000
1794, ...	6,611,000	1,345,000	5,525,000
1795, ...	11,610,000	2,321,000	6,315,000
1796, ...	11,911,000	1,951,700	11,833,000
1797, ...	15,488,000	1,613,000	13,033,000
1798, ...	12,852,000	1,303,000	13,442,000
1799, ...	11,810,000	1,500,000	13,642,000
1800, ...	11,911,000	1,695,000	13,619,000
1801, ...	12,117,000	1,639,000	15,857,000

CHAPTER XXXV.

RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY IN FRANCE BY NAPOLEON.

FROM THE CONTINENTAL PEACE TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN.

OCTOBER, 1801—MARCH, 1804.

ARGUMENT.

Deplorable internal state of France when Napoleon succeeded to the helm—Means which were at his disposal to reconstruct society—and difficulties which he had to encounter—He resolves to make the attempt—Constitutional freedom was then impossible in France—Explosion of the Infernal Machine—Napoleon at once ascribes it to the Jacobins—Speech which he made on the occasion to the authorities of Paris—He refuses to listen to any attempts to exculpate them—A *coup d'état* is resolved on against the Jacobins—Terms of the *Senatus-Consultum* ordaining it—And 130 persons are transported—It is afterwards discussed—
 In 1801 Napoleon experienced—but it is nevertheless carried into execution—Napoleon is created First Consul for ten years additional—Grounds set forth in the *Senatus-Consultum* on the occasion—State of religion in France at this period—Napoleon's views on this subject—Arguments in the Council of State against an established Church—Napoleon's reply—Concordat with the Pope—Its provisions in favour of the Gallican church—General dissatisfaction which it occasioned—Ceremony on the occasion in Notre Dame, and general discontent which it produced—Constrained religious observances at Paris—Great joy at the change in the rural departments—Prudence of Napoleon in restraining the High Church party—His admirable proclamation on the subject to the people of France—General satisfaction which the measure excited in foreign countries—Subsequent views of Napoleon on the subject—Renewed indulgence towards the emigrants—*Senatus-Consultum* proclaiming a general amnesty—Inadequacy of these measures to heal the evils of revolutionary confiscation—Immense extent of this evil in France, and its irreparable effects—Measures to promote public instruction—Trial of public feeling by the Royalists—Measures for recruiting the army and navy—Debate on that subject in the Council of State—Discussion there on the *Feble militaire*—Speech of Napoleon on the government of the colonies—Finances of France—General valuation, or *cadaastre*—Statistical details—Indignation of Napoleon at the language used in the Tribune—Important change in the municipal government carried in spite of that body—Debate on the Tribune in the Council of State—Napoleon's speech on the subject—He resolves to make himself Consul for life—Incessant efforts of Government to spread monarchical ideas—Strong opposition of Joséphine to these attempts—The project at first fails in the Council of State—Means adopted to ensure its success—The question is directly

Generous conduct of Mr Fox in defending Mr Pitt to the first Consul—Great satisfaction which these changes give in foreign courts—Rapid increase of the central executive power

Magnificent public works set on foot in France—Fast improvements of Paris.

When Napoleon seized the reins of power in France, he found the institutions of civilization and the bonds of society dissolved to an extent of which

the previous history of the world afforded no example. Not only was the throne overturned, then blessed, their landed estates confiscated; the throne destroyed; but the whole institutions of religion, law, commerce, and education, had been overturned. There remained neither nobles to rule, nor priests to bless, nor teachers to instruct the people, commerce to diffuse its benign influence through the realm, and the manufacturing industry, in woful depression, could not maintain its numerous inhabitants. The great cities no longer resounded with the labour of the artisan, and the village bells had ceased to call the faithful to the house of God; the chateaux in ruins existed, only to awaken the melancholy recollection of departed splendour, and the falling churches to attest the universal indulgence of idolatry; the ocean was no more whitened by the sails of its commerce, nor the mountains enlivened by the song of its shepherds. Even the institutions of charity, and the establishments for the relief of suffering, had shared in the general wreck; the manastery no longer spread its angelic doors to the poor; and the hospital doors were closed against the numerous supplicants who lay mired under wounds or disease; hardened by want and steeped against pity by the multiplicity of its objects, humanity itself seemed to be changing in the human heart; and every one, engrossed in the cares of self-preservation, and destitute of the means of relieving others, turned with callous indifference from the spectacle of general misery. In one class only the spirit of rebellion glowed with undecaying lustre, and survived the wreck of all its institutions. Persecuted, reviled, and destitute, the Sisters of Charity still persevered in their pious efforts to assuage human suffering; and sought out the unfortunate alike among the ranks of the Republicans who had overturned, as the Royalists who had fled for the faith of their fathers.

To restore the institutions which the insanity of former times had overturned, and draw down again the bonds which previous guilt had loosened, was the glorious task which awaited the first consul.

The powers which he possessed for it were great, but the difficulties attending its execution were almost insurmountable. On the one hand, he was at the head of a numerous, brave, and experienced army, flushed by victory, and obedient to his will; the whole remaining respectable classes of the state had rallied round his standard; and all ranks, worn out with revolutionary contention and suffering, were anxious to submit to any government which promised them the first of social blessings, peace and protection. On the other, almost all the wealth and all the nobility of the state had disappeared during the Revolution; the church was annihilated; and great part of the landed property of the country had passed into the hands of several millions of little owners, who might be expected to be permanently resolute in maintaining them against the dispossessed proprietors. That society could not long go on, nor any durable government be established, without some national religion or some connexion between the throne and the altar, was sufficiently evident; but how was either to be reconstructed in the midst of an infidel generation, and by the aid of the very men who had contributed to their destruction? That a constitutional mo-

(1) It is not to be supposed that the revolutionary governments had done nothing for education. On the contrary, the Polytechnic School, and many other institutions, particularly a school of medicine, and the Institute itself, were owing to their exertions, but in the distracted state of the country, and when the care of self-preservation came home to

every man, little attention could be paid to the education of the young; and by destroying every sort of religious institution, the Convention had cut off the right hand of public instruction, the only branch of it which is of paramount importance to the poor.—See *Ann.* 123.

narchy could not exist without a representative system, founded on all the great interests of the state, and tempered by the steadiness of an hereditary aristocracy, was indeed apparent, but where were the elements of it to be found, when the former had almost all been crushed during the convulsions of the Revolution, and the latter, destitute and exiled, was the object of inveterate jealousy to the numerous classes who had risen to greatness by its overthrow?

These difficulties were so great that they would probably have deterred any ordinary conqueror from the attempt, and he would have been content to accept the crown which was offered him, and leave to others the Herculean task of closing the wounds of the Revolution. But Napoleon was not a man of that character. He believed firmly that he was the destined instrument in the hand of Providence to extinguish that terrible volcano, and he was conscious of powers equal to the undertaking. From the very outset, accordingly, he began, cautiously indeed, but firmly and systematically, to coerce the democratic spirit, and reconstruct those classes and distinctions in society which had disappeared during the preceding convulsions; to re-erect the indispensable bulwarks of the throne. The success with

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approach on out of the representatives of a community from which all the superior ranks and

support from the altar, or any foundation in the religious feelings of its subjects; and how a proud and victorious army could have been taught that

respect for the majesty of the legislature which is the invaluable growth of previous

inevitably under the despotic rule of the emperors. When Constantine founded a second Rome on the shores of the Bosphorus, he perceived it was too late to attempt the restoration of the balanced constitution of the ancient republic. On Napoleon's accession to the consular throne, he found the chasms in the French aristocracy still greater and more irreparable. The only remaining means of righting the scale was by throwing the sword into the balance. The total failure of all subsequent attempts to frame a constitutional monarchy out of the elements which the Revolution had left in the society of France, proves that Napoleon rightly appreciated its political situation, and seized upon the only means of restoring order to its troubled waters (1).

(1) "There is, in the English constitution," said Napoleon, "a body of violence which exists to the disadvantage of a great part of the landed property of the nation. These two circumstances, as it is a great influence over the people, and interest attaches it to the government. In France since the Revolution, that class is totally wanting. Would you re-

establish it? If you compose it of the men of the Revolution, it would be necessary to concentrate in the hands a large portion of the national property which is now impossible. If it were composed of the ancient nobles, it would soon lead to a counter-revolution." *Mem. de Napoleon*, 221

Circumstances soon occurred which called forth the secret but indelible hatred of the first consul at the Jacobin faction. The conspiracy of Arena and Ceracchi, which failed at the opera, had been traced to some ardent enthusiasts of that class; and soon after a more formidable attempt at his assassination gave rise to a wider proscription of their associates. On the day on which the armistice of Steyer was signed, Napoléon went to the opera. Ber-
Dec. 24, 1800. thier, Lannes, and Lauriston were with him in the carriage. In going from the Tuileries to the theatre, in the rue de Richelieu, his carriage passed through the rue St.-Nicaise; an overturned chariot in that narrow thoroughfare almost obstructed the passage, but the coachman, who was driving rapidly, had the address to pass it without stopping. Hardly had he got through when a terrible explosion broke all the windows of the carriage, struck down the last man of the guard, killed eight persons, and wounded twenty-eight, besides occasioning damage to the amount of 200,000 francs (L.8000), in forty-six adjoining houses. Napoléon drove on without stopping to the opera, where the audience were in consternation at the explosion, which was so loud as to be heard over all Paris; every eye was turned to him when he entered, but the calm expression of his countenance gave not the slightest indication of the danger which he had escaped. Speedily, however, the news circulated through the theatre, and the first consul had the satisfaction of perceiving, in the thunders of applause which shook its walls, the most fervent expressions of attachment to his person (1).

Before the piece had terminated, Napoléon returned to the Tuileries, where a crowd of public functionaries were assembled from every part of Paris to congratulate him on his escape. He anticipated all their observations by commencing in a loud voice, "This is the work of the Jacobins; it is they who have attempted to assassinate me. Neither the nobles, nor the priests, nor the Chouans had any hand in it. I know on what to form my opinion, and it is in vain to seek to make me alter it. It is the Septembrisers, those wretches steeped in crime, who are in a state of permanent revolt, in close column against every species of government. Three months have hardly elapsed since you have seen Ceracchi, Arena, and their associates attempt to assassinate me. Again, it is the same clique, the bloodsuckers of September, the assassins of Versailles, the brigands of 31st May, the authors of all the crimes against government, who are at their hellish work."

Napoléon at once ascribes it to the Jacobins.

It is the tribes of artisans, and journalists who have a little more instruction than the people, but live with them, and mingle their passions with their own ardent imaginations, who are the authors of all these atrocities. If you cannot chain them you must exterminate them; there can be no truce with such wretches; France must be purged of such an abominable crew." During this vehement harangue, delivered with the most impassioned gesticulations, all eyes were turned towards Fouché, the well-known leader of that party, and stained, at Lyon and the Loire, with some of its most frightful atrocities. Alone, he stood in a window recess, pale, dejected, hearing every thing, answering nothing. The crowd of courtiers broke into exclamations, the echo of the first consul's sentiments. One, gifted with more courage than the rest, approached, and asked the minister of police why he made no reply, "Let them go on," said he. "I am determined not to compromise the safety of the state. I will speak when the proper time arrives. He laughs securely who laughs the last (2)."

(1) Thib. 23, 24. Bour. iv. 199, 200. D'Ab. iv. 108, 110.

(2) Thib. 27, 28. Bour. iv. 201, 202. D'Ab. iv. 110, 111.

Speech
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On the following day a public audience was given to the prefect of the Seine, and the twelve mayors of Paris. Napoleon said: "As long as that bandful of wretches attacked me alone, I left to the laws the charge of chastising their offences; but since, by a crime without example, they have endangered the lives of a part of the population of Paris, their punishment must be as rapid as extraordinary. They consist of an hundred miscreants who have brought disgrace on liberty by the crimes committed in its name; it is indispensable that they should be forthwith deprived of the means of inflicting farther injuries on society." This idea was more fully unfolded at a meeting of the Council of State which took place on the same day. It was proposed to establish a special commission to try the offenders; but this was far from meeting Napoleon's views, who was resolved to seize the present opportunity of inflicting a deathblow on the remnant of the Jacobin faction. "The action of a special tribunal," said he, "would be too slow; we must have a more striking punishment for so extraordinary an offence, it must be as rapid as lightning; it must be blood for blood. As many of the guilty must be executed as there fell victims to their designs, say fifteen or twenty; transport two hundred, and take advantage of this event to purge the Republic of its most unworthy members. This crime is the work of a band of assassins, of Septembrisers (1), whose hands may be traced through all the crimes of the Revolution. When that party sees a blow struck at its head-quarters, and that fortune has abandoned its chiefs, every thing will return to established order, the workmen will resume their labours; and ten thousand men, who, in France, are ranged under its colours, will abandon it for ever. That great example is necessary to attack the middling classes to the throne; the industrious citizens can have no hope as long as they see themselves menaced by two hundred enraged wolves, who look only for the proper moment to throw themselves on their prey.

"The metaphysicians are the men to whom we owe all our misfortunes. Half measures will no longer do, we must either pardon every thing, like Augustus, or adopt a great measure which may be the guarantee of the social order. When after the conspiracy of Catiline, Cicero caused the guilty to be strangled, he said he had saved his country. I should be unworthy of the great task which I have undertaken, and of my mission, if I evinced less firmness on this trying occasion. We must regard this affair as statesmen, not as judges. I am so convinced of the necessity of making a great example, that I am ready to call the accused before me, interrogate them, and myself subscribe their condemnation. It is not for myself that I speak; I have braved greater dangers, my fortune has preserved me, and will preserve me; but we are now engaged with the social order, with the public morality, the national glory."

In the midst of this energetic harangue, it was evident that Napoleon was losing sight of the real point to be first considered, which was, who were the . . . by . . . that . . . the priests, whose denunciations against the holders of the national domains, had already appeared in several recent publications, might possibly be the authors of the infernal project. Napoleon warmly interrupted him, "You will not make me alter my opinion by such vain declamations; the wicked are known; they are pointed out by the nation. They are the Septembrisers, the authors

(1) In allusion to the massacres in the prisons in September, 1792.

He refused
to listen to
any other
but the
dictator.

of every political crime in the Revolution, who have ever been spared or protected by the weak persons at the head of affairs. Talk not to me of nobles or priests. Would you have me proscribe a man for a title, or transport ten thousand grey-haired priests! Would you have me prosecute a religion, still professed by the majority of Frenchmen and two-thirds of Europe! La Vendée never was more tranquil; the detached crimes which still disgrace its territory are the result merely of ill-extinguished animosities. Would you have me dismiss all my counsellors excepting two or three; send Portalis to Sinnamary, Devaine to Madagascar, and choose a Council from the followers of Babœuf. It is in vain to pretend that the people will do no wrong but when they are prompted to it by others. The people are guided by an instinct, in virtue of which they act alone. During the Revolution they frequently forced on the leaders who appeared to guide them; the populace is a tiger when he is unmuzzled. I have a dictionary of the men employed in all the massacres. The necessity of the thing being once admitted, our duty is to attain it in the most efficacious way. Do they take us for children? Do not hope, citizen Trugnet, that you would, in the event of their success, be able to save yourself by saying, 'I have defended the patriots before the Council of State.' No, no. These patriots would sacrifice you as well as us all." He then broke up the Council, and when passing Trugnet, who was endeavouring to say something in his vindication, said aloud, "Come now, citizen, all that is very well for the *soirées* of Madame Condorcet or Maille-Garat, but it won't do in a council of the most enlightened men of France (1)."

These vehement apostrophes from a man vested with despotic authority cut short all discussion, and the Council found itself compelled, notwithstanding a courageous resistance from some of its members, to go into the arbitrary designs of the first consul. The public mind was prepared for some great catastrophe by repeated articles in the public journals, drawn up by Fouché, in which that astute counsellor, suppressing his private information, directed the thunders of the executive against his former associates (2). But while these measures were in preparation, Fouché and the first consul received decisive information that it was the Royalists, and not the Jacobins, who were the real authors of the conspiracy, and a clue was obtained which promised soon to lead to the discovery of the guilty parties. The minister of police, therefore, received secret instructions not to allude in his report against the Republicans to the affair of the infernal machine, but to base the proposed *coup-d'état* generally on the numerous conspiracies against the public peace, and on this report Napoleon urged the immediate delivery to a military commission of eighteen, and transportation of above an hundred persons, without either trial or evidence taken against them. In vain Thibaudeau and Roederer urged in the Council of State, that there was

A coup d'état
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cobins.

(1) *Thib.* 33, 34.

(2) In one of these, the minister of police addressed the following report to the first consul.—

"It is not against ordinary brigands, for whose coercion the ordinary tribunals are sufficient, and who menace only detached persons or articles of property, that the Government is now required to act; it is the enemies of entire France, who are now at the bar; men who threaten every instant to denude it up to the fury of anarchy.

"These frightful characters are few in number, but their crimes are innumerable. It is by them that the Convention has been attacked with an armed force in the bosom of the sanctuary of the laws; it is

they who have endeavoured so often to render the committees of Government the agents of their atrocious designs. They are not the enemies of this or that government, but of every species of authority.

"They persist in an atrocious war, which cannot be terminated but by an extraordinary measure of the supreme police. Among the men whom the police has denounced, many were not found with the poniard in their hands, but all were equally capable of sharpening and using it. In disposing of them, we must not merely punish the past, but look to a guarantee of social order in future."—See *Thibaudeau*, 13, 14, and *Bourbakiere*, iv, 204, 205.

no evidence against the suspected persons, and that it was the height of injustice to condemn a crowd of citizens untried and unheard, to the severe punishment of transportation. The first consul, though well aware that they had no connexion with the late conspiracy, was resolved not to let slip the opportunity of getting quit at once of so many dangerous characters. "We have strong presumptions, at least," said he, "if not proofs against the Terrorists. The Chouannerie and emigration, are maladies of the skin, but terrorism is a malady of the vital parts. The minister of police has purposely omitted the mention of the late conspiracy, because it is not for it that the measure is proposed. If that reserve were not observed, we would compromise our character. The proposed step is grounded upon considerations independent of the late event, it only furnished the occasion for putting them in force. The persons included in the lists will be transported for their share in the massacres in the prisons on September 2d, for their accession to the Jacobin revolt of 31st May, for the conspiracy of Babœuf, and all that they have done since that time. Such a step would have been necessary without the conspiracy, but we must avail ourselves of the enthusiasm it has excited to carry it into execution." In pursuance of these views, an arrest was proposed by the Council of State, and adopted by the Senate, which condemned to immediate transportation no less than a hundred and thirty individuals, among whom were nine persons who had been engaged in the massacres of September, and several members of the Convention, Choudien, Taillefer, Thirion, and Talot, Félix Lepelletier, and Rossignol, well known for his cruelty in the war of la Vendée. The decree was forthwith carried into execution, and thus did the arbitrary tyranny which the Jacobins had so long exercised over others, at length, by a just retribution, recoil upon themselves (1).

In less than a month afterwards, Fouché made a second report upon the conspiracy of the infernal machine, in which he admitted, that when these measures of severity were adopted against the Jacobins, he had other suspicions, that George Cadoudal and other emigrants had successively disembarked from England, and that the horse attached to the machine had furnished a clue to its authors, who had at length been detected in the house of certain females of the Jan. 2., 1801. Royalist party. Saint Regent and Carbon accordingly, the really guilty persons, were tried by the ordinary tribunals, condemned, and executed. Not a shadow of doubt could now remain that the conspiracy had been the work of the Royalists, but Napoleon persisted, though he saw that as clearly as any one, in carrying into effect the sweeping decree of transportation against the Jacobins. "There is not one of them," he said to those who petitioned for a relaxation of the sentence in favour of certain individuals, "who has not deserved death an hundred times over, if they had been judged by their conduct during the Revolution, these wretches have covered France with scaffolds, and the measure adopted in regard to them is

(1) Tb b 42 al. Bour iv 205 206

Te ma of the Senate Consultation was in these terms as Com. terms:— "Cons. let us, that the commission has not of returned these measures necessary to be taken: certain circumstances that in the absence of a jury expressed ones, the Senate is called upon to give effect to the wishes of the people expressed by that branch of the constitution of which it is the organ; that according to that principle the Senate is the natural judge of any convemal measures proposed in perious circumstances by the Government; and considering that the mea-

The law was only one of the measures and it was issued at by just in force in but the measure since — See TAYLOR, § 1, § 2

rather one of mercy than severity; the attempt of the infernal machine is neither mentioned as a motive nor the occasion of the *Senatus-Consultum*; with a company of grenadiers I could put to flight the whole faubourg St.-Germain, with its Royalist coteries; but the Jacobins are men of determined character, whom it is not so easy to make retreat. As to the transportation of the Jacobins, it is of no sort of consequence; I have got quit of them; if the Royalists commit any offence, I will strike them also (1)."

May, 1801. The next important step of Napoléon was the exhibition of a king of his own creation, to the astonished Parisians. By a convention with Spain, it was stipulated that the province of Tuscany, ceded to the Infanta of Spain, Marie-Louise, third daughter of Charles IV, and the Duke of Parma, her husband, should be erected into a monarchy, under the title of the kingdom of Etruria. In May, 1801, the newly-created king, Louis I, with his young bride, arrived in Paris, on his way from Madrid to Florence, and was received with extraordinary distinction both on the road and in the capital. Numerous *fêtes* succeeded each other in honour of the royal pair, among which those of M. Talleyrand, in his villa at Neuilly, was remarked as peculiarly magnificent. The young King early evinced symptoms of that imbecility of character by which he was afterwards distinguished; but it was deemed of importance to accustom the court of the first consul to the sight of royalty, and the Parisians to the intoxicating idea that, like the Roman Senate, they were invested with the power of making and unmaking kings. Napoléon received the reward of this policy in the transports with which, when he was present, the celebrated line of *Œdipus* was received at the theatre (2)—

"J'ai fait des souverains, et n'ai pas voulu l'être."

But it was not merely by such exhibitions of royalty that Napoléon endeavoured to prepare the French nation for his own assumption of the crown. At the time when the public mind was strongly excited by the danger which the state had run from the success of the infernal machine, a pamphlet appeared, with the title, "*Parallel between Caesar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte*," in which the cause of royalty and hereditary succession was openly advocated. It excited at first a great sensation, and numerous copies were sent to the first consul from the prefects and magistrates, with comments on the dangerous effects it was producing on the public mind. Fouché, however, soon discovered that it had issued and been distributed from the office of the minister of the interior, and shortly after that it came from the pen of Lucien Bonaparte. Napoléon affected to be highly indignant at this discovery, and reproached Fouché with not having instantly sent his imprudent brother to the Temple; but the cautious minister was too well informed to put the hint in execution, as Lucien had shown him the original manuscript corrected by the hand of the first consul himself. However, it was necessary to disavow the production, as its effect proved that it had prematurely disclosed the designs of the fortunate usurper, and therefore Lucien was sent into an

(1) Thib. 51, 62. Bour. iv. 212, 213, 214.

It is a curious and instructive fact, that no sooner was the determination of the first consul, in regard to the Jacobins, known, than a multitude of revelations flowed in from the prefects, mayors, and magistrates over all France, implicating the Republicans still farther in the conspiracy, and detailing discoveries of the vast Jacobin plot which was to have burst forth in every part of the country the

moment intelligence was received of the leading stroke given in the capital! A striking instance of the distrust with which the officious zeal of such authorities should be received, and of the necessity of the executive not letting their wishes be known, if they would in such circumstances preserve the semblance even of justice in their proceedings.—See THIAUDOUX, 53, 63; BOURRIENNE, iv. 212.

(2) Thib. 61, 69. Bour. iv. 270, 273.

honourable exile, as ambassador at Madrid, with many reproaches from Napoleon for having allowed the device to be discovered. "I see," said Napoleon to his secretary, "that I have been moving too fast, I have broken ground too soon, the pear is not yet ripe." He received secret instructions to exert all his influence at the court of Spain, to induce that power to declare war against Portugal, in order to detach the whole peninsula from the alliance with England, and shut its harbours against the British flag (4).

The numerous complaints against the lists of eligibility which formed so important and remarkable an effect in the constitution under the consulate, induced Napoleon to bring them again under the consideration of his state council. It was justly objected against this institution, that it renewed, in another and a more odious form, all the evils of privileged classes which had occasioned the Revolution, that to confine the seats in the legislation, and all important offices under government, to five thousand individuals, out of above thirty millions of souls, was to the last degree unjust, and seemed peculiarly absurd at the close of a Revolution, the main object of which had been to open them indiscriminately to all the citizens. It became necessary to consider whether these complaints should be attended to, as the time was approaching when a fifth of the legislative body and tribunate were to be renewed, in terms of the constitution, and therefore the lists, already formed, were about to be forwarded to the electors. It was urged by the advocates for a change in the Council of State, that "public opinion had strongly pronounced itself against these lists, because they at once deprive a great body of citizens of that result of the Revolution which they most prized, eligibility to every public function. Out of eleven thousand persons, who are inscribed on the highest class of these lists, you leave the seeds of a dangerous discontent in a hundred times that number. Doubtless it is not impossible from these lists to make for a few years a suitable choice of representatives, but such a result would only the more confirm a system radically vicious, and augment the difficulty which will hereafter be experienced in correcting it."

The first consul replied — "The institution of the lists is objectionable. It is an absurd system, the growth of the ideology which, like a malady, has so long overspread France. It is not by such means that a great nation is reorganized. Sovereignty is inalienable. Nevertheless, bad as the system is, it forms part of the constitution, we are only intrusted with its execution. It is impossible, besides, to let the people remain without any species of organization — better a bad one than none at all. It is an error to suppose that the people are organized merely because the constitution has created the powers of government. The supreme authority must have intermediate supports, or it has neither any stability nor any hold of the nation. We must not think, therefore, of abandoning the lists without substituting something else in their room. It is admitted that they form at present a sufficient body out of which to choose the Legislature, the constitution has established them, they form an organic law of the state, all France has aided in their construction, in the rural districts in particular they are universally approved of. Why, then, should we overlook the people of France, and their expressed approbation, merely because Paris has made a bad choice for her share of the list, and her citizens reckon the departments as nothing? It is better for the Government to have to deal with a few thousand individuals than a whole nation. What harm can there be in going on for two or three years longer with these

lists? They form the sole channel by which the influence of the people is felt on the Government. It will be time enough at the close of that period to consider what changes should be made on it." Guided by these considerations, the Council resolved that the lists should remain unchanged. They were already regarded as the nucleus of a new nobility instead of that which had been destroyed, and as an indispensable attendant on the throne which was anticipated for the first consul (1).

But Napoleon's views in this important particular went much farther, and he resolved to establish an order of nobility, under the title of the *Légion* or *Honneur*, which should gradually restore the gradation of ranks in society, and at the same time attach the people to its support. This important matter was brought before the Council of State in May, 1801. It met with more opposition than any other measure of the consulate; the debates on it in the Council of State were in the highest degree curious and instructive.

May 1, 1801. Napoleon's arguments in favour of it, in the Council of State.

"The eighty-seventh article of the constitution," said Napoleon, "sanctions the establishment of military honours, but it has organized nothing. An *arrêt* has established arms of honour, with double pay as a consequence; others with a mere increase; there is nothing formal or regular constructed. The project I propose to you gives consistence to the system of recompenses; it is the beginning of organization to the nation." It was proposed by General Mathieu-Dumas that the institution should be confined to military men, but this was strongly combated by the first consul. "Such ideas," said he, "might be well adapted to the feudal ages, when the chevaliers combated each other man to man, and the bulk of the nation was in a state of slavery; but when the military system changed, masses of infantry, and phalanxes constructed after the Macedonian model, were introduced, and after that it was not individual prowess, but science and skill which determined the fate of nations. The kings themselves contributed to the overthrow of the feudal *régime*, by the encouragement which they gave to the commons; finally, the discovery of gunpowder, and the total change it induced in the art of war, completed its destruction. From that period the military spirit, instead of being confined to a few thousand Franks, extended to all the Gauls. It was strengthened rather than weakened by the change; it ceased to be exclusive in its operation, and from being founded solely on military prowess, it came to be established also on civil qualities. What is it now which constitutes a great general? It is not the mere strength of a man six feet high, but the *coup-d'œil*, the habit of foresight, the power of thought and calculation; in a word, civil qualities, not such as you find in a lawyer, but such as are founded on a knowledge of human nature, and are suited to the government of armies. The general who can now achieve great things is he who is possessed of shining civil qualities; it is their perception.

(1) *Thib.* 69, 71.

The subject of the lists was warmly debated both in the Council of State and before the Legislature, and the maintenance of the existing system only carried by a majority of 56 to 26 in the Tribunal, Decision on it and 239 to 36 in the legislative body, by the Legis- It is not surprising that it excited a violent opposition in the popular party, seeing that it overturned the whole objects for which the nation had been fighting during the Revolution. "The law," says Thibaudeau, "called to the honours and the advantages of eligibility for offices in the communes, 50,000 individuals; to eligibility for offices in the departments, 50,000; to

eligibility for the legislature or national offices, 5,000. The whole of the other inhabitants were altogether excluded both from the rights of election and eligibility. The partisans of representative governments regarded this as far too narrow a circle in a country embracing thirty millions of souls. But the public in general took very little interest in this matter, justly observing, that as the electors were no longer intrusted with the choice of representatives, or of persons to fill any offices, but only of a large body of candidates from whom the selection was to be made by the government, it was of very little consequence whether this privilege was confined to many or few hands."—*Thibaudeau*, 200.

of the strength of his talents which makes the soldiers obey him. Listen to them at their bivouacs; you will invariably find them award the preference to mental over physical qualities. Mourad Bey was the most powerful man among his Mamelukes, without that advantage he never could have been their leader. When he first saw me, he could not conceive how I could preserve authority among my troops, but he soon understood it, when he was made acquainted with our system of war.

"In all civilized states force yields to civil qualities. Bayonets sink before the priest who speaks in the name of Heaven, or the man of science who has gained an ascendancy by his knowledge. I predicted to all my military followers that a government purely military would never succeed in France till it had been brutalized by fifty years of ignorance. All their attempts to govern in that manner accordingly failed, and involved their authors in their ruin. It is not as a general that I govern, but because the nations believe me possessed of the ability in civil matters necessary for the head of affairs; without that I could not stand an hour. I knew well what I was about, when, though only a general, I took the title of member of the Institute, I felt confident of being understood by the lowest drummer in the army.

"We must not reason from ages of barbarity to these times. France consists of 30,000,000 of men, united by intelligence, property, and commerce. Three or four hundred thousand soldiers are nothing in such a mass. Not only does the general preserve his ascendancy over his soldiers chiefly by civil qualities, but when his command ceases he becomes merely a private individual. The soldiers themselves are but the children of citizens. The tendency of military men is to carry every thing by force, the enlightened civilian, on the other hand, elevates his views to a perception of the general good. The first would rule only by despotic authority, the last subject every thing to the test of discussion, truth, and reason. I have no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that if a preference was to be awarded to the one or the other, it belongs to the civilian. If you divide society into soldiers and citizens, you establish two orders in what should be one nation. If you confine honours to military men, you do what is still worse, for you sink the people into nothing (1)."

Moved by these profound observations, the Council agreed that the proposed honours should be extended indiscriminately to civil and military distinction.

But the most difficult part of the discussion remained, the consideration of the expedience of the institution itself, even in its most extended form. Great opposition was manifested to it in the capital, from its evident ten-

the Leg on of the four towns and the
spirit greater Considered as a guarantee of the fir

cup, strength as it is, yields to the universal pas-
sion for equality. It was these two powerful mo-
honour, instead of strengthening them. I have the

state (1) So strongly implanted were the principles of the Revolution, even in the highest functionaries of the realm, and so difficult was it to extinguish that hatred at distinctions or honours, which formed so leading a feature in the passions by which it was at first distinguished. No measure during the consulate experienced nearly so powerful an opposition. Napoleon was much struck with this circumstance, and confessed in private that he had precipitated matters, and that it would have been better to have waited before so obnoxious a change was introduced (2)

It was carried into execution, however, with all those circumstances of pomp and ceremony which Napoleon well knew are so powerful with the multitude. The inauguration of the dignitaries of the order took place, with extraordinary magnificence, in the church of the Hotel des Invalides, in presence of the first consul and of all the great functionaries of the Republic, and the decorations soon began to be eagerly coveted by a people whose passion for individual distinction had been the secret cause of the Revolution (3)

The event, however, proved that Napoleon had rightly appreciated the true character of the revolutionary spirit. The leading object in the Revolution was the extinction of *castes* not of *ranks*, equality of rights and not of classes, the abolition of hereditary not personal distinction (4) "Vanity," as Napoleon elsewhere observed, "is the ruling principle of the French, and was at the bottom of all the convulsions of the Revolution, it was the sight of the noblesse enjoying privileges and distinctions to which they could not aspire, which filled the Tiers-Etat with inextinguishable and natural animosity (5). But an institution which conferred lustre on individuals and not on families, and led to no hereditary distinctions, was so far from running counter to this desire, that it afforded it the highest gratification, because it promised the objects of this passion to any, even the humblest of the citizens, who was worthy of receiving it. The Legion of Honour accordingly, which gradually extended so as to embrace two thousand persons of the greatest eminence in every department, both civil and military, in France, became an institution in the highest degree both useful and popular, and served as the forerunner to that new nobility which Napoleon afterwards created as safeguards to his imperial throne.

When so many institutions were successively arising which pointed to the establishment of a regular government, it was impossible that its head could remain in a precarious situation. Napoleon accordingly was created by the obsequious legislature first consul for ten years, beyond the first ten fixed at his original appointment: an appointment which, although far from coming up to the anticipations and wishes of the first consul, was yet important as a

I have seen forty men obtain the absolute direct of the system that we must make use of [Th b 23 80]

(1) The numbers were —

It is adopted by the legislature	In the Council of State	Triumvirate	Corps Legislatif
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Ayes	Noes.
14	10
36	38
166	110
332	158
	78 [Th b 92]

Majority

(4) *Journal de Napoléon* 1 526

(5) *D'Alembert* 169 170

(2) *Th b* 91 92 *Bour* iv 357 358

(3) *D'Alembert* vi 21

step to the establishment of perpetual and hereditary succession in his family (1).

But all these measures, important as they were, yielded to the great step which at the same time was adopted of re-establishing the Catholic religion in France, and renewing those connexions with the Pope, which had been violently broken during the fury of the French Revolution.

Although the institutions of religion had been abolished, its ministers scattered, and its property confiscated, by the different revolutionary assemblies who had governed the country, yet a remnant of the Christian faith still lingered in many parts of the rural districts. When the horrors of Robespierre ceased, and a government comparatively lenient and regular was established under the Directory, the priests obtained leave to open their churches, provided they undertook to maintain them at their own expense, and a considerable number returned from exile, and commenced in poverty and obscurity the reconstruction of religious observances. They were again exposed to persecution and danger after the 18th Fructidor, and being destitute of any species of property, and entirely dependent upon the voluntary contributions of their flocks, they were totally unequal to the Herculean task of combating the irreligious spirit which had acquired such strength during a revolutionary interregnum of ten years. A remnant of the faithful, composed for the most part of old women, attended the churches on Sunday, and marked by their fidelity an institution which might otherwise have been totally forgotten; but they were hardly observed amidst the crowds who had discarded every species of devotion; and a great proportion of the churches, both in the towns and the country, had either been pulled down, or converted to secular purposes during the Revolution; while of those which remained, a still greater number were in such a state of dilapidation, from the total absence of any funds for their support, as to threaten speedily to become unserviceable for any purpose whatever. In this general prostration of the Christian faith, the bewildered multitude had sought refuge in other and extravagant creeds; the sect of the Theophilanthropists had arisen, whose ravings amidst fruits and flowers, were listened to by a few hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the credulous or enthusiastic of Paris; while the great majority of the people, educated without any religious impressions, quietly passed by on the other side, and lived altogether without God in the world (2).

Napoléon's
views on
this sub-
ject.

Although neither a fanatic nor even a believer in Christianity, Napoléon was too sagacious not to perceive that such a state of things was inconsistent with any thing like a regular government. He had early, accordingly, commenced a negotiation with the Pope; and the head of the Church, delighted at finding such a disposition in a revolutionary chief, had received the advances with the utmost cordiality. Cardinal Gon-

(1) Bour. iv. 361.

The grounds of this change are set forth in the thus ably set forth in the *Senatus Consultum* which introduced it:—*“Considering that in the existing circumstances of the Republic, it is the first duty of the Conservative Senate to employ all the means in its power in order to give to the government the stability which can alone augment the national resources, inspire confidence without, establish credit within, reassure our allies, discourage our secret enemies, remove the evils of war, bring to maturity the fruits of peace, and leave to the wisdom of administration the selection of the proper period for bringing forward all the designs*

which it may have in view for the happiness of a free people,” etc. Napoléon replied in the following words, which subsequent events rendered prophetic:—“*Fortune has hitherto smiled on the Republic, but she is inconstant; and how many are there whom she has overwhelmed with her favours have lived too long by a few years!* The interests of my glory and happiness seem to have marked as the termination of my public career the moment when a general peace was signed. But you deem a new sacrifice necessary on my part. I will not scruple to undertake it, if the wishes of the people prescribe what your suffrages authorize.”—DUMAS, viii. 98, 99.

(2) D'Abr. vi. 38, 41. Thib. 151, 152. Jom. Vie de Nap. i. 489.

zavli, who with singular ability directed the conclave, had, in the name of the supreme Pontiff, written to General Murat, when advancing towards the Roman states, after the armistice of Treviso, to express "the lively admiration which he felt for the first consul, to whose fortunes were attached the tranquillity of religion not less than the happiness of Europe." The views of Napoleon on that matter were strongly expressed to the counsellors of state with whom he conversed on the subject. "Yesterday evening," said he, "when walking alone in the woods, amidst the solitude of nature, the distant bell of the church of Ruel struck my ear. Involuntarily I felt emotion; so powerful is the influence of early habits and associations. I said to myself, if I feel thus what must be the influence of such impressions on simple and credulous men? Let your philosophers, your *ideologues* answer that if they can. It is absolutely indispensable to have a religion for the people; and not less so, that that religion should be directed by the government. At present, fifty bishops in the pay of England, direct the French clergy, we must forthwith destroy their influence, we must declare the Catholic the established religion of France, as being that of the majority of its inhabitants, we must organize its constitution. The first consul will appoint the fifty bishops; the Pope will induct them. They will appoint the parish priests, the people will defray their salaries. They must all take the oath; the refractory must be transported. The Pope will, in return, confirm the sale of the national domains. He will consecrate the Revolution, the people will sing, God save the Gallican Church. They will say I am a Papist, I am no such thing. I was a Mahometan in Egypt; I will become a Catholic here for the good of my people. I am no believer in particular creeds, but as to the idea of a God, look to the heavens, and say who made that (1) "

Concordat
July 15
1801
Passed into
a law 8th
April 1802

Notwithstanding these decided opinions of the first consul, the negotiations with the Court of Rome were attended with considerable difficulty, and proved very tedious. At length, however, they were brought to a conclusion, and, despite the opposition of a

exist, and ever will exist, they will exist as long as the people are imbued with a religious spirit, and that disposition is permanent in the human heart. Napoleon: We have seen republics and democracies, history has many examples of

evil would exist only in half, but if a foreign potentate, the Pope, is its leader, a schism is introduced into the community. Never will you attach the clergy sincerely to the new order of things. The Revolution has despoiled them both of their honours and their property, they will never pardon these injuries. eternal war is sworn between the rival powers. The clergy will be a dangerous when if they are detached from each

opposed to a return to Catholicism. We are nearer the truths of Christianity than the priests of Rome. You have I utis say the word, the Papacy is ruined and France takes its place as a Protestant state. You are deceived, said Napoleon, the clergy

large portion of the Council, and a still larger proportion of the Legislature, the concordat with the Pope passed into a law, and the Christian religion was re-established through the French territory (1).

By this memorable law the Catholic religion was declared that of the French people. Ten archbishops and fifty bishops were established, the former with a salary of 15,000 francs (L.600) a-year, the latter with one of 10,000, or L.400. It was provided that there should be at least a parish priest in every district of a *juge de paix*, with as many additional ministers as might be deemed necessary; the bishops and archbishops were to be appointed by the first consul; the bishops nominated the parish priests and inferior clergy, subject to the approbation of the same authority. The salary of the priests in the larger parishes was fixed at 1500 francs, or L.60 a-year; in the smaller, 1200, or L.48. The Departmental Councils were charged with the procuring of houses, or lodgings and gardens, for the bishops, priests, and curates. The churches which had survived the Revolution were placed at the disposal of the bishops, and provision made for the repair, at the expense of the department, of such as were ruinous. Such was the establishment which in France emerged from the chaos of the Revolution, and such the provision for the ministers of religion made by the nation which, in the outset of the convulsions, had confiscated the vast possessions of the church, on the solemn assurance contained in the decree of the Constituent Assembly, that it "committed the due and honourable maintenance of religion and its ministers to the honour of the French people (2)."

Although the opposition in the Legislature was not nearly so formidable to the concordat as to the Legion of Honour, a much stronger feeling of discontent was excited by the change in the Revolutionary party and the army. "Bonaparte," said they, "is striving in vain to destroy the remains of the Revolution, and to close every avenue against the anti-revolutionary party, when by his concordat he opens to the latter an ample gateway, and with his own hands digs the mine which is to blow his edifice into the air." In truth, such was the extraordinary and unprecedented extent to which irreligion had spread under the Republican Government, that "two-thirds of the French people," according to the admission of their own historians, "were ignorant of the principles on which

(1) The numbers were,—

	For.	Against.
Tribunate,	78	7
Legislative Body, . .	228	21
	306	28

Its provisions in favour of the Gallican Church.

or elsewhere, any function relative to the affairs of the Gallican Church.

3. That the decrees of foreign convocations, not excepting even those of general councils, should not be published in France, without a previous examination by the Government, to ascertain whether they were in harmony with the laws and institutions of the French Republic, or were in any way calculated to affect the public tranquillity.

4. That no national or metropolitan council, diocesan synod, or other deliberative assembly, should be held without the express authority of government. 5. That an appeal should lie to the Council of State in every case of alleged abuse or misgovernment on the part of the superior ecclesiastical authorities; and that under this head should be included every infraction of the rules established in the Councils of the Church, every attempt calculated to injure the liberties of the Gallican Church, every infringement on the liberty of public worship, or of the rights which the laws secured to its ministers." [Nap. Mélanges, i. 301.] By these articles, the Church in France was practically rendered nearly as independent of the Papal authority as the Protestant establishment of Great Britain.

whereas the Legion of Honour was only carried by a majority of 236 to 158; a striking proof how much more strenuous the opposition was to any approach towards the re-establishment of a nobility, than even the Christian religion, which was held forth as so much the object of obloquy.—THIBAUDEAU, 210.

(2) See the Concordat and Articles Organiques, in Nap. Mélanges, i. 297, et seq.

Some very important articles were included in the same treaty relative to the independence of the Gallican Church. It was provided, "1. That no bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, or provision, or other writing whatever, emanating from the Court of Rome, even concerning individuals, should be received, published, printed, or put in execution, without the authority of government. 2. That no individual announcing himself as legate, vicar, or commissioner of the Holy See, should, without the same authority, exercise on the French territory

such a measure was founded, and regarded it as a strange and dangerous innovation." The opposition which it experienced was indeed almost inconceivable, and afforded the clearest evidence of the pernicious tendency of those measures of extermination which former governments had adopted against the possessions of the established church, and how rapidly the consecration of ecclesiastical property, founded on the pretence of applying it to purposes of beneficence and public instruction, leads to the total destruction of every species of religious belief. Universally the opinion prevailed that the restoration of the altar was but a prelude to that of the throne, and that the concordat was to be regarded as a solemn pledge for the speedy re-establishment of the ancient *regime*, a manifesto against all the principles of the revolution. These feelings were in an especial manner prevalent among the military and democratic parties. Moreau, Lannes, Oudinot, Victor, and many others, openly expressed their repugnance to the measure, and declined to join the ceremony which took place in Notre-Dame on the occasion of its solemn proclamation. "Never," said the soldiers, "have the Republican arms been adorned by so many laurels as since they ceased to receive the benediction of the priests (1)." "

Napoleon, however, remained firm, notwithstanding all the opposition which took place, and the loud discontents of the capital, the re-establishment of public worship was announced by a proclamation of the consuls, and on the following day a grand religious ceremony took place, in honour of the apostle and occasion, in Notre-Dame. All the great bodies in the state, all the constituted authorities attended, and proceeded in great pomp to the cathedral.

On this occasion, for the first time, the servants of the first consul appeared in livery, the foreign ambassadors were invited to appear with all their attendants arrayed in the same manner, and a similar recommendation was addressed to such of the public functionaries as had carriages of their own, but so few of them were possessed of that luxury, that the equipages made a very indifferent appearance. The military, however, were obliged to attend in great numbers, and the brilliancy of their uniforms more than compensated the want of civil decoration. Such, however, was the repugnance of many of the generals to the ceremony, that it required all the authority of the first consul to make Lannes and Angereau remain in the carriage, when they perceived they were going to hear mass.

It proceeded, nevertheless, with great solemnity in the cathedral of Notre-Dame, which only eight years before had been polluted by the orgies of the Goddess of Reason. "What thought you of the ceremony?" said Napoleon to General Dumas, who stood near him when it was concluded. "It was a fine piece of mummerly," replied he. "Nothing was wanting but the million of men who have perished in order to destroy what you have now re-established." It was at first intended to have had the standards blessed by the archbishop, but the government were obliged to abandon the design, from being given to understand, that if this was done, the soldiers would trample them under their feet (2). So difficult is it to eradicate the passions which have been nursed up during the frenzy and convulsions of a revolution, and so obstinately do mankind, under the influence of prejudice, sometimes resist the establishment of those very institutions from which they are themselves destined to receive the most unalloyed advantages (3).

(1) *Fig.* ii. 153, 154. *Voy.* ii. 165, 167. *Jour.* x. 41.

(2) *Ibid.* 163, 164. *Bour.* ix. 272. *Fig.* ii. 159.

(3) Kappeler, one of Napoleon's adherents, who

was a Protestant, positively refused to attend the ceremony, even when requested to do so by the first consul himself. "Provided," said he, "you do not make these priests your sacerdotes or your

Constrained religious observances at Paris.

Immediately after this great change, the observance of Sunday was to a certain degree resumed. It was provided in the concordat, that the government offices should be closed on Sunday, and this was immediately done. Shortly after, a decree of the consuls directed that all marriages should be proclaimed on that day, and the daily service of mass began in the Tuileries. Encouraged by so many symptoms of returning favour, the clergy made the utmost efforts to induce the first consul to join publicly in the more solemn duties which the church prescribed; but to this he never could be brought to consent. "We are very well as we are," said he; "do not ask me to go farther: you will never obtain what you wish: I will not become a hypocrite: be content with what you have already gained." Mass, however, was regularly performed at the Tuileries in the morning. The first consul went to it on Sunday, and remained during the service, which seldom exceeded ten minutes, in an adjoining apartment, with the door open, looking over papers, or engaged in his usual occupations. He had considerable difficulty in preserving the balance so imperiously required in the head of the state, during the first return to religious observances after the revolutionary fever, yet by great firmness he succeeded, during his whole reign, in maintaining a just equilibrium between the impassioned characters on both sides (1).

Great joy at the change in the rural departments.

But although the opposition which the restoration of religion met with in the corrupted population and revolutionary circles of Paris was very powerful, it was viewed in a very different light in the rural districts of France. The peasants beheld with undisguised delight the re-establishment of the priests, from whose labours and beneficence they had gained so much in former times; and the sound of the village bells again calling the faithful to the house of God, was hailed by millions, as the dove with the olive branch, which first announced peace to the "green undeluged earth." The restoration of Sunday, as a day of periodical rest, was felt as an unspeakable relief by the labouring population, who had never been able to establish the exemption from work on the tenth day, which the Convention had prescribed, and were borne down by years of continued and unbroken toil (2). But the pernicious effect of the total cessa-

cooks, you may do with them what you please." The well-known devotion of Rapp to his general procured him impunity for these sort of speeches, which he very frequently made; but Delmas was not so fortunate. The first consul was extremely irritated at his reply, which made a great noise at the time, and he was soon after sent into exile in consequence.—See THIBAUDEAU, 164.

(1) Bour. iv. 281, 282. Thib. 166. Prudence of Napoleon in restraining the high church party. The wisdom with which Napoleon restrained the imprudent zeal of the church party appears in the proceeding which took place on the death of Mademoiselle Chameroi, a celebrated opera dancer. The priest of St.-Roch refused to receive the body into his church, or celebrate over it the solemnities of interment, and this gave rise to a vehement dispute between the artists who accompanied the body and the clergy. It came to be discussed in the Council of State, "It amounts to nothing," said the Senator Monge, "but a dispute of one set of comedians with another."—"What!" said the first consul, with a severe air. "Yes, citizen-consul," replied Monge, "we may say that when the grand crosses do not hear us." But Napoleon viewed the matter in a very different light; and on the following day an article appeared in the *Moniteur* which bore internal marks of his composition.

"The curate of St.-Roch, in a moment of hallucination, has refused to pray for Mademoiselle Chameroi, or to admit her body into the church. One of his colleagues, a man of sense, received the procession into the church of the Filles Saint-Thomas, where the service was performed with all the usual solemnities. The Archbishop of Paris has suspended the curate of St.-Roch for three months, to give him time to recollect that Jesus-Christ commanded us to pray even for our enemies; and that being recalled by meditation to a proper sense of his duties, he may learn that all these superstitious observances, the offspring of an age of credulity, or of crazed imaginations, tend only to the discredit of true religion, and have been proscribed by the recent concordat of the Gallican Church."—THIBAUDEAU; 166, 168.

April 14, 1802. (2) The conclusion of the concordat was announced in these eloquent words in a proclamation issued by the first consul. "An insane policy has sought during the Revolution to tear the ruins of the altar, under the ashes of religion itself. At its voice all those pious solemnities ceased in which the citizens called each other by the endearing name of brothers, and acknowledged their common equality in the sight of heaven. The dying,

tion of all religious instruction and observances for nine years could not so easily be eradicated. A generation had been educated, who were ignorant of the very elements of the Christian faith; the frenzy of the Revolution had snapped asunder a chain which had descended unbroken from the Apostolic ages. The consequences of this chasm have been to the last degree pernicious to the existing generation, and are, it is much to be feared, now irreparable. It is to this cause that we are to ascribe the spirit of irreligion which has since been so peculiarly the characteristic of the higher and urban classes of French society, and which has worked out its natural consequences throughout all the subsequent periods of the empire and the Restoration. A nation, which, in its influential classes at least, has lost all respect for religion, is incapable of freedom, and can be governed only by force. "*Natura, tamen,*" says Tacitus, "*infirmittas humanæ, tardiora sunt remedia quam mala, et ut corpora, lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiisque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris.*"

To foreign nations, however, who could not foresee the deplorable internal effects of this long interruption in religious instruction, the spectacle of France again voluntarily returning to the Christian faith was in the highest degree acceptable. Contrasting it with the monstrous profanations and wild extravagances of the irreligious fanaticism which had prevailed during the Revolution, they deemed it the harbinger of tranquillity to its distracted people, and peace to Europe. It contributed more than any circumstance to weaken the horror with which the Revolutionary Government had so long been regarded, and opened the way to the establishment of more kindly relations, not only

General
but also
which the
in Europe
is not in
the coun-
tries

with the governments, but the people of foreign states. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia publicly expressed their satisfaction at the auspicious event, forgetting in their joy at the restoration of so important a member to the Christian family, the jealousy with which a change so likely to consolidate the power of the first consul might possibly have been regarded. The Emperor of Austria styled it, with great felicity of expression, "a service truly rendered to all Europe." And the thoughtful and religious every where justly considered the voluntary return of a great nation to the creed of its fathers, from the experienced impossibility of living without its precepts, as the most signal triumph to the Christian faith which had occurred since it ascended the Imperial throne, under the banners of Constantine (1).

It was as the first step in a great political improvement, and as closing the door against the worst principles of the Revolution, that Napoleon, in spite of so much opposition from his own subjects, undertook and carried through the concordat with Rome. Many persons urged him to complete the system; separate the church of France from the Pope, and at once declare himself its head. These persons, however, did not know the real state of the country, and still less the character of the first consul. So far from thinking that he could dispense with the court of Rome in settling this matter, he openly declared—"That if the Pope had not existed, it would have been well to have

left alone in this agonies, no longer heard that con-
soling voice which calls the Christian to a better
world. God himself seemed exiled from the face of
nature. Ministers of the religion of peace, let a com-
plete oblivion veil over your duties, your mis-
fortunes, your faults; let the religion which unites
you bind you by indissoluble cords to the interests
of your country. Let the young learn from your
example that the God of peace is also the God of
arms, and that he throws his shield over those who

combat for the liberties of France. Citizens of the
Protestant faith, the law has equally extended its
solitude to your interests, let the morality, so
pure, so holy, so brotherly, which you profess,
make you all in love to your country, and respect
for its laws; and, above all, never permit disputes
on doctrinal points to weaken that universal harmony
which religion alone inculcates and commands. —
See *Monarch*, vi. 95, 96.

(1) *Reg.* ii. 200, 201

Subsequent
of Napoleon
on the sub-
ject.

created him for that occasion, as the Roman consuls created a dictator in difficult circumstances. The concordat indeed recognised a foreign authority in religious matters, which might possibly disturb the republic on some future occasion; but it did not create it, and, on the contrary, brought it under restraints more favourable than could possibly have been expected to the interests of the reigning power in France. By connecting the church with the state, Napoleon hoped to withdraw it from foreign or English influence, while by the conquest of Italy he expected to make the Pope the ready instrument of his will. He has himself told us, that he never repented of this great step.—“The concordat of 1801,” says he, “was necessary to religion, to the republic, to the government; the churches were closed, the priests persecuted, part of the bishops were in exile, and in the pay of England, part merely apostolic vicars, without any bond to unite them to the state. The concordat put an end to these divisions, and made the Catholic apostolic church emerge from its ruins. Napoleon restored the altars, caused the disorders to cease, directed the faithful to pray for the republic, dissipated the scruples of the purchasers of national domains, and broke the last thread by which the exiled dynasty communicated with the country, by dismissing the bishops who resisted the reconciliation with the court of Rome, and holding them out as rebels to the holy see, who preferred their temporal interests to the eternal concerns of religion (1).”

Connected with the revival of religion was a great and generous design of the first consul, which it would have been well for him if he could have carried completely into effect, viz. the complete restoration of all the unalienated national property to the original proprietors. His first project was to make the restitution to that extent complete, with the single exception of the buildings devoted to public establishments; and even to restore the two-thirds which had been cut off from the public creditors by the barbarous decree of 1797. He never contemplated, however, the restoration of the alienated property, being well aware of the inextricable difficulties in which that question was involved. But when the subject was brought forward in the Council of State, he found the opposition so great that he was compelled to modify the project so much as amounted almost to its total abandonment. The severity of the laws against the emigrants had been gradually relaxed by successive edicts. An important change was first made by the *arrêt* of 28th of Vendémiaire (26th November, 1800), which divided the emigrants into two classes, from the first and most numerous of which the prohibition was removed (2). They returned in consequence, in crowds; and the gates were opened still more widely by the lenient policy of the Government, which directed the minister of police to grant passports of admission to almost all who applied for them, without regard to the formal distinctions established by the decree of the first consul. In granting these indulgences,

(1) Nap. i. 115. Mélanges.

Mr. Fox, after the peace of Amiens, ventured to blame Napoleon in conversation for not having permitted the marriage of priests in his dominions. “I then had,” replied he, “and still have, need to pacify. It is with water, and not oil, that you must extinguish theological volcanoes. I would have had less difficulty in establishing the Confession of Augsburg in my empire.”—*NAPOLEON, Mélanges*, i. 121.

(2) When this *arrêt* was under discussion in the Council of State, Napoleon observed, “There are above 100,000 names on these unhappy lists; it is enough to turn one’s head. In the general calamity the most elevated and dangerous characters can

alone extricate themselves; they possess the means of purchasing testimony in their favour. Thus the practical result is, that a duke is struck off the list, while a poor labourer is kept on it. We must extricate the matter by classing the emigrants according to certain distinctions, which may admit equally persons of all descriptions. The lists must be reduced by three-fourths of its number to the names of such as are known to be hostile to the Government. Having effected such a disposition, we shall be the better enabled to distinguish the really dangerous characters; they will no longer escape notice in the troubled flood of misfortune.”—*THIBAUDEAU*, 95.

Napoleon was influenced by more than a feeling of pity for the exiled families, he already looked forward to them as the firmest support of his throne. But it was not without difficulty that these concessions were made to the aristocratic party, the executive even was divided, and the second consul said to him, at the Council of State,—“The existence of the Government will be always precarious when it has not around itself several hundred revolutionary families, uniting in themselves the principal fortunes and offices of the state, to counterbalance the influence of the emigrant noblesse (1)”

Apr 29 1802 On the 29th April, 1802, a general amnesty was published by a senatus consultum, which reduced the exiled persons to about a thousand, and the melancholy list was, by the indulgence of the police, soon after reduced to a few hundreds. Above a hundred thousand emigrants, in consequence, returned to tread the soil and breathe the

the most part of all their possessions, the senatus consultum restored to every emigrant who was permitted to return, such part of his former property as had not been alienated by the state, but as it was soon found that they began in consequence to cut the forests to a great extent, in order to relieve their necessities, it became necessary to put a restriction upon this liberality, and a subsequent *arret* prohibited the removal of the sequestration on the woods belonging to emigrants, amounting to three hundred arpents and upwards (2). By a subsequent decree of the legislature, it was provided, through the urgent representations of the first consul that all successions to which the republic had acquired right as coming in place of the emigrants prior to the 1st September, 1802, and were unalienated, should be restored to the persons having right to them, that all claims of the republic on the emigrants prior to the amnesty should be extinguished, and that the goods of emigrants which had devolved to the republic, and were unalienated, should be declared liable to the claims of their creditors (3).

These measures, how humanely and wisely soever designed by Napoleon, proved almost totally inadequate to remedy the dreadful evils produced by the barbarous confiscation of property during the Revolution. He admits this himself “My first design,” says he “was to have thrown the whole unalienated property of the emigrants into a mass, or syndicat, and divided it according to a certain proportional scale among the restored families. I met with so much resistance, however, that I was induced to abandon that design, but I soon found that, when I came to restore individually to each what belonged to him, I made some too rich and many too insolent. Those who had received the greatest fortunes proved the most ungrateful. It was a sense of this which induced me to pass the *arret*, which suspended the operation of the restitution contained in the act of amnesty as to all woods above a certain value. This was a deviation undoubtedly from the letter of the law, but circumstances imperiously

(1) Th b 96 103 Bour iv 333 334

(2) On this occasion the first consul said at the Council of State. The emigrants who have been struck out of the lists are cutting the woods

The navy requires them the destruction is con-

ment — Le SAUPEAU 98

(3) Th b 98, 105

required it; our error consisted in not having foreseen it before the original law was framed. This reaction, however, on my part, destroyed all the good effect of the recall of the emigrants, and alienated from me all the great families. I would have avoided all these evils if I had followed out my original design of a syndicat; instead of one discontented great family, I would have made an hundred grateful provincial nobles, who, being all dependent on my government for their subsistence, could have been relied on to the last. It is evident that the emigrants had lost their all; that they had embarked their property on board the same vessel, and what was rescued from the waves should have been proportionally divided. It was a fault on my part not to have done so, which is the more unpardonable that I had entertained the idea; but I was alone, surrounded by thorns; every one was against me, time pressed, and still more important affairs imperiously required my attention (1)."

But in truth, even if the projects of Napoléon could have been carried into complete effect, they would have remedied but a small part of the evils consequent on the frightful confiscation of private property which took place during the Revolution. From a report made by M. Ramel on the finances of the Republic, it appears that before the year 1801 there had been sold national domains to the enormous amount of 2,555,000,000 francs, or above L.100,000,000 sterling; and that there remained to sell property to the amount of 700,000,000 francs, or L.28,000,000 sterling (2). When it is recollected that during the greater part of this period, the national domains, from the insecure tenure by which they were held, and the general confusion, were sold for a few years' purchase, it may be conceived what a prodigious mass of landed property must have been torn from the rightful proprietors in this way, and how fatal was the wound thus inflicted on the social system of France. Mr. Burke declared at the outset of the Revolution, that without complete restitution or indemnification to all the dispossessed proprietors, it would be impossible to construct a stable constitutional monarchy in France (3), and the result has now completely established the justice of his opinion. The want of a landed aristocracy to coerce the people, on the one hand, and restrain the executive on the other, has ever since been felt as the irreparable want in the monarchy; its absence was bitterly lamented by Napoléon (4), and all the attempts of subsequent

(1) Las Cas. ii. 221, 222.

Considerable alarm was excited among the holders of national domains by these proceedings in favour of the emigrants. To allay them, the following article appeared in the *Moniteur*:—"The first duty of the French people, the first principle of the republic, ever must be, to preserve untouched, and with-

out any sort of distinction, the purchasers of national domains. In truth, to have trusted the fortunes of the republic, when it was assailed with the united forces of Europe, to have united their private fortunes to those of the state in such a period of anxious alarm, must ever constitute a chain on the gratitude of the state and the people."—THIBAudeau, 176.

(2) *Compte rendu, par Ramel. Stat. de la France, 545.*

The periods during which this prodigious confiscation of private property took place were as follow:—

From 17th May, 1790, to 18th Jan. 1795, the sales of national domains, chiefly church property, produced,	1,500,000,000, or L. 60,000,000
From Jan. 18, 1795, to Sept. 20, 1795,	611,438,000, or 24,500,000
From Sept. 20, 1795, to Nov. 25, 1797,	316,454,000, or 12,750,000
From Nov. 25, 1797, to June 30, 1801,	127,231,000, or 5,800,000

2,555,133,000 or L.103,050,000

—See *Compte Rendu de Ramel, Stat. de la France, 545.*

(3) Burke v. 289, et seq.

(4) "I am now convinced," said he, "that I was in the wrong in my arrangements with the faubourg St.-Germain. I did too much and too little; enough to excite jealousy in the opposite party, and not enough to attach to my interest the restored no-

blesse. There were but two lines to take; that of extirpation or fusion. The first could not for a moment be entertained; the second was by no means easy, but I do not think it was beyond my strength. I was fully aware of its importance. It was incumbent on us to complete the fusion; to cement the

governments to construct a constitutional throne, or establish public freedom on a durable basis, have failed from the absence of that element. Neither Napoleon nor the Bourbons were ever strong enough to attempt the restitution of the confiscated estates at the expense of the four millions of landed proprietors among whom they were now divided. The conclusion, to be drawn from this, however, is not that Mr. Burke's and Napoleon's opinion were erroneous, or that the fabric of liberty can be erected on the basis of robbery and spoliation; but that the national sins of France had been so great, that reparation or restitution was impossible, and she has received the doom of perpetual servitude in consequence.

When so many great ideas were passing through the mind of the first consul, the important subject of public instruction, and the progress of science, could not long remain unnoticed. Insatiable in his desire for every species of glory, he aspired, like Charlemagne, not only to extend the frontiers, and enhance the renown of the republic, but to construct a monument to science, which should perpetuate its fame to the latest generation. When he ascended the consular throne, the state of knowledge and public instruction was in the highest degree deplorable. The old establishments of education, which were for the most part in the hands of the clergy, and endowed from ecclesiastical foundations, had shared the fate of all the feudal institutions, and perished alike with their blessings and their evils. During the long interregnum of ten years which intervened under the revolutionary government, public instruction was generally neglected, and religious education, by far its most important department, entirely ceased, except in a small and persecuted class of society. Not that the Convention had overlooked this great subject of general instruction; on the contrary, they were fully aware of its importance, and had done their utmost, during the distracted and stormy period that they held the reins of government, to fill up the chasm. They established several summaries of medicine, the Polytechnic school, which afterwards attained such deserved celebrity, various

partment; and to them is due the formation of the Institute; which so long kept alive the torch of science during the melancholy night of modern civilisation. But these efforts, how meritorious soever, were wholly inadequate to remedy the evils which the Revolution had produced. The distracted state of the country, after the subversion of all its institutions, caused no education to be of any value but such as tended at once to military advancement; and the abolition of religious instruction, rendered all that was, or could be, taught to the great body of the people, of little practical benefit. Under de-

ment at all history, to a state should have been
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the word is a necessary element of the human
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1801.]

mocratic rule, France, amidst incessant declamations in favour of general illumination, and pompous enlogies on the lights of the times, was rapidly sinking into a state of darkness, deeper than the gloom of the middle ages (1).

By directions from the first consul, Chaptal presented to the Council of State a project for a general system of public instruction. It was founded on singular principles; distrust of the general education of the people, especially in the rural districts, and an anxiety to train up a body of favoured young men in the interest of the government, were its leading features. Schools of

primary instruction in the communes were every where permitted, but Government contributed nothing to their support, and the teachers were left to such remuneration as they could obtain from their scholars. Secondary schools, the next in gradation, were placed on the same footing, with this difference, that they could not be established without the special authority of Government. The favour of the executive was reserved for academies of the higher kind, which, under the name of lyceums and special schools, were established to the number of thirty in different parts of the Republic, and at which not only were the masters paid by the state, but the scholars, 6400 in number, were also maintained at the public expense. The teachers in these institutions were required to be married; a regulation intended to exclude the priests from any share in the higher branches of tuition; and no mention whatever was made of religion in any part of the decree; a striking proof of the continued influence of the infidel spirit which had grown up during the license and sins of the Revolution, and which rendered the whole establishment for education of little real service to the labouring classes of the community (2).

Oct. 1, 1802. Following out the same plan of concentrating the rays of government favour upon the higher branches of knowledge, the sum of 60,000 francs (L.2400) was set aside to encourage the progress of French philosophy in electricity and galvanism; a galvanic society was instituted; a senatus consultum awarded the rights of French citizenship to every stranger who had resided a year in its territory, and had deserved well of the Republic by important discoveries in science or art; the Institute was divided into four classes, and each member received a pension of 1500 francs, or L.60 a-year; while a chamber of commerce was established in each considerable city of the Republic, and a council-general of commerce at Paris (3).

Trials of
public feeling
by the
Royalists.

The rapid succession of objects, tending to monarchical ideas, encouraged the Royalists in the capital to make a trial of their influence over the public mind. Duval composed a play, entitled "Edward in Scotland," which Napoléon resolved to see performed before he determined whether or not it should be allowed to be represented. He listened attentively to the first act, and appeared even to be in-

(1) Thib. 122, 125. Big. ii. 211.
These observations apply to France as a nation. The splendid discoveries and vast talent displayed in mathematics and the exact sciences by the Institute, throughout all the Revolution, can never be too highly eulogized, and will be fully enlarged upon, in treating of the French literature during its progress.

(2) Thib. 134, 135. Big. ii. 212.
It was a fundamental rule of these establishments to admit no young man whose family was not attached to the principles of the Revolution. "We must never," said Napoleon, "admit into these schools any young man whose parents have

combated against the Republic. There could be no concord between officers of such principles and the soldiers of the army. I have never appointed even a sub-lieutenant, to my knowledge, unless he was either drawn from the ranks, or was the son of a man attached to the Revolution. The lion of the Revolution sleeps; but if these gentlemen were to waken him, they would soon be compelled to fly with their best speed." How much attached soever to his favourite system of fusing together the opposite parties in the Revolution, Napoleon had no notion of extending it to the armed force of the state.

—THEAUCDEAO, 130, 131.

(3) Thib. 134, 141. Norv. ii. 189, 190.

1801.]

establishment of Chambers of agriculture in the colonies. They were decreed; but the war which soon afterwards broke out, prevented the plan being carried into execution. The principles, however, advanced by Napoléon in support of the proposal, are admirable for their wisdom and sagacity. "Doubtless," said he, "you must govern the colonies by force; but there can be no force without justice. Government must be informed as to the real situation of the colonies, and for this purpose, it must patiently hear the parties interested; for it is not sufficient to acquire the character of justice, that the ruling power does what is right. It is also necessary that the most distant subjects of the empire should be convinced that this is the case, and this they will never be, unless they are sensible that they have been fully heard. Were the Council of State composed of angels or gods, who could perceive at a glance every thing that should be done, it would not be sufficient unless the colonists had the conviction that they had been fully and impartially heard. All power must be founded on opinion; it is in order to form it that an institution similar to that proposed is indispensable. At present there is no constitutional channel of communication between France and the colonies; the most absurd reports are in circulation there as to the intentions of the central government, and it is as little informed as to the real wants and necessities of its distant possessions. If Government had, on the other hand, a colonial representation to refer to, it would become acquainted with the truth, it would proclaim it, and transmit it in dispatches to its colonial subjects.

"Commerce and the colonies have opposite interests; the first is that of purchasers and consumers, the latter that of raisers and producers. No sooner is it proposed to impose duties on colonial produce than I am besieged with memorials from all the chambers of commerce in France, but no one advances any thing in behalf of the colonies; the law, whatever it is, arrives there in unmitigated rigour, without the principles which led to it being explained, or their receiving any assurance that their interests have been balanced with those of the other side. But the colonists are Frenchmen, and our brothers; they bear a part of the public burdens, and the least that can be done for them in return is to give them such a shadow of a representation.

"Many persons here see only in the colonies the partisans of the English; that is held out merely as a pretext for subjecting them to every species of insult. Had I been at Martinique, I should have espoused the cause of the English; for the first of social duties is the preservation of life. Had any of your philanthropic liberals come out to Egypt to proclaim liberty to the blacks or the Arabs, I would have hung him from the masthead. In the West Indies similar enthusiasts have delivered over the whites to the ferocity of the blacks, and yet they complain of the victims of such madness being discontented. How is it possible to give liberty to the Africans when they are destitute of any species of civilisation, and are ignorant even of what a colony or a mother country is. Do you suppose that had the majority of the Constituent Assembly been aware what they were doing, they would have given liberty to the blacks? Certainly not; but few persons at that time were sufficiently far-sighted to foresee the result, and feelings of humanity are ever powerful with excited imaginations. But now, after the experience we have had, to maintain the same principles cannot be done in good faith; it can be the result only of overweening self-confidence or hypocrisy (1)."

Words of true political wisdom, which demonstrate how admirably qualified Napoleon was to have held, with just and even hands, the reins of power in a vast and varied empire, and which have since become of still greater value from the contrast they afford to the measures subsequently pursued by another state, in regard to far greater colonial dependencies, and with the lamentable result of former rashness even more forcibly brought before its eyes (1).

Finances of France. France, both under the monarchy and during the course of the Revolution, like every other country which has fallen under despotic power, had become burdened with an enormous and oppressive land-tax. The clear produce of the direct contributions in the year 1802 was 275,600,000 francs, or £ 11,000,000 sterling, which, on the net amount of agricultural labour in the Republic, was about twenty per cent (2). This immense burden was levied according to a scale, or "cadastre," at which it was estimated the land was worth, and as the smiles of government favour were bestowed on the official persons employed in making the surveys in a great degree in proportion to the amount to which they contrived to bring up the revenue of their districts, the oppression exercised in many parts of the country was extreme, and the less likely to be remedied, that it fell on a numerous body of detached little proprietors, incapable of any effective or simultaneous effort to obtain redress. The "cadastre," or scale of valuation, had been of very old standing in France, as it regulated the *taille* and *vingtièmes*, which constituted so large a portion of the revenue of the monarchy (3). By a decree of the National Assembly of 16th September 1791, sanctioned by the king on the 25d September in the same year, the method prescribed for fixing the valuation was as follows.—"When the levy of the land-tax in the territory of any community shall commence, the surveyor charged with the operations shall make out a scheme in a mass which shall exhibit the general result of the valuation, and its division in sections. He shall then make out detailed plans which shall constitute the parcelled valua-

(1) It is observed by Mr. Mingo, that the remote provinces and colonial dependencies of a despotic empire, are always better administered than those of a popular government, and that the reason is, that an uncontrolled monarch being equally elevated above all his subjects, and not more dependent on one class than another views them all, comparatively speaking with equal eyes whereas a free state is ruled by one body of citizens who have obtained the mastery of an other and govern exclusively the more distant settlements of the empire, and are consequently actuated by personal jealousy or patrimonial interests, in their endeavours to prevent them from obtaining the advantage of a uniform and equal legislation. The admirable

wisdom of the principles of colonial government thus developed by Napoleon, compared with the wisdom of the principles of colonial government in England will ultimately lose her splendid colonial empire, from the same cause which proved fatal to that of Athens, Carthage, and Venice, viz the selfish system of legislation exclusively adopted to the interest or directed by the prejudices of the holders of political power in the centre of the state and the general neglect of the wishes of its remote and unrepresented colonial dependencies.

(2) M. Lavoisier and Berthol estimate the total agricultural produce of France in 1805 at,
Statistical de Net produce, deducting cost of production,
to be 1,500,000,000 francs.
Direct Taxes falling on land,
Indirect Taxes,
Drawn by the owners of the soil,

So that of the net produce of the soil, one-half was absorbed in taxation and no less than 20 per cent taken from the proprietors in direct form, a signal proof how little the French peasantry had gained, in alleviation of burdens at least by the result of the Revolution.—See *Fiscus, Stat. de la France*, 266-267.

The committee of the Constituent Assembly, who reported in 1790 on this subject, estimated the net territorial revenue of France at 1,500 millions, or £ 60,000,000. M. Guizot, after various laborious calculations, estimates it in 1816, at 1,300,000,000,

or £ fixed at 1,323,000,000, or £ 53,000,000.—See *Stat. de la France*, 267.

and fixed the land tax at 240,000,000 francs, or £ 9,200,000 and, with the expenses of collection, 300,000,000 francs, or £ 12,000,000, being a fourth of the income of every landed proprietor. (*Duc de Gatch, ib. 268. Peuchet, Stat. de France*, 524.)

tions of the community." These directions were justly and impartially conceived; but the difficulty of forming just and equal valuations in a country so immensely subdivided, and of such vast extent as France, was extreme; and, during the license and tyranny of the Revolution, the most flagrant inequality prevailed in the land-tax paid in different parts of the country. We have the authority of Napoléon's finance minister in 1802 for the assertion, that in every district of France, "there were some proprietors who were paying the fourth, the third, and even the half, of their clear revenue, while others were only rated at a tenth, a twentieth, a fiftieth, or an hundredth (4)." The gross injustice of such a system naturally produced the most vehement complaints, when the restoration of a regular government afforded any prospect of obtaining redress. The consular government, during the whole of 1802, was besieged with memorials from all quarters, setting forth the intolerable injustice which prevailed in the distribution of the land-tax, the utter inefficacy of all attempts which had been made in preceding years to obtain from the councils or prefects of the departments any thing like equality in the valuation, and the complete disregard which both the Convention and Directory had evinced towards the loud and well-founded complaints of the country (2).

The matter at length became so pressing, that it was brought before the Council of State.—The magnitude of the evil did not escape the penetration of the first consul (5). The formation of a valuation was decreed, proceeding on a different principle. This was to adopt as the basis of the scale, a valuation, laid, not on parcels of ground, but on masses of the same kind of cultivation. This system, however, although in appearance the most equitable, was found by experience to be attended with so many difficulties, that its execution did not proceed over above a fifth of the territory of the Republic, and it was at length abandoned from the universal complaints of its injustice. The discussion of the "cadastre" was again brought forward, and made the subject of anxious consideration in 1817, but the inequality of the valuation still continued, and is the subject of loud and well-founded complaints at this hour. In truth, such are the obstacles thrown in the way of an equal valuation by individual interests, and such the difficulties with which the execution of such a task is attended, from the variation in the amount of the produce of the soil, and the prices which can be got for it at different times

(1) Due de Gaeta, ii. 261.

(2) Due de Gaeta, ii. 257.

(3) "Your system of land-tax," said he, in the Council of State, "is the worst in Europe. The result of it is, that there is no such thing as property or civil liberty in the country; for what is freedom without security of property? There can be no security in a country where the valuation on which the tax proceeds can be changed at the will of the surveyors every year. A man who has 3,000 francs of rent a-year (L120) cannot calculate upon having enough next year to exist; every thing may be swept away by the direct tax. We see every day questions about fifty or a hundred francs gravely pleaded before the legal tribunals, and a mere surveyor can, by a simple stroke of the pen, surcharge you several thousand francs. Under such a system there cannot be said to be any property in the country. When I purchase a domain, I know neither what I have got, nor what I should do, in regard to it. In Lombardy and Piedmont there is a fixed valuation; every one knows what he is to pay; no extraordinary contributions are levied but on extraordinary occasions, and by the judgment of a solemn tribunal. If the contribution is augmented,

every one, by applying it to his valuation, knows at once what he has to pay. In such a country, therefore, property may truly be said to exist. Why is it that we have never had any public spirit in France? Simply because every proprietor is obliged to pay his court to the tax-gatherers and surveyors of his district; if he incurs their displeasure he is ruined. It is in vain to talk of appealing; the judgments of the courts of review are arbitrary. It is for the same reason that there is no nation so servilely submissive to the government as France, because property depends entirely upon it. In Lombardy, on the other hand, a proprietor lives on his estate without feeling any disquietude as to who succeeds to the government. Nothing has ever been done in France to give security to property. The man who shall devise an equal law on the subject of the cadastre will deserve a statue of gold." [Bign. i. 221. Thib. 179.] What an instructive testimony as to the amount of security which the Revolution had conferred upon property in France, and the degree of practical freedom which had been enjoyed, or public spirit developed, under its multifarious democratic administrations!

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system of local administration. The only taxes which are, comparatively speaking, equal, just, and unfeigned, are indirect burdens, which, being laid on consumption, are voluntarily incurred, disguised under the price of the article, and accurately proportioned to the amount of expenditure of each individual (1)

But in the midst of these great designs of Napoleon for the reconstruction of society in France, he experienced the greatest annoyance from the independent, and sometimes cutting language used by the popular orators in discussing the projects sent from the Council of State to the Tribunal. Though friendly to a free and unreserved discussion of every subject in the first of these bodies, which sat with closed doors, the first consul was irritated to the last degree by the opposition which his measures experienced in the only part of the legislature which retained a shadow even of popular constitution, and openly expressed his resolution to get quit of an institution which reminded the people of the dangerous powers which they had exercised during the anarchy of the Revolution. He loved unfettered arguments in presence only of men competent to judge of the subject, but could not endure the public harangues of the tribune, intended to catch the ears, or excite the passions of an ignorant populace (2). On various occasions, during the course of 1802, his displeasure was strongly excited by the ebullitions of republican spirit or spleen which occasionally took place in the Tribunal. An expression in the treaty with Russia roused the indignation of the veteran democrats of the Revolution. It was provided that "the two contracting parties should not permit their respective subjects to entertain any correspondence with foreign powers." When the treaty came to be discussed at the Tribunal, this expression gave rise to an angry discussion. Thibaut exclaimed, "The French are citizens, and not subjects." Chemer observed, "Our armies have combated ten years that we should remain citizens, and we have now become subjects. Thus are accomplished the wishes of the two coalitions." Napoleon was highly displeased with these symptoms of a refractory spirit. "What," said he, "would these declaimers be at? It was absolutely necessary that my government should treat on a footing of equality with that of Russia. I would have become contemptible in the eyes of all foreign nations if I had yielded to these absurd pretensions on the part of the Tribunal. These gentlemen annoy me to such a degree that I am strongly tempted to be done at once with them (3)."

Another law was brought forward about the same time, which excited a still more vehement opposition on the part of the public orators. It related to certain changes in the constitution of the judges intrusted with the arrest of individuals and the municipal police. These powers were, by the existing law, invested in the hands of the *juges de paix*, who were still appointed by the people, the proposed change took this branch of jurisdiction from these functionaries, and vested it in a small number of judges appointed for that special purpose by the government, who were to take cognizance of the crimes of robbery,

(1) Gaeta ii. 258

(2) Bour v. 83 Thib 198

He often said to the leading orators of the
Tribunal — "I had said of decaying the points
but why do you not come to discuss the points

under discussion with me in my cabinet. We
should have only discussions as in my Council of
State — Thibaut 198

(3) Bour v. 83 87 Thib 198 .07

plan, which was to divide the Tribunal into five sections, corresponding to the divisions of the Council of State; that the proposed laws should be *secretly* transmitted from the section of the Council of State to the corresponding section of the Tribunal; that they should be *secretly* discussed in the Tribunal, and between the Tribunal and the Council of State by three orators appointed on both sides, and no public discussion take place except by three orators, mutually in like manner chosen, between the Tribunal and the Government pleaders

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Napoleon replied. "I cannot see that. Even if it were so, a constitution must be moulded by circumstances, modified according to the results of experience, and ultimately constructed in such a way as not to impede the necessary action of Government. My project secures a calm and rational discussion of the laws, and upholds the consideration of the Tribunal. What does the Tribunal mean? nothing but the tribune, that is, the power of rational discussion. The Government has need of such an addition to its means of information but what is the use of an hundred men to discuss the laws introduced by thirty? They declaim, but do nothing of real utility. We must at length organize the constitution in such a manner as to allow the Government to advance. No one seems yet sufficiently impressed with the necessity of giving unity to the executive; until that is effected, nothing can be done. An universal disquietude prevails, speculation, exertion of every kind is arrested. In a great nation the immense majority of mankind ever are incapable of forming a rational opinion on public affairs. Every one must contemplate, at some period or another, the death of the first consul, in that case, without a cordial union of the constituted authorities, all would be lost (1)."

The opposition, however, was very powerful against these great alterations; and Napoleon, whose prudence in carrying through political changes was equal to his sagacity in conceiving them, contented himself, at the annual renewal of the constitution, with an *arret* of the Senate, that thenceforward the duties of the Tribunal and the Legislative Body should be exercised only by the citizens who were inscribed on the two lists as the first elected to continue the exercise of the national functions. The great change of the constitution involved in the mutilation of the Tribunal, was reserved for the period when Napoleon was to be elected first consul for life, an event which soon afterwards took place (2).

He resolves to make himself consul for life. Influenced not merely by ambition, but a profound and philosophical view of the existing state of France, Napoleon had firmly resolved to convert the republic into a monarchy, and not only seat himself on the throne, but render the dynasty hereditary in his family, or those who
apparent
nations,
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such institutions; exposed to all the sources of discord and corruption arising from a powerful military force, selfish and highly civilised manners, and the influence of a vast revenue, placed in the midst of the great military monarchies of Europe, who were necessarily hostile to such institutions, from

the experience they had had of the evils with which they were attended to all the adjoining states, France could not by possibility avoid falling under the government of a single individual. Napoléon had no alternative but to restore the Bourbons, or seat himself on the throne (1).

Incessant efforts of Government to spread monarchical ideas.

During the whole of 1802, the efforts of Government were incessant to extend monarchical ideas by means of the press, and the private influence of all persons in official situations. Lucien Bonaparte has been already noticed as one of the earliest and most zealous propagators of these new opinions a year before; but as they came forth at too early a period, and somewhat startled the public, he was rewarded for his services by an honourable exile as ambassador at Madrid. But in the succeeding season, the change of the public mind had become so evident, that it was no longer necessary to veil the real designs of Government; and the appointment of Napoléon to the consulship for life was accordingly zealously advocated by all persons in prominent situations. Roederer supported it with all the weight of his acute metaphysics; Talleyrand gained for it the suffrages of the whole diplomatic body. Arbitrary power advanced with rapid steps in the midst of general declamations in favour of order and stability; whoever spoke of liberty or equality was forthwith set down as a Jacobin, a Terrorist, and looked on with suspicious eyes by all the servants of Government. The partisans of revolution, finding themselves reduced to a miserable minority, retired into the obscurity of private life, or consoled themselves for the ruin of their republican chimeras, by the personal advantages which they derived from situations round the consular throne (2).

The attempt at first fails in the Senate.

The project for appointing Napoléon consul for life had failed a few months before, when the prorogation of that appointment for ten years took place. Napoléon affected at that period to decline such an elevation; the two other consuls, acquainted with his real desires, insisted that it should be forced upon him; and it was so carried in the Council of State by a majority of ten to seven. Lanfrede, who brought up the report of the committee of the Senate on the subject, and was not in the secret, proposed only a temporary prorogation; Despinasse moved that it should be for life. But Tronchet, who was president, and whose intrepidity nothing could overcome, held firm for the first proposal, and it was carried by a majority of sixty to one, Languinais alone voting in the minority. Tronchet was neither a republican nor a courtier; he preferred a monarchy, but notwithstanding his admiration for Napoléon, he feared his ambition. He said of Napoléon, in a company where several senators were assembled:—"He is a young man; he has begun like Cæsar, and will end like him; I hear him say too frequently,

(1) Big. ii. 231. Tbih. 236.

(2) Big. ii. 231, 232. Tbih. 236.

Strong opposition of Joséphine to these attempts. It is remarkable, that while all around the first consul beheld with undisguised satisfaction his approaching elevation to the throne, the individual in existence who, next to himself, was to gain most by the change, was devoured with anxiety on the subject. All the splendour of the throne could not dazzle the good sense of Joséphine, or prevent her from anticipating in the establishment of the Napoleon dynasty, evident risk to her husband, and certain downfall to herself. "The real enemies of Bonaparte," said she to Roederer, who was advocating the change, "are those who put into his head ideas of hereditary succession, dynasty, divorce, and marriage." She employed all the personal influence which she possessed with the first consul and his most intimate

counsellors to divert him from these ideas, but in vain. "I do not approve the projects of Napoleon," said she; "I have often told him so; he hears me with attention, but I can plainly see that I make no impression. The flatterers who surround him soon obliterate all I have said. The new honours which he will acquire will augment the number of his enemies; the generals will exclaim that they have not fought so long to substitute the family of the Bonapartes for that of the Bourbons. I no longer regret the want of children; I should tremble for their fate. I will remain attached to the destiny of Bonaparte, how dangerous soever it may be, as long as he continues to use the regard which he has hitherto manifested; but the moment that he changes I will retire from the Tuileries. I know well how much he is urged to separate from me." See BOURBONNÈRE, v. 41, 47; THIERIAUX, 237, 242.

Result of the appeal, and great satisfaction which it gave.

larly descriptive of that longing after repose, that invincible desire for tranquillity which uniformly succeeds to revolutionary convulsions, and so generally renders them the prelude to despotic power. The rapid rise of the public funds demonstrated that this feeling was general among the holders of property in France. They advanced with every addition made to the authority of the successful general; as low as eight before the 18th Brumaire, they rose at once to sixteen when he seized the helm, and after the consulship for life was proclaimed, reached fifty-two. Contrast this with the rise of the public securities, thirty *per cent*, on the day on which Necker was restored to the ministry on the shoulders of the people (1), to carry through the convocation of the States-General, and observe the difference between the anticipation and the experience of a revolution (2).

Answer of the first consul to the address of the Senate on the occasion.

The answer of the first consul to the address of the Senate on this important occasion is valuable, as illustrating the great views which he already entertained of his mission, to extinguish the discord which had preceded him, and restore the reign of order upon earth. "The life of a citizen," said he, "belongs to his country; the French people have expressed their wish that mine should be solely devoted to it; I obey their will. In bestowing upon me a new, a permanent pledge of their confidence, the nation has imposed upon me the duty of moulding the system of its laws, so as to bring it into harmony with durable institutions. By my exertions, aided with your assistance, citizen-senators, by the concurrent voice of all the authorities, by the trust and the will of the whole people, the liberty, the prosperity, the equality of France will be established beyond the reach of chance. The most distinguished of people will be the most fortunate, and their prosperity will secure that of all Europe. Content to have been called by the will of Him, from whom every thing emanates, to bring back the reign of justice, order, and equality upon the earth, I will hear the voice which summons me hence without regret, and without disquietude on the opinion of future generations (3)."

Napoleon's ideas on the limits of eligibility.

Important changes in the constitution followed this alteration in the character of the executive authority; they were preceded by memorable discussions on the principles of government in the Council of State (4).

(1) Bour. v. 55. Nov. ii. 129. Thib. ii. 81.

(2) In the midst of the general unanimity, M. Lafayette had the courage to vote against the appointment of the first consul for life. He added to his vote these words: "I cannot vote for such a magistracy, until public freedom is sufficiently guaranteed; when that is done I give my voice to Napoleon Bonaparte." In a letter, addressed to the first consul, he fully expressed the grounds of his jealousy:—"When a man," said he, "penetrated with the gratitude which he owes you, and too much enamoured with glory, not to admire that which encircles your name, has given only a conditional vote, it is the less suspected that no one will rejoice more than himself to see you the first magistrate for life, in a free republic. It is impossible that you, general, the first in that class of men who occasionally arise at the interval of ages, should wish that such a revolution, illustrated by so many victories, stained by so many crimes, should terminate only in the establishment of arbitrary power: patriotic and personal motives would lead me to desire for you that compliment to your glory which the consulship for life would afford; but the principles, the engagements, the actions of my life forbid me to wish for any such appointment if not founded on a basis worthy of you." In a private conversation with the first consul, he added:—"A

free government, and you at its head; that comprehends all my desires." The veteran republican did not perceive, what indeed none of the enthusiasts of his age were aware of, that the establishment of the freedom to which he was so warmly attached had been rendered impossible by the crimes of the Revolution in which he had borne so conspicuous a part. He was taught the same truth in a still more striking manner thirty years afterwards by the result of the Revolution which overturned the restoration; but it is seldom that political fanatics, how sincere or respectable soever, are taught even by the most important lessons of contemporaneous history. [Big. ii. 235, 236.]

Napoleon said on this occasion:—"In theory Lafayette is perhaps right; but what is theory? a mere dream when applied to the masses of mankind. He thinks he is still in the United States, as if the French were Americans. He has no conception of what is required for this country. The Catholic religion has still its root here; I have need of the Pope. He will do all I desire." From that period all communication between the general and the first consul ceased. Napoleon tried repeatedly afterwards to regain him in his government, but in vain. [Bour. v. 61, 62.]

(3) Thib. 287. Nov. ii. 193.

(4) Napoleon did not attempt to disguise his contempt for the venal revolutionists who now favoured

Aug. 4, 1802
Great
change in
the consti-
tution

On the views taken by Napoleon the new constitution was framed, which was proclaimed on the 4th August. The chief changes were, that the Tribunal was reduced from one hundred to fifty members; a diminution of importance, which was regarded at the time, as it really was, as a prelude merely to its total extinction, and which so completely deprived that remnant of freedom of consideration, as to render it from thenceforward, no obstacle whatever to the despotic tendency of the government. The legislative body was reduced to 258 members, and divided into five divisions, each of which was annually renewed; the electors also retained their functions for life. The Senate was invested with the power to dissolve the Legislative Body and the Tribunal, declare particular departments *hors de la constitution*, and modify the fundamental institutions of the Republic. The first consul received the right to nominate his successor, and pardon offences. In return for so many concessions to the executive, a shadow of privilege was conferred on the electors; the electoral colleges were allowed each to present two citizens for the functions of the municipality department and nation. In all but name, the consulship was already a despotic monarchy (1). So evident did this soon become, that even the panegyrists of Napoleon have not scrupled to assert that the consular and imperial institutions were "fraudulent constitutions, systematically intended by servile hands to introduce despotic power." Subsequent experience has warranted the belief that how arbitrary soever, they were the only institutions under which France could enjoy any degree of tranquillity, and that

upon. We must establish relations between them and the people, a particular in which the constitution was essentially defective. The lists of those eli-

nobles, never would the French peasantry disgrace themselves by similar excesses. Their passion is for equality. For these reasons I am clearly of opinion that the English constitution is inapplicable to France.

"The constitution may be aptly compared to a

ensure the stability of government, the people must have a larger share in the elections, and feel themselves really represented.

"The electoral colleges attach the people to the government, and vice versa. They are a link, and a most important one, between the authorities and the nation. In that link it is indispensable to combine the class of proprietors with the most distinguished of those who have not that advantage, the former, because property must be the basis of every rational system of representation; the latter, because the career of ambition must not be closed to obscure or indigent genius.

"We are told to look at the English constitution for a model; I am of opinion that it is inapplicable to this country, situated as it now is; and my reasons for that opinion are these:—England embraces in the bosom of society a body of nobles who hold the greatest part of the property of the nation, and are illustrated by ancient descent. In France that body is totally wanting; it cannot be created; if you compose it of the men of the Revolution, it could

never maintain the monarchy of the people? When the crown was hereditary, the chief institutions in the kingdom were hereditary also, the fiction on which it was founded was but a branch of the general law. At present there is no longer any of that. [Thib. 293, 299.]

(1) More is 183. Bour. v. 36. Bign. ii. 212, 216. Thib. 219, 221.

if they were calculated to extinguish freedom, it was because the sins of the Revolution had rendered her people neither worthy of receiving, nor capable of enjoying that first of blessings.

Aug. 8, 1802. A few days after the constitution was published, the first consul presided at the Senate, and received the congratulations of the constituted authorities, the public bodies, and the foreign ambassadors, on his appointment for life. This was remarkable as the first occasion on which he openly displayed the pomp and magnificence of regal power. The soldiers formed a double line from the Tuileries to the Luxembourg; the first consul was seated in a magnificent chariot, drawn by eight horses; the two other consuls followed in carriages drawn by six. A splendid *cortège* of generals, ambassadors, and public functionaries followed, whose gorgeous appearance captivated the Parisian multitude, more passionately devoted than any in Europe to spectacles of that description. Enthusiastic applause from the inconstant populace rent the heavens; they did not manifest greater rapture when the Constituent Assembly began the work of demolishing the monarchy, than they now did when the first consul restored it (1).

Aspect of Paris and its society at this period. The aspect of Paris at this period was sufficient to have captivated a nation gifted with a less volatile imagination than the French, the more especially coming as it did after the sad and melancholy scenes of the Revolution. The taste for luxury and pleasure had spread rapidly in a capital where they had all the charms of novelty; while the people, captivated with the return of enjoyments, to which they had long been strangers, drank deep and thankfully of the intoxicating draught. The vast influx of strangers, especially English and Russians, filled the streets with brilliant equipages; while the gay and party-coloured liveries dazzled the inhabitants, from the contrast they afforded to the sombre appearance of the Jacobins' costume. The whole population of Paris flocked to the Place Carrousel, where their eyes were daily dazzled by splendid reviews, attended by a concourse of strangers, which recalled the prosperous days of Louis XIV; while the higher classes of citizens were not less captivated by the numerous and brilliant levees and drawing-rooms, where the court of the first consul already rivalled the most sumptuous displays of European royalty (2). M. de Markoff, who had succeeded Kalitschess as ambassador from Russia, Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, and the Marquis Luchesini, the representative of Prussia, were in an especial manner distinguished by the magnificence of their retinues, and the eminent persons whom they presented to the first consul. Among the illustrious Englishmen who hastened to Paris to satiate their curiosity by the sight of the remains, and the men of the Revolution, was Mr. Fox, whom Napoléon received in the most distinguished manner, and for whom he ever after professed the highest regard; but the praises of an enemy are always suspicious, and the memory of that able man would have been more honoured if the determined foe of England had bestowed on him some portion of that envenomed hatred which he so often expressed towards Pitt or Wellington, and all the British leaders who had advanced the real interests and glory of their country (3).

(1) Thib. 305, 506.

(2) The court of Napoléon at this period was happily characterised by the Princess Dolgorucki, who then resided in Paris. "The Tuileries," said she, "is not, properly speaking, a court; and yet it is as little a camp: The consulship is a new institution. The first consul has neither a *chapeau bas* under his arm, nor do you hear the clank of a sabre at his side."—LAS CASAS, iii, 241.

(3) Bour. v. 55. D'Abr. vi. 136, 140.

General contact of Mr. Fox in defending Mr. Pitt to the first consul. To the honour of Mr. Fox it must be mentioned, that during his intercourse with the first consul he never failed to impress upon him the absurdity and falsehood of those ideas in regard to the privacy of Mr. Pitt to any designs against his life, or any desire for his destruction, which were then so prevalent in the Tuileries. Alone

formation of the lower gallery Nor was the French metropolis less illustrated by the spoils which were collected there from the vanquished states in every part of Europe. Already the Venus de Medicis, torn from her sanctuary in the tribune of Florence, diffused over the marble halls of the Louvre her air of matchless grace; the Pallas of Velletri attested the successful researches of the French engineers in the Roman states; while the St. Jerome of Parma, the transfiguration of Rome, and the last communion of the Vatican, exhibited the softness of Carracci's colouring, the grandeur

diffusion of the softness of Carracci's colouring, the grandeur of the restoration which afterwards ensued on the restoration of these precious remains to their rightful owners

Great satisfaction (which these changes gave to the foreign courts) In foreign states the re-establishment of a regular government in France, and its settlement in Napoleon, diffused unalloyed satisfaction

All enlightened persons in these capitals perceived that the restoration of the feudal regime and the property of the emigrants had already become impossible, and that the fury of the Revolution, under which they had already suffered so severely, was never so likely to be stilled as under the resolute and fortunate soldier who had already done so much to restrain its excesses. The Queen of Naples, a woman endowed with masculine spirit and great penetration, expressed the general feeling at Vienna, where she then was, in these words "If I had possessed a vote in France, I would have given it to Napoleon; and written after my signature, I name him consul for life, as being the man most fitted to govern the country. He is worthy of the throne since he knows how to fill it (2)"

repressed the general transports, he would have received at once the unlimited gift of absolute power. The agents of Government pursued with unrelenting severity the last remains of democratic fervour. It was generally suggested that all authority should be concentrated in the same hands, from the consuls and the

exercise of powers which they state Innumerable projects were set on foot for reducing the number of the communes, the prefectures, and the tribunals; the old parliaments were held up as models of the administration of justice, the old intendants of provinces as a perfect system of local administration. So powerful was the reaction against the ideas and the changes of the Revolution (3).

(3) This 311, 312.

Infamous proposals made to Napoleon So strong was the desire generally felt at the time for perpetuating the dynasty in the descendants of Napoleon I.

English admirer of Napoleon vi. 136, 143

He said frequently, in his bad French, "I remain consul, ôtez cela de votre tête."—See Las Cases, iv. 172

(1) Bour v. 55 D Abr vi. 279

(2) Bagn li. 250

must have a son, if not of his, of some one else. And when she expressed her indignation at the proposal,—"Well," says he, "if you will not or cannot

Suppression of the ministry of police;

Shortly after Napoléon was appointed to the consulship for life, several changes in the administration took place. The most important of these was the suppression of the ministry of police, and the transference of Fouché to a comparatively insignificant situation in the Conservative Senate. This austere but able statesman, notwithstanding his share in the massacres of the Loire and the fusillades of Lyon, had now become one of the most important supporters of the consular throne. His great value consisted in his perfect knowledge of the revolutionary characters, and the clear guidance which he afforded to the first consul on all the delicate points where it was necessary to consult the inclinations, or yield to the prejudices of the immense body of men who had risen to importance on the ruins of the ancient proprietors. He formed the same link between the Government and the revolutionary interests which Talleyrand did between them and the ancient *régime*. The honours and fortune to which he had risen, had in no respect changed the simplicity of his former habits; but with the possession of power he had acquired a taste for its sweets, and became little scrupulous as to the means by which it was to be exercised. Ambition had become his ruling passion; he loved office and the wealth which it brought with it, not for the enjoyments which it might purchase, but the importance which it conferred. Such was his dissimulation, that he never suffered his real views to escape either from his lips or his countenance; and by the extraordinary hypocrisy of which he was master, inspired parties the most at variance with a sense of his importance, and a desire to propitiate his good-will (1). The Republicans beheld in the ancient Jacobin who had voted for the death of Louis, and presided over the executions of Nevers and Lyon, the representative of their party in the state; the ancient noblesse lavished on him their praises, and acknowledged with gratitude the favours he had conferred on many of the most illustrious of their body. Joséphine made him her confident in all her complaints against the brothers of her husband, and received large sums of money from his coffers to reveal the secrets she had elicited from the first consul; while he himself yielded to a fascination which seemed to extend alike over the greatest men and most powerful bodies in the state (2).

And disgrace of Fouché.

Napoléon, however, at length perceived, that the immense influence which Fouché enjoyed as head of the police, might one day become formidable even to the Government. He had the highest opinion of the importance of that branch of the Administration; but he began to conceive disquietudes as to its concentration in the hands of so able an individual. It was impossible to disguise the fact that its members had conspired in favour

comply, Bonaparte must have a child by some other woman, and you must adopt it; for a family is indispensable to him, and it is for your interest that he should have one; you can be at no loss to understand why."—"Lucien," replied she, "you are mad. Do you suppose France would ever submit to be governed by a bastard?" Shortly after she recounted this extraordinary scene to one of the counsellors of state. "You may depend upon it," said she, "they have not abandoned their idea of hereditary succession, and that it will be brought about some day, one way or other. They wish that Bonaparte should have a child of some other woman, and that I should adopt it; but I told them I would never lend myself to such an infamous proposal. They are so blinded as to believe that the nation would permit a bastard to succeed. They are already beginning to hint at a divorce and a large pension to me. Bonaparte even is carried away by their ideas. The other day, when I expressed my

fears in regard to the Princess Hortense, on account of the infamous reports which are in circulation about her infant being his son, he answered, 'These reports are only accredited by the public, from the anxiety of the nation that I should have a child.' He is more weak and changeable than is generally imagined. It is owing to that circumstance that Lucien has got such an extraordinary dominion over him." [Thib. 309, 310.] Napoléon at St. Helena alluded to this proposal, though, with his usual disregard of truth, he made it come from Joséphine herself; an assertion which his secretary most properly denies, and which is completely disproved by the event. If Joséphine had been willing to adopt an illegitimate son of Napoléon, and pass it off as her own offspring, she would have lived and died Empress of France. [Bour. v. 21, 19.]

(1) His ruling maxim was, that the chief use of words was to conceal the thoughts.

(2) Bour. v. 32, 33. Thib. 325, 326.

of the Consulate against the Directory, and the powerful machinery which was then put in motion to support Napoleon, might with equal facility be directed to his overthrow. Influenced by these considerations, the first consul lent a willing ear to the party at the Tuileries who were adverse to Fouché, at the head of which was Talleyrand, who openly opposed and cordially hated his powerful rival. Yet such was the ascendancy of the minister of police, even over the powerful mind of Napoleon, that he long hesitated before he took the decisive step, and, after it had been resolved on, felt the necessity of veiling it under a professed measure to increase the popularity of Government. He represented to Fouché, therefore, that the office of minister of police was one which might now be dispensed with and that the Government would derive additional popularity from the suppression of so obnoxious a branch of the Administration. Fouché saw through the device; but, according to his usual policy, yielded to a power which he could not brave, and expressed no dissent to the first consul, though he was far from

Sept 22 supposing the storm was so soon to break on his head. The *arrêt* for his dismissal was signed when he was on a visit to Joseph Bonaparte at Morfontaine. Fouché was named a senator, and loaded with praises by the Government which deemed him too powerful to be retained in his former situation; and at the same time the ministry of police was suppressed, and united to that of justice, in the person of Regnier (1).

Aug 15 1802 Soon after, an important change took place in the constitution of the Senate. It had been originally provided that those elevated functionaries should, after holding any other situation,

the senators might hold the offices of cor . . . instruction, be employed in all extraordinary missions, and receive the decoration of the Legion of Honour. Subsequently a munificent provision was made for the Senate, and every member on his nomination received an Jan 24 1803. appointment for life. Pensioned by the executive, nominated by the first consul, surrounded by every species of seduction, this branch of the Government in reality served thereafter no other purpose but to throw a thin veil over the omnipotence of the executive. Napoleon was careful, however, to keep up its name, and bring forward all his despotic measures under the sanction of its authority, as the Roman emperors retained the venerable letters S. P. Q. R. on their ensigns, and the preamble "ex auctoritate Senatus," to the most arbitrary acts of their administration (2).

Renewed excommunication decree he twenty Louis XVIII and Napoleon An event occurred at this period, which tended in a remarkable manner to illustrate the dignity with which the exiled family of the Bourbons bore the continued rigours of fortune. When Napoleon was pursuing his projects for the establishment of a hereditary dynasty in his family in France, he caused a communication to be

his efforts were from that moment directed to bring about his restoration to office; and at length, as we have seen, he attained his object. — See *Biographie* v. 37, and *Traité* de la Restauration, 323.

(2) *Tib.* 735

city, and his attachment to the Government, all that the circumstances demanded of him. Placed now in the bosom of the Senate, he is called to equally important duties; and if ever a recurrence of the same circumstances should require a restoration of the office of minister of police, it is on him that the eyes of Government would first be fixed to discharge its functions. These consolatory words opened to Fouché a ray of hope in the midst of his disgrace; all

at the *Messe Noire* were re-established; and the service was celebrated by the Archbishop of Paris.

made to the Comte de Lille, afterwards Louis XVIII, then residing, under the protection of the Prussian King at Königsberg, offering, in the event of his renouncing in his favour his right to the throne of France, to provide for him a principality, with an ample revenue, in Italy. But Louis answered in these dignified terms, worthy of the family from which he sprung;—"I do not confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I esteem his valour, his military talents; I am gratified by many acts of his administration, for the happiness of my people must ever be dear to my heart. But he deceives himself, if he imagines that he will prevail upon me to surrender my rights. So far from it, he would establish them himself, if they could admit of doubt, by the step which he has taken at this moment. I know not the intentions of God to my family or myself, but I know the obligations which he has imposed upon me. As a Christian, I will discharge the duties which religion prescribes to my last breath; son of St. Louis, I will make myself be respected even in fetters; successor of Francis I, I wish ever to be able to say with him, 'All is lost except our honour &c.'"

It was at the same period that Napoléon commenced the great undertaking which has so deservedly covered his memory with glory, and survived all the other achievements of his genius, the formation of a CIVIL CODE, and the concentration of the heterogeneous laws of the monarchy and republic into one consistent whole. In contemplating this great work, it is difficult whether to admire most the wisdom with which he called to his assistance the ablest and most experienced lawyers of the old *régime*, the readiness with which he apprehended the difficult and intricate questions which were brought under discussion, or the prudence with which he steered between the vehement passions and contending interests which arose in legislating for an empire composed of the remains of monarchical and republican institutions. It is no longer the conqueror of Rivoli or Austerlitz whom we recognise; it is Solon legislating for a distracted people; it is Justinian digesting the treasures of ancient jurisprudence, that arises to our view; and the transient glories even of the imperial reign fade before the durable monument which his varied genius has erected in the permanent code of half of Europe.

It is observed by Lord Bacon, that when "laws have been heaped upon laws, in such a state of confusion as to render it necessary to revise them, and collect their spirit into a new and intelligible system, those who accomplish such an heroic task, have a good right to be named among the benefactors of mankind." Never was the justice of this observation more completely demonstrated than by the result of the labours of the first consul in the formation of the Code Napoléon. The complication of the old laws of France, the conflicting authority of the civil law, the parliaments of the provinces, and the local customs, had formed a chaos of confusion which had suggested to many statesmen before the Revolution, the necessity of some attempt to reduce them to an uniform system. By an astonishing effort of mental vigour, Pothier had contrived to extract out of this heterogeneous mass, the elements of general jurisprudence, and followed out the principles of the Roman law, with a power of generalization and clearness of expression to which there is nothing comparable in the whole annals of legal achievement. But his lucid works had not the weight of

Every thing breathed a return to the ancient *régime*. Cambacérès was the great promoter of these changes; well aware of the importance of whatever

strikes the eye on the inconsiderate multitude, —

THIAUDOUX, 338.

(1) Bour. v. 117. Bign. iii. 283, 287.

general law; they could not be referred to as paramount on every question; they contained principles to be followed from their equity, not rules to be obeyed from their authority. The difficulty of the task was immeasurably increased by the Revolution, by the total change in the most important branches of jurisprudence, personal liberty, the rights of marriage, the descent of property, and the privileges of citizenship, which it occasioned; and the large inroads which revolutionary legislation had made on the broken and disjointed statutes of the monarchy.

To reform a system of law without destroying it is one of the most difficult tasks in political improvement, and requiring, perhaps more than any other change, a combination of practical knowledge with the desire of social amelioration. To retain statutes as they are, without ever modifying them according to the progress of society, is to make them fall behind the great innovator, Time, and often become pernicious in their operation, to new model them, in conformity with the wishes of a heated generation, is almost certainly to incur unforeseen and irremediable evils. Nothing is more easy than to point out defects in established laws, because their inconvenience is felt, and the people generally lend a ready ear to those who vituperate existing institutions, nothing is more difficult than to propose safe or expedient remedies, because hardly any foresight is adequate to estimate the ultimate effects which any considerable legal changes produce. They are in general calculated to remedy some known and experienced evil, and in so far as they effect that object, they are salutary in their operation, but they too often go beyond that limit, and in the pursuit of speculative good, induce unforeseen inconveniences much greater than those they remove. The last state of a nation, which has gone through the ordeal of legal innovation, is in general worse than the first.

The only way in which it is possible to avoid these dangers, is to remedy experienced evils, and extend experienced benefits only, without advancing into the tempting but dangerous regions of speculative improvement. It is the clearest proof that the Code of Napoleon was formed on these wise principles, that it has not only survived the empire which gave it birth, but continues, under new dynasties and different forms of government, to regulate the decisions of many nations who were leagued to bring about the overthrow of its author. Napoleon has said, "that his fame in the eyes of posterity would rest even more on the code which bore his name than all the victories which he won," and its permanent establishment, as the basis of the jurisprudence of half of Europe, has already proved the truth of the prophecy.

Discuss alone as that subject in the Council of State. Deviating altogether from the rash and presumptuous innovations of the Constituent Assembly, which took council of its own enthusiasm only, Napoleon commenced his legislative reforms, by calling to his councils the most distinguished lawyers of the monarchy. Tronchet, Roederer, Portalis, Thibaudeau, Cambacérès, Lebrun,

JOINED IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE CODE, AND DREW OUT THE

(1) The respect to merit was thus stated by Napoleon: "Tronchet is a man of the most enlightened views, and a singularly clear head for his advanced years. Portalis would be the most eloquent orator if he knew when to stop. Thibaudeau is not delayed for that sort of discussion; he is too cold. He requires, like Lucien, the animation and fire of

the Tribune. Cambacérès is the Advocate-General; he pleads sometimes on one side, sometimes on another. The most difficult part of his duty is the reduction of the principles into the precise verbal law. We have the best of redactors in Lebrun."—*THE PEOPLES*, 415

on the most abstract questions of civil right, with a facility which astonished the counsellors who had been accustomed to consider only his military exploits. To the judgment of none did the first consul so readily defer as that of Tronchet; notwithstanding his advanced age, and monarchical prepossessions, he deemed no one so worthy as the illustrious defender of Louis XVI to take the lead in framing the code for the empire. "Tronchet," said he, "was the soul of the commission, Napoléon its mouthpiece. The former was gifted with a mind singularly profound and just; but he soared above those around him, spoke indifferently, and was seldom able to defend his opinions." The whole council, in consequence, was in general adverse to his propositions when they were first brought forward; but Napoléon, with the readiness and sagacity which he possessed in so remarkable a degree, saw at a glance where the point lay, and with no other materials than those which Tronchet had furnished, and hardly any previous acquaintance with the subject, brought forward such clear and lucid arguments as seldom failed to convince the whole assembly. He presided at almost all the meetings of the commission for the formation of the civil code, and took such a vivid interest in the debates, that he frequently remained at them six or eight hours a-day. Free discussion in that assembly gave him the highest gratification; he provoked it, sustained it, and shared in it. He spoke without preparation, without embarrassment, without pretensions; in the style rather of free and animated conversation than premeditated or laboured discussion. He never appeared inferior to any members of the council, often equal to the ablest of them, in the readiness with which he caught the point at issue, and the logical force with which he supported his opinions, and not unfrequently superior to any in the originality and vigour of his expressions. The varied powers and prodigious capacity of Napoléon's mind nowhere appeared in such brilliant colours as on those occasions; and would hardly appear credible, if authentic evidence on the subject did not exist in the *procès-verbaux* of those memorable discussions (1).

The limits of a work of this description render it impossible to enter into a survey of the many important subjects brought under review in the formation of the Code Napoléon. Two only can be noticed, as those on which the interests of society chiefly depend, the laws of succession, and those regarding the dissolution of marriage.

How clearly soever Napoléon saw and expressed the dangers of the minute subdivision of landed estates, and consequent destruction of a territorial noblesse, arising from the establishment of an equal division of property, whether in land or money, among the heirs of a deceased person, he found this system too firmly established to venture to shake it. It was identified in the eyes of all the active and energetic part of the nation with the first triumphs of the revolution; it had been carried by Mirabeau in the Constituent Assembly, with the general concurrence of the people, and had since become the foundation of so many private interests and individual prospects, that it was universally regarded as the great charter of the public liberties, and any infringement on it the first step towards a restoration of feudal oppression. Great as was the power, apparently unbounded the in-

(1) Thib. 412. Bour. v. 122, 123. Las Cases, iii. 241, 242.

Bertrand de Moleville, formerly minister of Marine to Louis XVI, and a man of no ordinary capacity, said, in reference to these discussions, "Napoléon was certainly an extraordinary man; we were very far indeed from appreciating him on the other

side of the water. From the moment that I looked into the discussions on the civil code, I conceived the most profound admiration for his capacity. It is utterly inconceivable where he acquired so much information on these subjects."—LAS CASES, iii. 249, 250.

fluence, of Napoléon, it would have been instantly shattered by any attempt to break in upon this fundamental institution. Wisely abstaining, therefore, from change, where he could not introduce improvement, he contented himself with consolidating the existing laws on the subject, and establishing in the Code Napoleon a general system of succession, fundamentally at variance with that in all the other states of Europe, and of which the ultimate consequences are destined to be more important than any of the other changes brought about by the Revolution.

By this statute, which may be termed the revolutionary law of succession, the right of primogeniture, and the distinction between landed and moveable property were taken away, and inheritance of every sort divided in equal portions among those in an equal degree of consanguinity to a deceased person (1). This indefeasible right of children to their parents' succession was declared to be a half, if one child was left, two thirds, if two; three-fourths, if three or more, all entails or limitations of any sort were abolished. The effects of such a system, co-operating with the immense subdivision of landed estates which took place from the sale of the forfeited properties during the

Sketch of the French revolution
any system of succession
on the quarter from which it comes, in regulating succession

(1) By the decree April 19, 1803, the law of succession was established in the following manner—

1. The law pays no regard either to the nature of property, or the quarter from which it comes, in regulating succession

* 3. The division of this half, or three-fourths, is made on the same principles as that of descendants, i.e., if the collateral is of the same marriage, if of different, the succession is divided equally between the paternal and maternal lines.—Code Civil, § 750, 755

14. In default of collaterals, or their issue, ascendants succeed according to the following rules—

1. The succession divides into two equal parts of which the one half ascends to the father's side, the other to the mother's.

2. The ascendant the nearest in degree, receives the half belonging to his line, to the exclusion of the more remote.

3. Ascendants in the same degree, take *per capita*, there being no representation in the ascending line.

4. If the father and mother of a deceased person, who dies without issue, survive him, and he leaves brothers or sisters, or their descendants, the succession is divided into two parts, one to the ascendants, one to the collaterals. But if a father and mother have predeceased him, their shares accretes to that of the collaterals.—Code Civil, § 746, 749

1. Similar of descendants, as the collateral by the number which separates each from the common ancestor, up and down again. Thus two brothers are related in the second degree, the uncle and nephew

and if the same branch has left several descendants, the subdivision in the same manner takes place *per stirpes*, and the numbers of each subdivision divide what devolves to them *per capita*.—Code Civil,

2. Under the description of children in this article are included descendants in whatever degree, estimating them, however, *per stirpes*, not *per capita*.

3. Voluntary gifts, either by deed *inter vivos*, or testamentary bequests, cannot exceed the half of the effects of the deceased if he leaves no descendants; but ascendants in both the paternal and maternal line, or three-fourths if one of these only.—Code Civil, § 913, 915

VI. Natural children have a right of succession to their parents alone, if they have been legally recognised, but not otherwise.

1. If a father or mother have left legitimate issue, the natural child has a right to a third of what he would have had a right to if he had been legitimate.

2. It extends to a half, if the deceased left no descendants, but ascendants or brothers or sisters.

3. It extends to three-fourths, when he leaves neither descendants nor ascendants, nor brothers nor sisters; to the whole when he leaves neither.—Code Civil, § 756, 758

are called in whole or in part by representation. If the deceased leaves no issue or descendants, his succession divides according to the following rules—

III. 1. In default of descendants, the brothers and sisters are called to the succession, to the exclusion of collaterals or the next descendants. They succeed *inter per capita* or *per stirpes*, in the same way as descendants.

2. If the father and mother of a deceased person survive him, his brothers and sisters, or their descendants, are only called to half of the succession; if the one or the other, only to three-fourths.

Revolution, have been incalculable. It is estimated by the Duke de Gaeta, long minister of finance to Napoléon, that, in 1813, there were 15,039,000 individuals in France belonging to the families of agricultural proprietors, and 710,500 belonging to the families of proprietors not engaged in agriculture, all living on the revenue of profit derived from their properties (1). As may be supposed, where so extreme a subdivision of property has taken place, the situation of the greater part of these little proprietors is indigent in the extreme. It appears from the authority of the same author, that there were in 1813 no less than 10,400,000 of persons taxed in France; and that of this immense number only 17,000 paid direct taxes to the amount of 1000 francs, or L.40 a-year each (2); while no less than 8,000,000 were taxed at a sum below twenty-one francs, or sixteen shillings. Direct taxes to the amount of sixteen shillings correspond to an income of five times the amount, or L.4 a-year; to the amount of L.40 a-year, to one at the same rate of L.200. Thus the incomes of only 17,000 proprietors in France exceeded L.200 a-year, while there were nearly 8,000,000 who were worth in property only L.4 per annum (3).

It is a singular fact, pointing apparently to an important law in the moral world, that when men yield to the seductions of passion, and engage in the career of iniquity, they are led by an almost irresistible impulse to covet the very changes which are to lead to their own destruction, and cling with invincible tenacity to the institutions which are calculated to defeat the very objects on account of which all these crimes have been committed. The confiscation of property in France was the great and crying sin of the Revolution, because it extended the consequences of present violence to future ages, and injured the latest generations on account of the political differences of the present

(1) Gaeta, ii. 335.

(2) Taxed at	Number of Persons taxed.	Produce of Tax. France.
1000 francs, or L.40	17,745	31,649,468 or L. 1,300,000
500 to 1000, or from 20 to L. 40.	40,773	27,653,016 or L. 1,140,000
101 to 500, or from 4 to 20.	459,937	90,111,706 or L. 3,500,000
51 to 100, or from 2 to 4.	591,618	41,181,488 or L. 1,650,000
31 to 50, or from 25s. to 2.	699,637	27,229,518 or L. 1,200,000
21 to 30, or from 16s. to 25s.	701,871	17,632,083 or L. 750,000
Below 21 frs. or below 16s. 10d.	7,897,110	47,178,619 or L. 1,900,000
	10,414,721	282,935,928 or L. 11,440,000

[Gaeta, ii. 327.]

When it is recollected that the contribution *foncière* in France is fully 20 per cent, [Peuchet, 287, *Ante*, iv.] upon all estates without exception, this table gives the clearest proof of the changes in property brought about by the Revolution. It results from it, that in 1815 there were only 17,000 proprietors in the whole country who were worth L.200 a-year and upwards; a fact incredible, if not stated on such indisputable authority, and speaking volumes on the disastrous effects of that convulsion.

(3) Duc de Gaeta, ii. 327. Peuchet, 246, 247.

From the report to the minister of the finances, published in 1817, by the commissioners on the cadastre, it appears that at that period there were 10,083,000 separate properties assessed to the land-tax in France. This number has since that time been constantly increasing, as might be expected under the revolutionary order of succession. The numbers were,—

1816,	10,083,751
1826,	10,296,693
1833,	10,814,799

Allowing that there are several separate properties often accumulated in the same individuals, this implies in the estimation of the French writers at least 8,000,000 separate proprietors. The total clear produce of the agriculture of France is estimated by Dupin at 4,500,000,000 francs, or L.180,000,000 sterling. Supposing that the half of that sum, or L.90,000,000 sterling, is the annual clear profit of cultivation, after defraying its charges, it follows that the average income of the eight millions of French proprietors, including all the great estates, is about L.11 a-year! Nothing more is requisite to explain the experienced impossibility of constructing a durable free government in that country. It exhibits Asiatic, not European civilisation.—See SARRANS'S *Contre-Révolution* de 1830, ii. 273, 274.—*Dix Ans de Règne de Louis-Philippe*, 271.—And Durin, *Force Commerciale de France*, i. 7.

time; and it is precisely that circumstance which has rendered hopeless all the efforts for freedom made by the French people. By interesting so great a number of persons in the work of spoliation, and extending so far the channels by whom the confiscated properties might be resumed,

this vast change is the leading benefit conferred; and yet nothing can be so evident to it is precisely the circumstance which has ever since rendered nugatory all attempts to establish public freedom there, features and the elements of European its engaged in a hopeless contest with a central government, and the terrors of the illusion under which the French labour on this subject is owing to the wide extent of the instinct which leads the Revolutionary party to shun every thing that seems to favour an approach even to the restoration of the dispossessed proprietors; and in their terror of this remote and chimerical evil they have adopted measures the thronal freedom ichies to the ous means unishment; and so indissoluble is the chain which unites guilty excess with ultimate retribution.

The principle of admitting divorce in many cases was too firmly established in the customs and habits of France to admit of its being shaken. Important deliberations, however, took place on the subject of the causes which should permit it. The first consul, who entertained very singular ideas on the subject of marriage and the proper destiny of women (1), warmly supported the looser side, and it was at length agreed, March 21, 1803. 1. That the husband might in every case sue out a divorce on the account of the adultery of his wife. 2 That she might divorce her husband for adultery in those cases only where he brought his concubine into their common habitation. 3 Divorce was permitted for severe and

steadily adhered to, and expressed in a way prescribed by law, is also a sufficient cause of divorce (2). The only limitations in the last case were, that it could not take place until two, nor after twenty years of married life had elapsed, or after the wife had attained the age of forty-five; that the parents or other ascendants of the spouses should concur, and that the

(1) When the article in the code, "The husband owes protection to his wife, she obedience to him," was read out, Napoleon observed, "The angel said to St. John and Eve—the word *obedience* is a sin."

are occupied only with the number of the to let. If I could be secure of never going to bed I would never see a wife. She is a great deal of trouble and should not be permitted to see any one who is displeasing to her husband. Women have constantly

the words in the mouth—What, would you pretend to be less than steel? any one whom I touch in bed?—TASSAVAL, 430.

So these expressions it is easy to discern that Napoleon's allusions were running on Josephine, whose extravagance in dress and partiality for amusement knew no bounds. But independent of this, he had little to spare or gallantry in his disposition, and repeatedly expressed his opinion, that the Oriental system of shutting up his women was preferable to the European, which permitted them to be seen in society.

(2) Code civil, 229, 233.

husband should be above twenty-five, and the wife above twenty-one years of age (1). It may easily be conceived what a wide door such a facility in dissolving marriage opened for the introduction of dissolute manners and irregular connexions; and in its ultimate effects upon society this change is destined to be not less important, or subversive of public freedom, than the destruction of the landed aristocracy by the revolutionary law of succession (2). In such a state of society, the facility of divorce and dissolution of manners act and react upon each other. Napoléon admitted this himself. —“The foundlings,” says he, “have multiplied tenfold since the Revolution (3).” But it is not in so corrupted a source that we are to look for the fountains either of public freedom or durable prosperity.

The effects of these great measures carried into execution by Napoléon are thus justly and emphatically summed up in his own words:—“In the course of the four years of the consulship, the first consul had succeeded in uniting all the parties who divided France; the list of emigrants was infinitely reduced; all who chose to return had received their pardon; all their unalienated property had been restored, excepting the woods, of which, nevertheless, they were permitted to enjoy the life-rent; none remained exiled but a few persons attached to the Bourbon princes, or such as were so deeply implicated in resistance to the Revolution as to be unwilling to avail themselves of the amnesty. Thousands of emigrants had returned under no other condition but that of taking the oath of fidelity to the constitution. The first consul had thus the most delightful consolation which a man can have, that of having reorganized above thirty thousand families, and restored to their country the descendants of the men who had illustrated France during so many ages. The altars were raised from the dust; the exiled or transported priests were restored to their dioceses and parishes, and paid by the Republic. The concordat had rallied the clergy round the consular throne; the spirit of the western provinces was essentially changed; immense public works gave bread to all the persons thrown out of employment during the preceding convulsions; canals every where were formed to improve the internal navigation; a new city had arisen in the centre of la Vendée; eight great roads traversed that secluded province, and large sums had been distributed to the Vendéens, to restore their houses and churches, destroyed by orders of the Committee of Public Safety (4).”

The difficulty with which the restoration of order in a country recently emerging from the fury of a revolution was attended, cannot be better stated than by the same masterly hand. “We are told, that all the first consul had to look to was to do justice: but to whom? to the proprietors whom the Revolution had violently despoiled of their properties, for this only, that they had been faithful to their legitimate sovereign and the principle of honour which they had inherited from their ancestors? Or to the new proprietors, who had adventured their money on the faith of laws flowing from an illegitimate authority? Justice; but to whom? To the soldiers mutilated in the fields of Germany, la Vendée, and Quiberon, who were arrayed under the white standard or the English leopards, in the firm belief that they were serving the cause of their king against an usurping tyranny; or to the

(1) *Ibid.* 275, 278.

(2) From the returns lately made, it appears that, in the year 1824, out of 28,812 births, only 18,591 were legitimate; 2378 being of children born in concubinage, and 7813 children brought to the

foundling hospitals.—DUPIN, *Force Com. de France*, 99, 100.

(3) *Las Cas. v. 41.*

(4) *Nap. in Month. ii. 225.*

million of citizens, who, forming round the frontiers a wall of brass, had so often saved their country from the inveterate hostility of its enemies, and bore to so transcendent a height the glory of the French eagle? Justice! but for whom? For that clergy, the model and the example of every Christian virtue, stript of its birthright, the reward of fifteen hundred years of beneficence, or the recent acquirers, who had converted the convents into workshops, the churches into warehouses, and turned to profane uses all that had been deemed most holy for ages (1)?”

Great public
works
set on foot
in France

Amidst these great undertakings, the internal prosperity of France was daily increasing. The budget for the year 1803 presented a considerable increase over that of 1802 (2). Various public works calculated to encourage industry were every where set on foot during that year, chambers of commerce established in all the principal cities of the Republic, a grand exhibition of all the different branches of industry formed at the Louvre, which has ever since continued with signal success; the Hôtel des Invalides received a new and more extended organization, adapted to the immense demands upon its beneficence, which the wounds and casual-

class for the military profession (3); and the great school of St-Cyr, near Paris, opened gratuitously to the children of those who had died in the service of their country (4); an academy was set on foot at Compiègne for six hundred youths, where they were instructed in all the branches of manufactures and the mechanical arts (5), the Institute received a new organization, in which the class of moral and political science was totally suppressed; a change highly symptomatic of the resolution of the first consul to put an end to those visionary speculations from which so many calamities had ensued to France (6), while the General Councils of the departments were authorized, in cases where it seemed expedient, to increase the slender incomes of the bishops (7); and the interpretation, under the the clergy throughout all

Apr 18,
1803

Nor was it only in measures of legislation that the indefatigable

part of the kingdom. That extensive inland navigation was set on foot, which, under the name of the canal at St-Quentin, was destined to unite the Scheldt and the Oise; other canals were begun, intended to unite the waters of the Saône to the Yonne, the Saône to the Rhone, the Meuse to the Rhine and the Scheldt, the Rance to the Villaine, and thereby open an internal communi-

(1) Nap. in Month II 223

(2) The budget for that year stood thus, being an increase of 17,000 000 francs, or 1,700 000 over the preceding year:—

Direct taxes,	305 105 000	francs, or	£ 12 300 000
Registers	200 105 000	— or	8 100 000
Customs,	35 221 000	— or	1 400 000
Post office	11 105 000	— or	450 000
Lottery	15,321 000	— or	620 000
Salt tax	2 400 000	— or	92 000

510 955 000 or £ 22 942,000

(3) July 8, 1803

(4) June 15, 1803

(5) Jan 28, 1803

(6) Oct 8, 1803

(7) April 1803

(8) Jan 1803

(9) Dig. II 252, 256

cation between the channel and the ocean; the canals of Arles and Aigues-Mortes were opened, and an inexhaustible supply of fresh water was procured for the capital by the canal of Ourcq. This great step led to farther improvements. Paris had long suffered under the want of that necessary element, and the means of cleaning or irrigating the streets were miserably deficient; but, under the auspices of Napoleon, this great want was soon supplied. Numerous fountains arose in every part of the city, alike refreshing to the eye, and salutary to the health of the inhabitants; the beautiful cascade of the Château-d'En cooled the atmosphere on the Boulevard du Temple, while the water-works and lofty *jets d'eau* in the gardens of the Tuileries, attracted additional crowds to the shady alleys and marbled parterres of that splendid spot. Immense works, undertaken to improve and enlarge the harbours of Boulogne, Havre, Cherbourg, Rochelle, Marseille, Antwerp, and Ostend, sufficiently demonstrated that Napoleon had not abandoned the hope of wresting the sceptre of the seas from Great Britain; while the order to erect in the centre of the place Vendôme, a pillar, in imitation of the column of Trajan, to be surmounted by the statue of Charlemagne, already revealed the secret design of his Imperial successor to reconstruct the Empire of the West (1).

(1) Esq. iii. 252, 254.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NAPOLEON'S ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL THRONE.

A.D. —MAY.—1804.

ARGUMENT.

Favourable prospects of Napoleon's Government in the beginning of 1801—Discontent, however, of the Republican part of the army—Pichegru in London—Royalist movements in Franco—Project of Fouché for getting up a conspiracy composed of Royalists and Republicans—The Royalist leaders are landed on the French coast—Vigil measures of Fouché to draw them on—He reveals the plot to Napoleon and is in consequence restored to power—Arrest of Moreau—Consternation which it excites in Paris—Seizure of Pichegru and of Georges Cadoudal—History and character of the Duke d'Enghien—Generous conduct of his father on receiving a proposal to assassinate Napoleon—His arrest is unjustly resolved on by Napoleon and the Council of State—Occupations of the Prince at that time—He is seized and conducted to Strassbourg—Fruitless intercession of Josephine—He had been vainly warned of his danger—Is removed to Paris and sent to Vincennes—Where he is delivered over to a military commission by Napoleon's orders—Gross iniquity committed towards him—He is convicted upon his declaration only, without any evidence—His noble demeanour before the judges—Sentence and execution—His innocence is completely established after his death—Napoleon's vindication of himself on this subject at St. Helena—Remarkable retribution which reached all the actors in this murder—Consternation which it excited in Paris and in the foreign ambassadors there—Courageous conduct of M. Chateaubriand—Opinion which Napoleon entertained of him—Death of Pichegru—Surgeon's report on his body—Reflections on the probable privy of the First Consul to his death—Napoleon's defence of himself on this subject at St. Helena—Intense interest excited at Paris—Letter of Moreau to Napoleon—Stoical indifference of Georges—Condemnation of the prisoners—Public feeling on the subject—Clemency of the First Consul after the convictions were obtained—His lenity to Moreau—Death of Captain Wright in prison at Paris—Napoleon resolves to assume the Imperial Crown—This explains his murdering the Duke d'Enghien—First broaching of the project to the Senate—The Tribunal is put forward to make the proposal in public—Speech of the mover on the occasion—Honourable resistance of Carnot—Universal adulation with which Napoleon was surrounded—His answer to the address of the Senate—Key which it affords to his whole conduct on the throne—He is declared Emperor of the French—General concurrence of the nation—Rank conferred on his family—Absolute power vested in the Emperor—Creation of the Marshals of the empire—Rapid progress of court etiquette—Dignified protest of Louis XVIII—Reflections on these events—Difference between the English and French Revolutions—Which was all owing to the violence and injustice of the French convulsion—Fast regeneration of influence at this period in the hands of Government—Total destruction of the liberty of the Press—Interference in political science to which this leads

It were well for the memory of Napoleon if the historian could stop here; and after having recounted the matchless glories of his military exploits, conclude with the admirable wisdom of his civil administration, and the felicity with which, amidst so many difficulties, he reconstructed the disjunct members of society after the Revolution. But history is not formed of panegyric, and after discharging the pleasing duty of recording the great and blameless achievements which signalized that consulate, there remains the painful task of narrating the foul transactions, the dark and bloody deeds which ushered in the civil admin-

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the civil administration, or submitted in silence to an authority which they could not resist. The army, dazzled by his brilliant exploits, rallied round his standard, and sought only to give expression to its admiration for the illustrious

chief who had raised to such an unprecedented height the glory the republican eagles. The people, worn out with the sufferings and anxieties of the Revolution, joyfully submitted to a government which had given them that first of blessings, security and protection, and forgetting the dreams of enthusiasm and the fumes of democracy, returned to their separate pursuits, and sought in the enjoyments of private life a compensation for the experienced vanity of their political anticipations (1).

But among the generals and higher officers of the army the same unanimity by no means prevailed. Bernadotte, though brother-in-law to Joseph Bonaparte, was constantly in opposition to the first consul. Early attached to republican principles, he viewed with undisguised jealousy the evident approaches which the chief magistrate was making to arbitrary power; and in consequence of his influence, a number of officers in his staff and in the garrison of Rennes voted against the consulate for life. Moreau, however, was the head of the malecontent party. On every occasion he made it a point to oppose, to the increasing splendour of military dress and uniformity of court etiquette, the simplicity and uniformity of republican costume. The conqueror of Austria traversed, amidst crowds of brilliant uniforms, the place Carousel or the saloons of the Tuileries, in the plain dress of a citizen, without any sort of decoration. He declined on various pretences repeated invitations to the Tuileries, and at length was no longer asked to appear. He often manifested to the first consul, when they met in public, a degree of coldness, which must have estranged persons even less jealous of each other's reputation than the heroes of Marengo and Hohenlinden. Nothing could induce him to attend the ceremony performed in Notre-Dame on occasion of the concordat; and at a dinner of military men at his house on the same day, he openly expressed the greatest contempt for the whole proceeding. Female jealousy added to the many causes of discord which already existed between these rival chiefs; Madame Hulot, his mother-in-law, and Madame Moreau, his wife, were influenced with the most violent jealousy at the elevation of Joséphine, and unceasingly urged Moreau to step forward, and openly claim that place in society and the state to which his dignity and services so well entitled him. So far did this spirit of rivalry proceed, that Madame Moreau could not be prevented from breaking out into unseemly expressions, when, on one occasion of a visit, she was detained a few minutes waiting in the antechambers of Joséphine; and on one occasion she was only prevented by force from taking the precedence, at a public assembly, of the wife of the first consul (2).

While Moreau was thus insensibly and unavoidably becoming the leader of the discontented Republicans in Paris, circumstances were preparing for another distinguished general of the Revolution the chief direction of the royalist party. Escaped from the deserts of Sinnamari, Pichegru had found an asylum in London, where he entered into close correspondence with the French emigrants who endeavoured in that capital to uphold the sinking cause of the monarchy. His great abilities and acknowledged reputation procured for him the confidence of the British Government, and he was occasionally consulted by them, especially in 1799, as to the probability of a Royalist movement declaring itself in the south of France (3).

On the renewal of the war, various attempts were made by the Royalist emigrants in London to effect an insurrection in favour of

(1) Thib. 321.

(3) Big. iii. 318. Norv. ii. 272.

(2) Thib. 321, 323. Bour. v. 232. Las Cas, vii.

the exiled family in different parts of France (1). The object of these attempts was the restoration of the Bourbons, and to effect the expulsion of the first consul from the throne, but it formed no part of the plan of any design, at least in which Louis XVIII, or any of the royal family were participants, to embroil their hands in his blood, or do aught to him that he had not repeatedly done to every state with which he was in hostility. The celebrated Chouan chief, Georges, was the soul of the conspiracy. He had resisted all the offers of the first consul, who was anxious to engage him in his service, and in a secret interview the elevation and disinterestedness of his character excited the admiration of that keen observer of human character (2). Since that time he had resided chiefly in London, and was deeply implicated, along with Pichegru in a conspiracy, which had for its object to rouse the Royalist

project of uniting them in a conspiracy which might at once prove ruinous to both, and restore him to that consideration in the eyes of the first consul, which it had been his unceasing object to regain since his dismissal from office. The words of the Senatus Consultum were constantly present to his mind, that "if difficult circumstances should again arise, there was no one to whom the ministry of police might so fitly be entrusted," and if he could only engage the two greatest generals in the Republic, next to the first consul, in a conspiracy against his government, there seemed to be no doubt that he would attain the object of his ambition. With this view, in the end of 1803, he began to instigate some of their mutual friends to effect a reconciliation between these illustrious characters. The Abbé David was the first person employed in this service, but having been arrested and sent to the Temple, his place was supplied by General Lajolais, a relation of Generals Klingau and Wurmser, who came to London, arranged with Pichegru the period of his departure for Paris, and returned soon after to the French capital to prepare matters for his reception there (3).

Meanwhile Georges, Polignae, Lajolais, and the other conspirators, had been landed on the coast of Normandy, and had cautiously and secretly advanced to Paris, not with the view of engaging in any plot at that time, but to obtain accurate information as to the real state of the Royalist party in the capital. All their measures were known to the police by means of secret information communicated by

came to the capital, and remain there for a considerable time unmolested.

lured to his ruin. —
Cassus, ii. 268.

(2) "You cannot be permitted," said Napoleon in 1800 "to remain in the Bourbonian, but I offer you the rank of lieutenant general in my army. —
"You do me justice," replied Georges; "I have taken an oath of fidelity to the house of Bourbon, which I will never violate. The first consul then offered him a pension of 100,000 francs if he would abandon the cause of the king and remain quiet; but he was proof also against this temptation. He

standing. His mind was cast in the true mould; in my hands he would have done great things. I know how to appreciate his firmness of character; I would have given it a good direction." [Bour v. 158-159.]

(3) Bour v. 274.

(4) Bour v. 272-273. Very ii. 213.

Several meetings took place between Georges, Pichegru, Lajolais, and the other leaders of the party, and Moreau had a conference with Pichegru on the Boulevard of Madeleine, and another in his own house (1). The principles of Moreau, however, were those of the Revolution, and therefore it was impossible that he could agree with the Royalists upon ulterior measures, and the only purpose of the conferences was to put the Chouan chiefs in possession of the views of this illustrious leader of the Republican party. The agents of Fouché had given the Royalists to understand that Moreau would readily enter into their views; but in this they soon found that they had been completely deceived; and, accordingly, it was proved at the trial that Moreau declared to Pichegru that he knew of no conspiracy whatever; and that Polignac was heard to say to one of the party, "All is going wrong; we do not understand each other; Moreau does not keep his word; we have been deceived." Discouraged by these appearances, the conspirators were about to leave Paris, and Georges was on the point of setting out for la Vendée (2).

Fouché reveals the plot to Napoleon, and is restored to power.

But matters had now arrived at that point when Fouché deemed it expedient to divulge the information he had acquired, and reap the fruit of his intrigues. He had previously written to Napoléon that "the air was full of poniards," and prepared him, by various mysterious communications, to expect some important intelligence. Regnier, who was intrusted with the duties though not the situation of minister of police, was totally ignorant of what was going forward, and confidently maintained that Pichegru had dined a few days before in the neighbourhood of London, when Fouché arrived with evidence that he had been for some time in Paris. Napoléon upon this devolved the farther conduct of the affair upon the ex-minister, whose superior information was now clearly manifested, and the immediate charge of the matter was entrusted to Real, one of his creatures, with orders to take his instructions from Fouché alone. At length, matters being ripe for the *dénouement*, the whole suspected persons, to the number of forty-five, with the exception of Moreau, Georges, and Pichegru,

Feb. 17, 1804. (1) The accurate intelligence which the secret police of Fouché had of all the proceedings of the Royalist leaders, and the art with which they led them into the snare prepared for them, is completely proved by the proclamation published by the Government on the day of their arrest. "In the year 1803," said Regnier, the head of the police, "a criminal reconciliation took

Artful measures of Fouché to draw them out.

place between Pichegru and Moreau, two men between whom honour should have placed an eternal barrier. The police seized at Calais one of their agents at the moment when he was preparing to return for the second time to England. In his possession were found all the documents which proved the reality of an accommodation inexplicable on any other principle but the connexions which crime occasions. Meanwhile the plot advanced. Lajolais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru, passed over secretly from Paris to London, and from London to Paris, communicating to Moreau the sentiments of Pichegru, and to Pichegru those of Moreau. The brigands of Georges were all this time preparing, underhand at Paris, the execution of their joint projects. A place was fixed on between Dieppe and Trepport, at a distance from observation, where the brigands of England, brought thither in English ships of war, disembarked without being perceived, and there they met with persons corrupted to receive them; men paid to guide them during the night, from one station to another, as far as Paris. There they found rooms ready hired for them by trusty guardians;

they lodged in different quarters at Chaillot, in the Rue du Bac, in the faubourg St. Marceau, in the Marais. Georges and eight brigands first disembarked; then Coster St. Victor and ten others; and in the first days of this month a third party arrived, consisting of Pichegru, Lajolais, and others; the conspirators met at the farm of La Potterie; Georges and Pichegru arrived at Paris. They lodged in the same house, surrounded by thirty brigands, whom Georges commanded. They met with General Moreau; the day, the hour, the place, where the first conference was held, were known; a second was fixed on, but not realized; a third and a fourth took place in the house of Moreau himself. The traces of Georges and Moreau have been followed from house to house; those who aided in their embarkation, those who, under cloud of night, conducted them from post to post; those who gave them an asylum at Paris, their confidants, their accomplices, Lajolais, the chief go-between, and General Moreau, have been arrested."—Bour. v. 293—294.

(2) Bour. v. 283, 287. Nov. ii 274, 275.

This is established by the testimony of Napoléon himself:—"Real (the head of the police) told me," said Napoléon, "that when Moreau and Pichegru were together, they could not come to an understanding, as Georges would undertake nothing but for the interest of the Bonapartes. He had the resolve to play, but Moreau had none; he wished to overturn my power, but had no person in view to put in my place. It was no wonder, therefore, they could not come to terms of agreement."—Bour. vi. 100.

who had not yet been discovered, were arrested at once in Paris, and thrown into prison. Among them were two young men of noble family and generous dispositions, destined to a melancholy celebrity in future times,—Couvts Arnaud and Jules Polignac (1).

Feb. 15, 1804 *Arrest of Moreau* Moreau was the first of the three who was seized. Charles d'An-
zter, one of the prisoners, had attempted to commit suicide in prison, and his dying declarations, wherein he had implicated that general, were made use of as a ground to order his arrest, although the subsequent report by Regnier admitted that the police had been throughout privy to all his meetings with the conspirators. Returning from his country estate to Paris, he was arrested and conveyed to the Temple; and on the morning of the 17th, all Paris was astonished by the following order of the day, addressed to the garrison of the capital. "Fifty brigands have penetrated into the capital; Georges and General Pichegru were at their head. Their coming was occasioned by a man who is yet numbered among our defenders, by General Moreau, who was yesterday consigned to the hands of the national justice. Their design was, after having assassinated the first consul, to have delivered over France to the horrors of a civil war, and all the terrible convulsions of a counter-revolution (2).

Consternation which it excited in Paris No words can convey an adequate idea of the consternation which the army, who had been gloriously distinguished by the most glorious exploits; the simplicity and modesty of his private life had long endeared him to all classes, and especially the numerous body who were enamoured of Republican manners. To find so illustrious a name coupled with brigands, to hear the known supporter of Republican principles accused of a design to bring about a counter-revolution, was so violent a revulsion, so inconceivable a change, as to excite in the highest degree the suspicions and passions of the people. The Revolutionists regarded Moreau as the leader of their party, and the only consistent supporter of their principles; the soldiers looked back with pride to his military achievements, and

Moreau being again with reasons of state, after the arrest of the first consul, he had then good cause to congratulate himself that Richempanse and twenty-five thousand of the conquerors of Hohenlinden had met with an untimely end on the shores of St. Domingo (3).

Feb. 28, 1804 *Arrest of Pichegru* Napoleon, however, was not intimidated. The arrest of Moreau was soon followed up by that of Pichegru, who was seized in his bed a fortnight after. It was not without difficulty that this renowned leader was made prisoner; his ready presence of mind, undaunted spirit, and prodigious personal strength, made it no easy matter to secure him even under circumstances the most favourable to the assaults. He was at length betrayed by an old friend, in whose house he had sought refuge. This infamous wretch, who was named Leblanc, had the baseness to reveal his place

(1) *Nouv. Hist.* 216 Bour v. 274, 275, 287.

(2) *Nouv. Hist.* 216

(3) *Nouv. Hist.* 217 Nap. vi. 213.

"The crisis," says Napoleon, "was of the most violent kind; public opinion was in a state of fer-

mentation; the necessity of Government, the reality of the conspiracy, was incessantly called in question. All the violent passions were awakened; the rumours of change were incessant; the storm was tremendous."—*Las Cases*, vol. 213, and lib. 331

of retreat for 100,000 crowns. "His treachery," says Napoléon, "was literally a disgrace to humanity (1)." Guided by this traitor, and fully informed as to the means of resistance which he always had at his command, a party of police, strongly armed, entered his bedroom at night, by means of false keys, furnished by their perfidious assistant. They found the general asleep, with a lamp burning on a table near the bed, and loaded pistols by his side. Advancing on tiptoe, they overturned the table so as to extinguish the light, and sprung upon their victim before he was aware of their approach. Suddenly awaking, he exerted his strength with undaunted resolution, and struggled long and violently with the assailants. He was at length, however, overpowered by numbers, bound hand and foot, and conducted, naked as he was, to the Temple (2).

Feb. 26, 1804. The arrest of Pichegru was immediately followed by a decree of the Senate, which suspended for two years trial by jury in all the departments of the Republic, "for the crimes of treason, attempts on the person of the first consul or the exterior or interior security of the Republic." For this purpose the tribunals were organized in a different manner, agreeably to the direction of the law of 25 Florial, 1802. All the persons accused in Paris were sent for trial to the tribunal of the department of the Seine (3).

March 9, Georges, however, was still at liberty, although a rigid blockade
1804. prevented his leaving Paris; but he did not long escape the vigi-
And of lance of the police. On the 9th March, he was arrested as he was
Georges crossing the place of the Odéon, at seven in the evening, in a cabriolet. He
Cadoudal. never went abroad without being armed, and his arrest in that public manner
cost the life of one man, whom he shot dead as he stopped his horse, and he
desperately wounded another who advanced to seize him in the carriage. He
was instantly conducted to the Temple, and treated with such rigour, that
when Louis Bonaparte went to see him the next day in prison, he found him
lying on his mattress, with his hands strongly manacled, and bound across
his breast; a spectacle which excited the indignation of that humane prince as
well as that of General Lauriston, who was present on the occasion (4). Mo-
reau, however, was treated in a very different manner; he met with the most
respectful attention, and was surrounded by military men who would not
have permitted any insult to be offered to so illustrious a character.

History On the day after the arrest of Georges, a meeting of the Council of
and charac- ter of the State was held, in which Napoléon took a step from which his mé-
Duke mory will never recover. He decided the fate of the DUKE D'EN-
d'Enghien. GHEN. This young prince, son to the Duke de Bourbon, and a lineal des-
cendant of the great Condé, was born, apparently to the highest destinies, at
Chantilly, on August 2, 1772. He accompanied his father, while yet a boy,
in his flight from Paris on July 16, 1789, and had ever since remained in

(1) Las Cas. iii. 362.

(2) Las Cas. iii. 363. Bour. vi. 10, 11.

"Pichegru's seizure was owing to his generosity in declining to receive another asylum, where he would have been perfectly safe. An old aide-de-camp of his, M. Lagrenie, who had retired from the service some years before, and a man of undoubted honour, besought him to accept an asylum in his house; but he positively refused to endanger, by accepting the offer, a man who had given so striking a proof of attachment to his person."—Bour. vi. 11, 12.

(3) Big. iii. 327, 328.

(4) Bour. vi. 37, 45.

When examined before the judge of police, Georges openly avowed his intention to overturn

the first consul. "What was your motive for coming to Paris? To attack the first consul. What were your means of attack? By force. Where did you expect to find the means of applying force? In all France. There is, then, a conspiracy extending over all France, under the direction of you and your accomplices? No, but there was a reunion of force at Paris. What were the projects of yourself and your associates? To place a Bourbon in the room of the first consul. What Bourbon did you mean to place on the throne? Louis Xavier Stanislas formerly, whom we now designate Louis XVIII. What weapons were you to use? Weapons similar to those of his escort and guard."—See CAREFIEUX—*Hist. de la Restauration*, ii. 159, and NOVIUS, ii. 279.

exile, attached to the noble but unfortunate corps which, under the Prince of Condé, continued, through adverse equally as prosperous fortune, faithful to the cause of the monarchy. A noble countenance, a commanding air, and dignified expression bespoke, even to a passing observer, his illustrious descent, while the affability of his manners and generosity of his character justly endeared him to his numerous companions in adversity. On all occasions in which they were called into action, these shining qualities displayed themselves. Ever the foremost in advance, he was the last to retreat, and by his skill and bravery eminently contributed to the brilliant success gained by the emigrant corps at Bertsmuë in an early period of the war. On that occasion a number of Republican prisoners fell into the hands of the Royalists, the soldiers loudly demanded that some reprisals should be made for the sanguinary laws of the Convention, which had doomed so many of their comrades to the scaffold, but the young prince replied, "the blood of our companions, shed in the most just of causes, demands a nobler vengeance (1). Let them live, they are Frenchmen, they are unfortunate, I put them under the safeguard of your honour and humanity (2)."

Sept. 2, 1793. It was on the fate of a prince, thus richly endowed with every noble virtue, that the Council of State, under the presidency of Napoleon, sat at Paris on the 10th March, 1804. It appeared from the depositions of two of the prisoners who had been apprehended, that a mysterious person was present at some of the meetings of the Royalist chiefs, who was treated by Georges with the utmost respect, and in whose presence none of the persons assembled sat down (3). Suspicion turned on some prince of the blood as the only person to whom these marks of respect were likely to be shown, and no one was thought to answer the description so completely as the Duke d'Angoulême, who at that period was at Ettenheim, a chateau situated on the right bank of the Rhine, in the territories of the Duke of Baden, and four leagues from Strasbourg. A confidential officer was despatched to Strasbourg to make enquiry, he ascertained that the duke was frequently at the theatre of Strasbourg, lived a very retired life, was sometimes absent for ten or twelve days together, and appeared passionately fond of hunting, in which the greater part of his time was employed (4). On this slender basis did this iniquitous Council of State, under the immediate directions of Napoleon, hold it established that the Duke d'Angoulême was the mysterious stranger alluded to in the depositions of Georges' associates, upon

(1) *Refutas. de St. le Duc de Roy go* 131

Jan 21 1803 (2) The Prince of Condé father to the Duke d'Angoulême, had a feel in an equally generous manner when a proposal was made to him by a person who offered to assassinate the first consul in a letter to the Council of State, he gives the following

"I am Napoleon gentle and true of course sweet not to hold it of the errand on which he came to me at eleven o'clock in the morning and proposed with the greatest policy to get quit of the usurper; it is the most expedient means than ever I did not give him into my confidence the details of my project, but I said it rejected them with the honour they were fitted to in my assurance that he was at the moment that if you were here you would do the same; that we should never be the enemies of the man who had usurped the power and throne of our king as long as he excluded him from it; that we had consi-

dered him with open arms and would do so again if he ceased to offend himself; but that we would never carry on hostility by such means, which were suited only to the Jacobins and that if they bestir themselves to commit crimes, really we should not fail to follow the example I then sent for the Baron de Roll, who confirmed all that I had said and your determination that we respect."—*St. le Duc de Roy go* 131

(3) The details of this story were as follows:—Every ten or twelve days, the master received a visit from a person in whose name they were much interested but who was evidently a man of high importance. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, he was tall, light, he had a good set of fine and nervous, his dress elegant; he was always received with great respect and when he entered the apartment all present rose and remained standing without the exception even of the Duke of Angoulême. He was frequently accompanied by Georges, and on these occasions they were always alone."—*Refutas de St. le Duc de Roy go* 131

(4) *Refutas. de St. le Duc de Roy go* 131

which Napoléon himself dictated and signed an order for his arrest in a neutral territory, with such minute directions for the seizure of the prince and his conveyance to Strasbourg, that it was evident his destruction was already resolved on. Cambacérès, the second consul, who had voted in the convention for the death of Louis, made the strongest remonstrances against this proposed measure, especially its accomplishment by means of a violation of the neutral territory of Baden; but Napoléon cut him short by the observation (1);—"You have become singularly chary of the blood of the Bourbons (2)."

The truth was, that the unfortunate prince was at Ettenheim, on account of a passion with which he was inspired for the Princess de Rohan, an emigrant lady of distinction in that neighbourhood, and it was to visit her that he was absent for the periods which in the suspicious mind of the first consul, could have been for no other purpose but to concert measures with Georges in the French metropolis. His mode of life is thus described by Savary, who afterwards was so deeply implicated in his execution. "Several emigrants had arrived in the environs, and were entertained by the prince. He was passionately fond of the chase, had a *liaison de cœur* with a French lady who shared his exile, and was frequently absent for several days together. This may easily be conceived, when it is recollected what a passion for the chase is, and what the attractions of the mountains of the Black Forest (3)." In truth, he had never been at Paris at all, nor engaged in any conspiracy whatever against either the government or life of the first consul; and the mysterious stranger who was supposed to be him in the conferences with Georges afterwards turned out to be Pichegru (4).

The designs of the first consul were too faithfully carried into effect. The execution of the order was intrusted to General Ordanier, who following punctually the directions he had received, set out from New Brisach with three hundred gens-d'armes, and arrested the prince in his bed at night on the 13th March. He was immediately conducted to Strasbourg, with all his papers and all the persons in the house, and intelligence despatched to Paris by the telegraph of his arrest. When it was known at the Tuileries that he had been seized, Joséphine, who never failed to exert her influence in behalf of misfortune, implored the first consul to show mercy. She threw herself on her knees, and earnestly begged his life; but he said, with a stern air, "Mind your own matters; these are not the affairs of women; let me alone." His violence on this occasion exceeded any thing that had been witnessed since his return from Egypt. He was so prepossessed with the idea that the Bourbon princes were one and all leagued in a conspiracy against his life, that he was incapable of exercising the natural powers of his mind in considering the evidence on the subject. "I am resolved," said he, "to put an end to these conspiracies; if the emigrants will conspire, I will cause them to be shot. I am told there are some of them concealed in the hôtel of M. de Cohentzell" (the Austrian ambassador), "I do not believe it; if it were so, I would shoot Cobentzell along with them. The Bourbons must be taught that they are not to sport with life with impunity; such matters are not child's play (5)."

M. Talleyrand, aware of the imminent danger which the duke ran if he con-

(1) Bour. v. 305, 306. Rovigo, ii. 37.

(2) Napoleon enjoined the officer intrusted with the mission to take 200 dragoons, and send 300 more, with four pieces of light cannon, to Kehl, and 100 men, with two pieces of cannon, from New

Brisach.—See Rovigo, ii. 266.—*Pièces Just, No. 1.*

(3) Rov. ii. 35.

(4) Bour. v. 307. Rov. ii. 59.

(5) Bour. v. 316, 341.

He had been vainly warned of his danger. continued in his residence at Ettenheim, had secretly sent him warning to remove, through the lady to whom he was attached at that place, and similar intelligence was at the same time transmitted by the King of Sweden, by means of his minister at Carlsruhe; and it augments our regret at the issue of this melancholy tale, that he was only prevented from availing himself of the intelligence, and escaping the danger, by the tardiness of the Austrian authorities in procuring him passports. Upon receiving the warning he resolved to join his grandfather, but in doing so it was necessary that he should pass through part of the Austrian territories. Sir Charles Stuart, the English ambassador at Vienna, wrote for this purpose to the Austrian Government to demand a passport for the duke, and it was their tardiness in answering, that occasioned the delay, which permitted his arrest by Napoleon, and cost him his life (1)

He is removed to Paris and sent to Vincennes. Orders arrived at Strasbourg from Paris on the 18th March to have the Duke d'Enghien forthwith forwarded to the capital. The carriage which conveyed him arrived at the barriers of Paris on the 20th, at eleven o'clock forenoon. He was there stopped, and detained for above five hours, until orders were received from the first consul. No council was summoned; Napoleon took upon himself alone the disposal of his fate. At four in the evening orders arrived to have him conducted by the exterior barriers to Vincennes, an ancient castellated fortress of great strength, a mile and a half beyond the faubourg St -Antoine, which had been long used as a state prison, and it was dark before he arrived there. Every thing was already prepared for his reception; not only his chamber was ready, but his grave was dug (2)

Where he is delivered over to a military commission. No sooner was Napoleon informed of the arrival of the Duke d'Enghien at the barriers, than he wrote out and signed an order for his immediate delivery to a military commission, to be tried for

to Murat, the governor of Paris, who forthwith sent for General Hullin and six of the senior colonels of regiments in Paris, to form a military commission. They immediately proceeded to Vincennes, where they found Savary, *elite*, in possession of the castle and all the subsequent proceedings cannot be traced. Harel, the governor of the castle (1).

"In the evening of the 20th March, when the prince was arrived at the barrier, they sent to enquire of me whether I could lodge a prisoner in the

(1) Bour v 304, 305. For 1. 300

(2) Bour. v 318 320

(3) The order was as follows:

"Paris, 29 Fructe, Ann 2. (20 March, 1801.)

"The Government of the Republic decrees as follows:

"Art 1.—The late Duke d'Enghien, accused of having borne arms against the Republic, of having been and still being in the pay of England, of being engaged in the plots set on foot by that power against the external and internal security of the Republic shall be delivered over to a military commission, composed of seven members named by the governor of Paris who shall assemble at Vincennes.

"11.—The grand judge, minister of war, and

general governor of Paris, are charged with the execution of the present decree

"The First Consul (Signed) Bonaparte

"By the First Consul (Signed) Thomas Manat

"A true copy

The General-in-Chief, Governor of Paris,

"(Signed) Harel

See *Memoire de M. Dupin sur les actes de la Commission militaire pour juger le duc d'Enghien*, 23.—Paris Jan. 1802

In Murat's order, following on this decree, the commission was directed to assemble immediately at the chateau of Vincennes to take cognizance, with or separating, of the accused, on the charges set forth in the decree of the Government.—*Ibid* 92.

(4) Bour v 328, 329. For. 1. 32

castle. I answered that I could not, as no rooms were in repair but my own chamber and the council hall. They desired me then to prepare a room for a prisoner, who would arrive in the evening, and to *dig a grave in the court*. I said that would not be easy, as the court was paved. They replied, I must then find another place, and we fixed on the ditch, where in effect it was prepared.

"The prince arrived at seven in the evening; he was dying of cold and hunger, but his air was by no means melancholy. As his room was not yet ready, I received him into my own, and sent out to get food in the village. The prince sat down to table, and invited me to partake his refreshments. He put many questions about Vincennes, and told me he had been brought up in the environs of the castle, and conversed with much kindness and affability. He repeatedly asked what do they want with me? what are they going to do with me? but these questions made no alteration upon his tranquillity, and indicated no disquietude. My wife, who was unwell, was in bed in an alcove in the same room, concealed by a tapestry; her emotion was extreme, for she was foster-sister to the prince, had enjoyed a pension from his family before the Revolution, and she at once recognized him by his voice (1)."

Gross In-
quity com-
mitted to-
wards him. The duke went to bed shortly after; but before he had time to fall asleep, the officers arrived, and conducted him into the council-chamber. General Mullin and six other officers were there assembled; Savary arrived soon after the interrogatories began, and took his station in front of the fire, immediately behind the president's chair. The accused was charged with "having borne arms against the Republic, with having offered his services to the English Government, the enemies of the French people, with having received and accredited the agents of the English Government, and furnished them with the means of obtaining intelligence, and conspired with them against the exterior and interior security of the state; with having put himself at the head of an assemblage of emigrants and others in the pay of England, formed on the frontiers of France in the territory of Baden; carried on communications in Strasbourg calculated to disturb the peace of the adjoining departments, and favour the views of England, and being engaged in the conspiracy set on foot at Paris against the life of the first consul, and about, in case of its success, to enter France (2)." The law in such a case required that a counsel should be allowed to the accused; but none was permitted to the prince, and he was obliged, at midnight, to enter unaided upon his defence (3).

He is con-
victed upon
his declara-
tion only,
without any
evidence. No evidence whatever was brought forward against the accused; no witnesses were examined; the documentary evidence consisted only of one single writing, namely, the act of accusation (4). The whole case against him rested upon the answers he gave to the interrogatories put by the commission, and they were clear, consistent, and unequivocal, openly avowing the truth, but containing not one single admission which could be tortured into evidence of his culpability, (5) "There

(1) Bour. v. 330, 331. Biog. des Contemporains. Art. D'Enghien.

(2) Jugement sur le Due d'Enghien. Mém. par Dupin, 49.

(3) Dupin, 12, 13.

(4) "Ou n'avait," says Savary, "qu'un seul document pour toute pièce à charge et à décharge; c'était l'arrêté des Consuls du 20 mars. La minute du jugement rédigé à Vincennes le porte textuellement. 'Lecture faite des pièces tant à charge qu'à décharge au nombre d'une.'"—Rovigo, ii, 251.

(5) The material parts of the declaration were as follow:—

Being asked if he had taken up arms against France? he answered, "That he had served through the whole war; that he had never been in England, but had received a pension from that power, and had no other means of subsistence; that he had resided for two years and a half at Ettenheim in the Brisgaw, by permission from the sovereigns of that country; that he had applied for permission to reside at Fribourg, also in the Brisgaw, and remained

were," says Savary, the warmest apologist of Napoleon, "neither documents, nor proofs, nor witnesses, against the prince, and in his declaration he emphatically denied the accusation brought against him. His connexions with England, in the rank in which he was born, his correspondence with his grandfather, the Prince of Condé, could not be considered as evidence of any conspiracy. And even if it had been otherwise, what judge is so ignorant as not to know that the admissions of an accused person are never sufficient to condemn him, if unsupported by other testimony (1)?" "I must confess," says General Hullin, "the prince presented himself before us with a noble assurance, he indignantly repelled the aspersion of having been directly or indirectly engaged in any conspiracy against the life of the first consul, but admitted having borne arms against France, saying, with a courage and resolution which forbid us even for his own sake to make him vary on that point, 'that he could never re- . . .'"

At the signing the present *proces verbal* I earnestly request to be permitted to have a private audience of the first consul. My name, my rank, my habits of thought, and the horror of my situation, induce me to hope that he will accede to that demand." A member of the commission proposed that this request should be forwarded to Napoleon, but Savary, who was behind the president, represented that such a demand was inopportune (3). The request, however, made such an impression, that when the sentence was about to be made out, the president took up the pen, and was beginning to write a letter, expressing the wish of the prince to have an interview with him, but Savary whispered to him, "What are you about?"—"I am writing," said he, "to the first consul, to express the wish of the council and of the accused"—"Your affair is finished," replied Savary, taking the pen out of his hand, "that is my business (4)."—"In truth," says Savary, "General Hullin had received the most severe instructions. Even the case of the accused demanding an interview with the first consul (5), had

only at first been for the pleasure of the chase, that he had corresponded with his grandfather in London, and also with his father, whom he had never seen since 1795, that he had been in command of the advanced guard since 1796, and acted with the advanced guard before that time, that he had never seen General Clergé, and had no concern whatever with him; that he knew he desired to see him, but he congratulated himself upon his not having seen him, if it be true that he had intended to make use of the title was ascribed to him, that he had no connection with General Dumas, and never saw him, and that since the peace he had occasionally corresponded with some of his comrades in the interior of the Republic; that he was allied to him, but no correspondence had taken place of the kind alluded to in the interrogatory. [See the declaration of Savary, in 275. *Annales* 1799.]

The inquiries continued on the trial of the Duke of Angoulême were so numerous as to render it one of the most atrocious proceedings recorded in history. 1 The neutral territory of the Grand Duke of Baden was violated by an armed force, without a shadow of reason, to arrest an individual engaged in no overt acts of hostility, upon the mere suggestion of being engaged in correspondence with the conspirators in France. 2 The arrest was illegal on the footing of having borne arms against the Republic; for the decrees of the Convention and Directory on that subject, inhuman as they were, ap-

plied only to emigrants taken in France, or in any conquered country, and Baden was neither the one nor the other, but a friendly state. 3 The laws against the emigrants did not apply to the Bourbons, who were classed apart and were forever banished from the French territory, and even on this they were they had been universally indulged in practice since the accession of the first consul. 4 The military commission was incompetent to try this unfortunate agent of the first consul, because he was not bound to the ordinary tribunals. 5 The whole proceeding against Vincennes were illegal, as having been carried on, contrary to law, in the night, on a defendant's counsel was assigned to the accused; as no witnesses, and names were adduced against him; as his declaration was limited with regard to him, as if they had, they would not have materialized a conviction; as the sentence did not specify of what he was found guilty, and left him blind to the laws under which the sentence was pronounced; all directly in the face of statutory enactments.—See also the *Annales* 1799, 20. *Deux ans de l'acte de la Commune à la Cour pour le Duc d'Angoulême*.

(1) *Annales* 1799, 22.

(2) Hullin, 8.

(3) Hullin, 13.

(4) Hullin 13, 14.

(5) *Rev.* 21-250.

Remark-
able retri-
bu-
tion on
which
reac-
ed
all the ac-
tors in the
murder.

A memorable retribution awaited all the actors in this bloody tragedy. Murat, seized eleven years afterwards on the Neapolitan territory, when attempting to excite the people to a revolt, was delivered over to a military commission, tried under a law which he himself had made, and shot. General Hullin, after having spent, as he himself said, "twenty years in unavailing regrets; bowed down by misfortune; blind, and unhappy," wished for the grave to relieve him from his sufferings (1); Savary lived to witness calamities to himself and his country sufficient, in his own words, to draw from his eyes tears of blood (2), and Napoleon, vanquished in war, precipitated from his throne, stripped of his possessions, was left an exile amidst the melancholy main, to reflect on the eter-

deeds of violence excite in the human heart, must remain for ever a mystery; but in many cases, the connexion between national, equally as individual, crime, and its appropriate punishment, is so evident as to be obvious even on the surface of history. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien lighted again the flames of continental war, and induced that terrible strife which ultimately brought the Tartars of the Desert to the walls of Paris. From it may be dated the commencement of that train of events which precipitated Napoleon from the throne of Charlemagne to the rock of St. Helena.

Consternation which this act excited in Paris. Few were depicted in every countenance. It was openly stigmatized by a great proportion of the people as a bloody and needless assassination; among

victim had suffered; a favourite spaniel, which had followed the prince to the place of execution, faithful in death, was to be seen constantly lying on the grave. The interest excited by its appearance was so strong, that by an order of the police the dog was removed, and all access to the place prohibited (3).

The consternation which prevailed among the members of the diplomatic body was still greater. Couriers were instantly des-

worked up to madness by the reports he received of conspiracies and plots in every direction around him [Lett. Sav. 253-257] but in his testament he reverted to the more mainly course of administering the deed, taking upon himself its whole responsibility, and endeavouring to justify it on reasons of state necessity. "I arrested the Duke d'Enghien," said he in that solemn instrument, "because that measure was necessary to the security, the tranquillity, and the honour of the French people, when the Duc d'Angoulême maintained, on his own admission, only assassin. In similar circumstances I would do the same" [Test. de Nap. sec. 6]. As if any reasons of honour, interest, or security can ever call for the death of an innocent man without either enquiry, evidence, or trial [Test. de Nap. sec. 6].

It is but justice to Napoleon, however, to add, that he sank at St. Helena, — "Most certainly if I had been informed in time of certain features in the up-

ings and character of the prince, and especially if I had seen a letter which he wrote to me, but which was never delivered, God knows for what reason, I should have been no more, most certainly I would

letter, we then to him from Strasbourg, and only delivered it two days after his death." [O'Meara, i. 322-316] but Bourcenne asserts that the whole story of such a letter having been written and laid back is an entire fabrication. See Bourcenne, v. 317.

(1) Hullin's Memoirs, i.

(2) Savary, iv. 382.

(3) For il 15, Bourc. v. 322. Eng. iv. 313.

estimation, and this continued in exile even after the essential injury done by that author to his cause by the celebrated pamphlet on the "Constitutional monarchy," published at the Restoration. "Chateaubriand," said he, "has received from nature the sacred fire; his works attest it; his style is not that of Racine, it is that of a prophet. There is no one but himself in the world who could have said with impunity in the Chamber of Peers that the great-coat and hat of Napoleon, placed on the end of a stick on the coast of Brest, would make Europe run to arms from one end to another (1)."

Death of
Pichegru

This tragic event was soon followed by another still more mysterious. Early

was found strangled in prison.
separate examinations, in
fronted with Georges, Lajolais, and all the witnesses who were examined against them. On all occasions, however, he had evinced an unconquerable firmness and resolution. No one was injured by his answers; and nothing whatever had been elicited from him calculated to effect the great object of implicating Moreau in the conspiracy. Such was the effect produced by his courageous demeanour, that Real said openly before several persons on coming from one of his examinations,—“What a man that Pichegru is!” In all his declarations he was careful to abstain from any thing which might involve any other person, and exhibited a grandeur of character and generous resolution in his fetters, which excited the admiration even of his enemies. He positively refused, however, to sign any of his judicial declarations, alleging as a reason, that he was too well acquainted with the arts of the police, who, having once got his signature, would by a chemical process efface all the writing which stood above it, and insert another statement, containing every thing which they wished him to admit. He loudly announced his intention of speaking out boldly on his trial, and in particular declared that he was resolved “to unfold the odious means by which he and his companions had been entrapped into the conspiracy by the police. That they had at length become fully sensible of the Machavelian devices which had been practised upon them, from the facility given to their landing and coming to Paris, and the utter nullity of all the reports they had received of the general disposition in their favour. That having had their eyes at length opened, they were only solicitous to get out of Paris, and were making preparations April 16 1804 for that purpose when they were arrested by the police.” This intention to speak out at the trial was in an especial manner declared on the day of his last examination taken before Real, and next morning at eight o'clock he was found strangled in his cell (2).

Surgeons
report on
his death

The surgeons who were called to examine the body of the deceased signed a report, in which they stated that “the body was found with a black silk handkerchief hard twisted round the neck by means of a small stick about five inches long, which was kept tight on the left cheek on which it rested by one end, which prevented it from unwinding, and produced the strangulation which had terminated in death.” The *gendarmes* in attendance declared that they heard no noise, except a considerable coughing on the 1
ceased; and that the soul
respiration (3). This is a
mysterious transaction;

(1) *Exp. in Mont* iv 243. *Bour.* v 312, 359.

(2) *Bour.* v. 31. *Ag.* iv 411.

(3) *Bour.* v. 31, 32. *Bour.* ii. 53. *Ann. Reg.* 1804, 368. *State papers.*

ral presumptions of greater strength than any such testimony did not incline to the darker side (1).

“When you would discover,” says Machiavel, “who is the author of a crime, consider who had an interest to commit it.” Judging by this standard; moral presumption weighs heavily against the first consul. He was on the eve of the greatest step in his life; the imperial sceptre was within his grasp, and the public authorities had already been instructed to petition him to assume the crown of Charlemagne. At the same time the crisis was of the most violent kind. The Royalist party were in the highest state of excitement, in consequence of the execution of the Duke d’Enghien; the Republicans, in sullen indignation, awaited the trial of Moreau. In these critical circumstances it was impossible to over-estimate the effect which might have been produced on such inflammable materials by the bold declarations of Pichegru at his trial, openly denouncing the intrigues and treachery of the police, and tearing aside the veil which concealed the dark transactions by which Fouché had precipitated the leaders of the opposite parties into measures so eminently calculated to aid the ascent of Napoléon to the throne. The first consul, it is true, had no cause either to be apprehensive of Pichegru, or to doubt his conviction at the trial; but his ministers had every reason to fear the effect which might be produced by the revelations made by so energetic and intrepid a character, and the strongest grounds for believing that he would utterly negative all attempts to implicate his great rival Moreau in the conspiracy. In these circumstances, private assassination became the obvious expedient, and within the gloomy walls of the Temple numerous wretches were to be found, trained to crime, and profoundly versed in all the means of perpetrating it in the way least likely to incur detection. There can be no reasonable doubt therefore, that Pichegru was murdered, but there is no evidence to connect Napoléon with the act; and the probability is, that it was perpetrated by Fouché and the police, to prevent the exposure of the infamous means used by them to implicate both Moreau and the Royalists in the trammels of a conspiracy, which they had so much reason to apprehend from the illustrious captive’s known character and declared resolution.

This view is strongly confirmed, when it is recollected, on the other hand, Pichegru himself had no conceivable motive for committing suicide. Death to so old a soldier and determined a character could have few terrors; and the experience of the Revolution has proved that its prospect hardly ever led to self-destruction. He had uniformly and energetically declared his resolution to speak fully out at the trial, and nothing had occurred to shake that determination, for his own condemnation he must from the first have regarded as certain. Voluntary strangulation in the way in which Pichegru perished, if not an impossible, is at least a highly difficult act; the religious impressions which he had preserved from his youth upwards rendered it highly improbable; and the secrecy which Government maintained in regard to his declarations, necessarily led to the conclusion that they contained matter which it was deemed advisable to bury in the tomb. So universal was the impression produced by these circumstances, that M. Real, on the morning of his death, said, “Though nothing can be more apparent than that this was a

(1) It is not the least interesting circumstance in this melancholy story, that Pichegru had been the school companion of Napoleon at the military academy of Brienne. They had been bred up in the same house, and it was he who taught Napoleon the four first rules of arithmetic. Though considerably

older than the first consul, they had received their commissions as lieutenants of artillery at the same time. Now the one was about to ascend the throne of France, while the other was strangled in a dungeon — See BOURRIENNE, vi, 13, 15.

enicide, yet it will always be said that, despairing of conviction, we strangled

ter id ne entertained, and mentioned . . .
 gene he bloody deed had been carried into
 execution (3). struck by the mysterious circumstances
 of his death, ascribed it to the Mamelukes who had accompanied Napoleon
 from Egypt, and had been trained to such deeds in the recesses of Eastern
 seraglios (4).

At length, after long and tedious preparatory examinations, Moreau,
 Georges, the two Polignacs, La Rivière, and all the accused, were brought to
 trial. Before leaving the Temple, Georg
 the court, and earnestly recommended
 they should abstain from criminating ea
 cation, and the recollection that it was from the same . . .
 had been taken to the scaffold, had subdued to a sadder and milder mood
 his naturally character. "If in the trials which await
 us," said he,
 that I am wi

Yes! we cannot
 mild and considerate towards each other, requieve your
 affec
 tion.
 of God; in the hour of death let us pray that our country, rescued from the
 yoke which oppresses it, may one day be blessed under the rule of the Bour
 bons. Never forget that it was from the prison which we are about to quit
 that Louis XVI went forth to the scaffold. Let his sublime example be your
 model and your guide (5)."

Early on the 28th May, the doors of the Palace of Justice were
 thrown open, and the trial began. An immense crowd instantly
 rushed in, and occupied every avenue to the hall; the doors were
 besieged by thousands, urgent to obtain admittance. The public anxiety
 rose to the highest pitch. Persons of the chief rank and greatest considera-

(1) Rev. i. 56.

(2) Bour. vi. 25, 35.

(3) Rev. ii. 56.

Napoleon In discoursing on this subject at St.
 defence of " Helena, Napoleon observed, " that he
 would defend himself

to him, that the private assassin . . .
 been an executioner, and that the more he elevates
 the character of the Republican General who was
 brought to trial, the more he magnifies the probabi
 lity of the destruction of the Royalist chief whom
 history says we had led to his death.

(4) Ann Reg. 1801, 165.

(5) Bour. vi. 47.

passed
 self to death had been sentenced
 crime, it was not Pichegru, but Moreau, that

tion in Paris were there; the remnants of the old nobility, the leaders of the modern Republic, flocked to a scene where the fate of characters so interesting to both was to be determined. The prisoners, to the number of forty-five, were put to the bar together. Public indignation murmured aloud at seeing the conqueror of Hohenlinden seated amidst persons, many of whom were regarded as the hired bravoes of England. In the course of the trial, which lasted twelve days, a letter from Moreau to the first consul, written from the prison of the Temple, was read, in which he stated his case with so much simplicity and candour, that it produced the most powerful effect on the audience (1). The result of the trial was, that Moreau's innocence was completely established, or rather the prosecutor totally failed to prove any criminal connexion on his part with the conspirators; not one witness could fix either a guilty act or important circumstance upon him. He admitted having seen Pichegru on several occasions, but positively denied that he had ever been in presence of Georges; and, though two witnesses were adduced who swore to that fact, their testimony was unworthy of credit, being that of accused persons under trial for the same crime (2). Throughout the whole trial his demeanour was dignified, mild, and unassuming. On one occasion only his indignant spirit broke forth, when the president accused him of a desire to make himself dictator:—"Me dictator!" exclaimed he, "and with the partisans of the Bourbons! Who then, would be my supporters? I could find none but in the French soldiers, of whom I have commanded nine-tenths and saved above fifty-thousand. They have arrested all my aides-de-camp, all the officers of my acquaintance, but not a shadow of suspicion could be found against any one, and they have all been set at liberty. Can there be such folly as to suppose that I proposed to make myself dictator by means of the partisans of the old French princes, who have combated for the Royalist cause since 1792? Do you really believe that these men, in twenty-four hours, should have been so suddenly changed as to make me dictator? You speak of my fortune, of my income; I began with nothing, and might now have been worth 50,000,000 francs; I possess only a house and a small property attached to it; my allowances amount to 40,000 francs, and let that be compared with my services (3)."

(1) Moreau there said, "In the campaign of 1797 we took the papers of the Austrian staff; amongst them were several which seemed to implicate Pichegru in a correspondence with the French princes; this discovery gave us both great pain, but we resolved to bury it in oblivion, as Pichegru, being no longer at the head of the army, was not in a situation to do injury to the Republic. The events of the 18th Fructidor succeeded, disquietude became universal; and two officers who were acquainted with that correspondence, represented to me the necessity of making it public. I was then a public functionary, and could no longer preserve silence. During the two last campaigns in Germany, and since the peace, he has occasionally made remote and circuitous overtures to me as to the possibility of entering into a correspondence with the French princes, but I considered them so ridiculous that I never made any answer."

"As to the present conspiracy, I can equally assure you that I have not had the smallest share in it. I repeat it, general, whatever proposition may have been made to me, I rejected it in opinion, and regarded it as the most absurd of projects. When it was represented to me that the occasion of a descent into England would be favourable to a change of government, I answered, that the Senate was the au-

thority to which all Frenchmen would look in case of difficulty, and that I should be the first to range myself under its authority. Such overtures made to me, a private individual, wishing to keep up no connexions, neither in the army, nine-tenths of which have served under my orders, nor in the state, imposed upon me no duty but that of refusal; the infamy of becoming an informer was repugnant to my character; ever judged with severity, such a person becomes odious, and deserving of eternal reprobation when he turns against those from whom he has received obligations, or with whom he has maintained terms of friendship. Such, general, have been my connexions with Pichegru; they will surely convince you that rash and ill-founded conclusions have been drawn from a conduct on my part perhaps imprudent, but far from being criminal." These words bear the stamp of truth, and they embrace the whole of what was proved against Moreau. Not one of the 119 witnesses examined at the trial said more against him.—*BOURBAULT*, vi. 118, 120.

(2) Lajolais and Picot were the persons who spoke to it, and Lajolais was the secret agent of Fouché throughout the whole transaction, and both were fellow-prisoners at the bar with Moreau. [*Rovigo*, ii. 63.]

(3) *Bour.* vi. 115, 123, 124. *Rov.* ii.

Intense interest excited at Paris

As the case went on, and the impossibility of convicting Moreau of the capital charge preferred against him became apparent, the disquietude of the first consul was extreme. He sent in private for the judges, and questioned them minutely as to the probable result of the process; and as it had become impossible to convict him of any share in the conspiracy it was agreed that he should be found guilty of the minor charge

would only have the effect of impelling the Government into measures of still greater severity, and therefore this compromise was unanimously agreed to. Napoleon strongly urged a capital sentence, in the idea probably of overwhelming his rival by a pardon; but the judges returned the noble answer; "and if we do so, who will pardon us?" In truth, the temper of the public mind was such, that any capital sentence on so illustrious a person would probably have produced a violent commotion, and it was extremely doubtful whether the soldiers of the army of the Rhine would not have risen at once

the court with the infant child of Moreau in his arms, all the military present spontaneously rose and presented arms, and if Moreau had given the word, the court would that moment have been overturned, and the prisoners liberated. Whenever he rose to address the judges, the *gendarmes*, by whom he was guarded, rose also, and remained uncovered till he sat down. In fact, the public mind was so agitated, that the influence of Moreau in fetters almost equalled that of the first consul on the throne (1).

At a moment of Georges throughout the whole trial was stoical

of the prisoners

the whole blame upon himself, and to exculpate the others. When the debates were closed, and the judges retired to deliberate, the public anxiety rose to the highest point in consultation, and all the while, ed with anxious multitudes. The

the judges returned to the court, and the president, seated in the president's chair, read out the sentence, which condemned Georges Cadoudal, Bouvet de Lozier, Roussillon, M. de Riviere, Armand de Polignac, Lajolais, Picot, Costor San Victor, and others, to the number of sixteen, to death; and Moreau, Jules de Polignac, Lerruant, Roland, and a young girl named Issay; to two years' imprisonment (5).

Public feeling in this subject

Though the preservation of Moreau's life, which had been placed in such imminent hazard, was universally considered as a subject

(1) Bour vi 124 126 Reg vi 429

(2) Armand de Polignac first declared publicly, that he alone was accessory to the conspiracy, and that his life was sent only in reward, and because he was a nobleman. On the following day, his brother Jules rose and said: "I was too much more yesterday at what my brother said to be able to attend to what I was to address in my own defence; but to-day, when I am more cool, I implore you not to

give credit to what is generous but proposed in my behalf. If one of us could have been saved, it would have been me. I am not a nobleman, but I am a Frenchman." (3) Bour vi 133, 110 Reg vi 430 62, 25

of congratulation, yet the condemnation of so great a number of persons, many of whom belonged to the highest society in Paris, to death together, spread a general consternation through the capital. During four years of a steady and lenient administration, the people had not only lost their indifference, but acquired a horror at the shedding of blood; and a catastrophe of this sort, which recalled the sanguinary scenes of the Convention, diffused universal distress. To this feeling soon succeeded a sense of the gross injustice done to Moreau, found guilty upon the unsupported declarations of two conspirators who were condemned along with himself; and with so strong a sense of the iniquity of the conviction in the breast of the judges, that they were obliged to sentence him to a punishment, ridiculous and inadequate if he were guilty, oppressive if innocent (1).

Clemency of the first consul, after the convictions were obtained Napoléon, however, was not really cruel; he was, on the contrary, in general averse to measures of severity, and only callous to all the suffering they occasioned, when they seemed necessary either for the projects of his ambition, or the principles of his state policy. His object in all these measures was to attain the throne, and for this purpose the death of the Duke d'Enghien, which struck terror into the Royalists, and the condemnation of Moreau, which paralysed the Republicans, seemed indispensable. Having attained these steps, he yielded not less to his own inclinations than the dictates of sound policy in pardoning many of the persons convicted. Murat, immediately after the sentence was pronounced, repaired to Napoléon, and earnestly entreated him to signalize his accession to the imperial throne by pardoning all the accused; but he could not obtain from him so splendid an act of mercy. Joséphine, never wanting at the call of humanity, exerted her powerful influence in favour of several of the persons under sentence; many other persons at the court followed her example, and others were pardoned, in particular Lajolais, in consideration of the services they had rendered to the police during the conspiracy. In these different ways, Bouvet de Lozier, Rivière, Armand de Polignac, Lajolais, and Armand Gaillard, and three others, experienced the mercy of the first consul. The remainder were executed on the 25th June, on the place de Grève; they all underwent their fate with heroic fortitude, protesting with their last breath their fidelity to their king and country, and Georges, in particular, insisted upon dying first, in order that his companions, who knew that he had been offered his pardon by the first consul, might see that he had not deserted them in the extreme hour (2).

His lenity to Moreau. Napoléon asserted to Bourrienne, shortly after the trial was over, that he had been greatly annoyed by the result of the process, chiefly because it prevented him from utterly extinguishing Moreau as the head of a party in the state; that assuredly he never would have suffered him to perish on the scaffold; but that his name, withered by a capital conviction, would no longer have been formidable, and that he had been led to direct a prosecution, from his Council assuring him that there could be no doubt of a conviction. He added, that if he had foreseen the result, he would have privately urged Moreau to travel, and even have given him a foreign embassy to colour his departure (3). After the sentence was pronounced, he acted with indulgence to his fallen rival. On the very day on which he requested permission to retire to America, Napoléon granted it; he purchased his estate of Gros-Bois, near Paris, which he conferred upon Berthier, and paid the ex-

(1) *Rev.* ii. 63, 64. *Bour.* vi. 140, 141.(2) *Bour.* vi. 142, 144. *Rev.* ii. 66.(3) *Bour.* vi. 156, 157. *Rev.* ii. 66.

penses of his journey to Barcelona, preparatory to embarking for the United States, out of the public treasury. His ardent mind had been singularly captivated by the stern resolution of Georges, after his sentence was pronounced, he sent Real to the Temple, and offered, if he would attach himself to his service, to give him a regiment, and even make him one of his aides-de-camp; but the heroic Vendéen remained faithful to his principles even in that extremity, and preferred dying with his comrades to all the allurements of the imperial throne (1).

Death of
Capt. a
Wright in
prison at
Paris

One other deed of darkness belongs to the same period in the government of Napoleon. Captain Wright, from whose vessel Pichegru had been disembarked, was afterwards shipwrecked on the coast of Morbihan, and brought, with all his crew, to Paris, where they were examined as witnesses on the trial of Georges. This intrepid man, who had formerly been a lieutenant on board Sir Sidney Smith's ship, when he stopped the Eastern career of Napoléon at Acre, positively declined to give any evidence, saying, with the spirit which became a British officer, "Gentlemen, I am an officer in the British service, I care not what treatment you have in reserve for me, I am not bound to account to you for the orders I have received, and I decline your jurisdiction." He added, after his deposition, taken in prison, was read over in court, that "they had not annexed to that declaration the threat held out to him, that he should be shot if he did not reveal the secrets of his country (2)." Some time after this, but the precise date is not known, as it was not revealed by the French Government for long afterwards, Captain Wright was found in his cell in the Temple with his throat cut from ear to ear. By whom this was done remains, and probably will ever remain, a mystery. The French authorities gave out that he had committed suicide in prison; but the character of that officer, and the letters he had written shortly before his death, in which he positively declared he had no intention of laying violent hands on himself, rendered that event extremely improbable. The previous threats which he publicly declared on the trial they had made to him, and the strong desire which the French Government had to implicate the English Cabinet in a conspiracy against the life of the first consul, in order to weaken the force of public indignation in Europe at the death of the Duke d'Enghien, render it more than probable that he was cut off in order to extinguish the evidence which he could give as to the disgraceful methods resorted to by the police to extort declarations from their prisoners, or possibly, as was asserted in England at the time, to destroy the traces of torture on his person (3).

Napoleon resolves to assume the imperial crown. It was in the midst of these bloody events that Napoleon assumed the imperial crown, and the shadow of the expiring Republic was transformed into the reality of Byzantine servitude. Eighteen months before, he had declared in the Council of State, "that the principle of

(1) Bour v 159 Ann Reg 1801, 195, Rev L
65 66

His opinion "There is one man," said Napoleon of George. Leon, "among the conspirators whom I regret, that is George. His mind is of the right stamp, in my hands he would have done great things. I appreciate all the firmness of his character, and I would have given it a right direction. I made real inform him that if he would attach himself to me I would not only pardon him but give him a regiment. What do I say? I would have made him one of my aides-de-camp. Such a step would have excited a great clamour, but I should

not have cared for it. Georges refused everything as
He is a bar of iron. What can I now do? He must
undergo his fate, for such a man is too dangerous
to let go; it is a necessity of my situation" (Ibid.,
vi, 139). This is a sufficient proof that Nazism
was aware of it since nature formed no part of the

...and the fact that the *in vitro* and *in vivo* results are in good agreement.

(3) Scott, v 127, 129 Ann. Peg 1805 See Law
bert Wilson & Egypt, 12, O Neard, 1, 211.

hereditary succession was absurd, irreconcilable with the sovereignty of the people; and impossible in France (1); and four years before that he had announced to the Italian states, "that his victories were the commencement of the era of representative governments;" and already he was prepared to adopt a measure which should establish that absurd and impracticable system in that very country, and overturn, within all the states that were subjected to his influence, those very representative institutions. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* was the principle of his policy. He never looked back to the past, or attempted to reconcile former professions with present actions; success, not duty, was the ruling principle of his conduct; he deemed nothing done while any thing remained to do.

This explains his murdering the duke d'Enghien. It was neither from a thirst for blood, nor a jealousy of the Bourbons, that he put the Duke d'Enghien to death. Expedience, supposed political expedience, was the motive. "When about to make himself emperor," says Madame de Staël, "he deemed it necessary, on the one hand, to dissipate the apprehensions of the revolutionary party as to the return of the Bourbons; and to prove, on the other, to the Royalists, that when they attached themselves to him, they finally broke with the ancient dynasty. It was to accomplish that double object that he committed the murder of a prince of the blood, of the Duke d'Enghien. He passed the Rubicon of crime, and from that moment misfortune was written on his destiny (2)." Interposing boldly, like the Committee of Public Safety on occasion of the fall of Danton, between the Royalists and Republicans, he struck redoubtable blows to both; proving to the former, by the sacrifice of their brightest ornament, that all prospect of reconciliation with them was at an end; and to the other, by the trial of their favourite leader, that all hopes of reviving in the people the dreams of democratic enthusiasm were extinguished; while to the great body of revolutionary proprietors, the millions who had profited by the preceding convulsions, and were desirous only to preserve what they had gained, he held out the guarantee of a hereditary throne, and a dynasty competent to restrain all the popular excesses of which the recollection was so deeply engraven in the public mind (3).

First broaching of the project to the Senate. The season chosen for the first broaching of these ideas, which had been long floating in prospect in the thoughts of all reflecting persons, was shortly after the death of the Duke d'Enghien; and when a vague inquietude pervaded the public mind as to the result of the conspiracies and trials which excited so extraordinary an interest. In a secret conference with several of the leading members of the Senate, held six days after that event, Napoléon represented to them the precarious state of the Republic, dependent as it was on the life of a single individual, daily exposed to the daggers of assassins; passed in review the different projects March 24, 1804. which might be adopted to give it more stability; a Republic, the restoration of the ancient dynasty, or the creation of a new one; and discussed them all as a disinterested spectator, totally unconnected with any plans which might be ultimately adopted. The obsequious senators, divining his secret intentions, warmly combated the transference of power to any other hands, and conjured him to provide as soon as possible for the public weal, by making supreme power hereditary in a race of sovereigns, commencing with himself. Feigning a reluctant consent, he at length said: "Well, if you are really convinced that my nomination as emperor is neces-

(1) Thib. 454.

(2) Rév. Franç. ii. 328.

(3) Bign. iii. 377.

sary to the welfare of France, take at least every possible precaution against my tyranny; yes, I repeat it, against my tyranny; for who knows how far, in such a situation, I may be tempted to abuse the authority with which I may be invested (1)?"

The project thus set on foot, was the subject of secret negotiations for above a month between the Senate and the Government. It was agreed that the first public announcement of it should come from the Tribunato, as the only branch of the legislature in which the shadow even of popular representation prevailed. So completely had the strength of that once formidable body been prostrated, and its character changed by the alterations made on its constitution when the consulate for life was proclaimed, that it proved the ready instrument of these ambitious projects. Every thing was arranged with facility for acting the great drama in presence of the people. The moment was chosen;

congratulations agitated

the curtain drew up, or the people were admitted to the spectacle. At length, on the 23d April, the representation began in the hall of the Tribunato (2).

Mr. Curée and Simcon were the most distinguished orators on the side of the Government in that branch of the legislature. "Revolutions," said they, "are the diseases of the body politic, every thing which has been overturned was not in reality deserving of censure. There are certain bases of public prosperity at the foundation of every social edifice. Seasons of discord may displace them for a

virtue of the same authority by which they seated them on the throne. Europe has sanctioned the change by recognising our new government. The reigning family in England have no other title to the throne but the will of the people. 'When Pepin was crowned, it was only,' says Montesquieu, 'a ceremony the more, and a phantom the less. He acquired nothing by it but the ornaments of royalty; nothing was changed in the nation. When the successors of Charlemagne lost supreme authority, Hughes Capet already held the keys of the kingdom. the crown was placed on his head because he alone was able to defend it.'

"An eternal barrier separates us from the return of the factions which would tear our entrails, and that royal family which we proscribed in 1792 because it had violated our rights. It is by placing the crown on the head of the first consul alone that the French can preserve their dignity, their independence, and their territory. Thus only will the army, the people, the nation be preserved."

Let us hasten then to demand hereditary succession in the supreme magistracy, 'for in voting this to a chief,' as Pliny said to Trajan, 'we prevent the return of a master.' But at the same time let us give a worthy name

(1) De Stael, Rev. Fran. ii. 329, 330. TL L. 6. 5. Bour. vi. 52.

(2) Bour. ii. 4519, 450. Bour. i. 1. 1. 1.

to so great a power; let us adorn the first magistrate in the world by a dignified epithet; let us choose that which shall at once convey the idea of the first civil functions, recall glorious recollections, and in no ways infringe on the sovereignty of the people. I see, for the chief of the national power, no name so worthy as that of EMPEROR. If it means victorious consul, who is so worthy to bear it? What people, what armies were ever more deserving of such a title in their chief? I demand, therefore, that we lay before the Senate the wish of the nation, that Napoléon Bonaparte, at present first consul, be declared Emperor, and in that quality remain charged with the government of the French Republic; that the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family; and that such of our institutions as are only sketched out be definitely arranged (1)." No sooner was the harangue delivered than a crowd of orators rushed forward to inscribe their names on the tribune to follow in the same course. The senate of Augustus was never more obsequious.

Notwithstanding the headlong course which public opinion was following towards despotic power, and the obvious necessity for it to stay the discord from which such boundless suffering had ensued, there were some determined men who stood forward to resist the change, undeterred by the frowns of power, unseduced by the cheers of the multitude, uninstructed by the lessons of experience. Carnot in the Tribunate, and Berlier in the Council of State, were the foremost of this dauntless band. There is something in the spectacle of moral courage, of individual firmness withstanding public transports, of conscious integrity despising regal seductions, which must command respect, even when advocating a course which is impracticable or inexpedient. "In what a position," said they, "will this proposition place all those who have advocated the principles of the Revolution! When hereditary succession to the throne is established, there will no longer remain a shadow to the Republic of all for which it has sacrificed so many millions of lives. I cannot believe that the people of France are disposed so soon to abandon all that has been so dearly acquired. Was liberty, then, only exhibited to man to increase his regrets for a blessing which he never can enjoy? Is it to be for ever presented to his eyes as the forbidden fruit to which he dares not reach out his hand? Has nature, which has inspired us with so pressing a desire for this great acquisition, doomed us in its search to continual disappointment? No! I can never be brought to regard a blessing so generally preferred to all others, without which all others are nothing, as a mere illusion. My heart tells me that liberty is possible, and that the system which it goes to establish is easier of institution, and more stable in duration, than either arbitrary power or an unrestrained oligarchy." Every one respected the courage and motives of these upright men, but the fallacy of their arguments was not the less apparent, the public tendency to despotism not the less irresistible (2). In the Council of State the hereditary succession was carried by a majority of 20 to 7; and in the Tribunate by a still larger majority, Carnot alone voting in the minority.

The theatrical representation thus got up in the Tribunate, and the exchange of addresses, consultations, public and private, which followed, soon produced the desired effect. In Napoléon's words, it was now evident that the pear was ripe. Addresses flowed in from all quarters, from the army, the municipalities, the cities, the chambers of commerce, all imploring the first consul to ascend the imperial throne,

Honour-
able resis-
tance of
Carnot.

Universal
admiration
with which
Napoléon
was sur-
rounded.

(1) Bour. vi 55, 56, Bign. iii. 381, 382.

(2) Bour. vi. 61, 62. Bign. iii 382, 383. Thib.
100.

and vying with each other in the strains of servile adulation. Their general strain was, "Greatest of men, complete your work, render it as immortal as your glory, you have extricated us from the chaos of the past, you have overwhelmed us with the blessings of the present, nothing remains but to guarantee for us the future." To the address of the Senate, imploring him to assume the purple, Napoleon replied, "We have been constantly guided by the principle that sovereignty resides in the people, and that therefore every thing, without exception, should be rendered consistent with the interest, happiness, and glory of the people. It is to attain this end that the supreme magistracy, the Senate, the Council, the Legislative Body, the Electoral Body, and all the branches of administration, have been instituted. The people of France can add nothing to the happiness and glory which surround me, but I feel that my most sacred as my most pleasing duty is to assure to its children the advantages secured by that revolution which cost so much, and above all, by the death of so many millions of brave men who died in defence of our rights. It is my most earnest desire that we may be able to say, on the 14th July in this year—'Fifteen years ago, by a spontaneous movement, we ran to arms, we gained liberty, equality, and glory.' Now these first of blessings, secured beyond the possibility of chance, are beyond the reach of danger, they are preserved for you and your children. Institutions, conceived and commenced in the midst of the tempests of war, both without and within, are about to be secured, while the state resounds with the designs and conspiracies of our mortal enemies, by the adoption of all that the experience of ages has demonstrated to be necessary to guarantee the rights which the nation has deemed essential to its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness (1)."

Key which I afford to his whole policy on the throne In this answer is to be found the key to the whole policy of the first consul on the throne, and the secret of the astonishing facility with which he established, on the ruins of revolutionary passions, the most despotic throne of Europe. Aware that the great body of mankind are incapable of judging on public affairs, but perfectly adequate to a perception of their private interests, he invariably observed the principles there set forth, of carefully protecting all the revolutionary interests, and constantly addressing the people in the language of revolutionary equality. By steadily adhering to these rules, he succeeded in at once calming their interested fears, and flattering their unpassioned feelings, by constantly holding out that the people were the source of all power, he blinded them to the fact that they had ceased to be the possessor of any, and by religiously respecting all the interests created by the Revolution, he rendered the nation indifferent to the abandonment of all the principles on which it was founded.

He is declared Emperor of the French All things being at length matured, the Senate, by a decree on the 18th May, declared Napoleon EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, but referred

The obsequious body hastened to St.-Cloud with the decree, when the Emperor received them with great magnificence. "Whatever," said he, "can contribute to the good of the country, is essentially connected with my happiness. I submit the law concerning the succession to the throne to the sanction of the people. I hope France will never repeat of the honours with which she has environed myself and my family. Come what may, there will be no longer with my posterity from the moment that they shall cease to merit the love and the confidence of the great nation (2)."

General
concur-
rence of the
nation.

The appeal to the people soon proved that the first consul, in assuming the imperial dignity, had only acted in accordance with the wishes of the immense majority of the nation. Registers were opened in every commune of France, and the result showed that there were 3,572,529 votes in the affirmative (1), and only 2369 in the negative. History has recorded no example of so unanimous an approbation of the foundation of a dynasty; no instance of a nation so joyfully taking refuge in the stillness of despotism.

Rank con-
ferred on
his family.

Various changes, necessarily flowing from this great step, immediately followed. On the day after his accession, the Senate published a senatus consultum, by which the imperial dignity was established in the Bonaparte family, and the rank and precedence of his relations, as well as the other dignitaries of the empire, regulated. Various important alterations on the constitution were made by this decree, if constitution it could be called, which had only the shadow of representative institutions with the reality of military despotism; but they will more appropriately come to be considered in the chapter relating to the internal government of the Emperor.

Absolute
power vested
in the Em-
peror.

The whole real powers of government were, by the new senatus consultum, vested in the Senate and the Council of State; in other words, in the Emperor. The Legislative Body continued its mute inglorious functions. The Tribunate, divided into several sections, and obliged to discuss in these separate divisions the projects of laws transmitted to it by the Legislative Body (2), lost the little consideration which still belonged to it, and paved the way for its total suppression, which soon after ensued. In every thing but name the Government of France was thenceforward an absolute despotism.

Creation of
the Mar-
shals of the
Empire.

Napoléon's first step on coming to the throne was to create the Marshals of the empire, and it was ordered that they should be addressed as M. le Maréchal. Those first named were eighteen in number, well known in the annals of military glory; Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessièrès, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon, and Serrurier. He already projected the creation in their favour of those new patents of nobility, which were destined to recall the most glorious events of the empire, and form a phalanx of Paladins to defend the imperial throne (3).

Rapid pro-
gress of
court eti-
quette.

On the same day Napoléon fixed the titles and precedence of all the members of his family. He directed that his brothers and sisters should receive the title of imperial highness; that the great dignitaries of the empire should adopt that of most serene highness; and that the address of "my lord" should be revived in favour of these elevated personages. Thenceforth the progress of court etiquette and Oriental forms was as rapid at the Tuileries as in the seraglio of the Byzantine empire. "Whoever," says Madame de Staël, "could suggest an additional piece of etiquette from the olden time, propose an additional reverence, a new mode of knocking at the door of an antechamber, a more ceremonious method of presenting a petition, or folding a letter, was received as if he had been a benefactor of the human race. The code of imperial etiquette is the most remarkable authentic record of human baseness that has been recorded by history (4)."

(1) Bign. iii. 389.

(2) Art. 96. Senatus Cons. May 19, 1804. Bign.

iii. 363. Bour. vi. 76, 77.

(3) Bour. vi. 78. Bign. iii. 401.

(4) Rev. Franç. ii. 334, 335. Bour. vi. 77, 78.

Dignified
protest of
Louis
XVIII.

No sooner did he receive intelligence of the assumption of the imperial crown by Napoléon, than Louis XVIII, on the shores of the sea, hastened to protest against an act so

Reflection is
on these
events

Such was the termination of the political changes of the French Revolution such the consequences of the first great experiment tried in modern Europe of regenerating society by destroying all its institutions. Born of the enthusiasm and philanthropy of the higher and educated classes, adopted by the fervour and madness of the people, coerced by the severity of democratic tyranny, fanned by the gales of foreign conquest, disgraced by the cupidity of domestic administration, having exhausted every art of seduction, and worn out every means of delusion, it sunk at length into the stiffness of absolute power. But it was not the slumber of freedom, to awaken fresh and vigorous in after-days, it was the deep sleep of despotism, the repose of a nation worn out by suffering, the lethargy of a people who in the preceding convulsions had destroyed all the elements of durable freedom.

Difference
between
the English
and French
revolutions

In this respect there is a remarkable difference between the state of the public mind and the disposition of the people in England during the usurpation of Cromwell, and in France under the empire of Napoleon. Both were military despotisms, originating in the fervour of former times, but the philosophic observer might discern under the one symptoms of an unconquered spirit, destined to restore the public freedom when the tyranny of the moment was overpast, in the other, the well known features of Asiatic servility, the grave, in every age, of independent institutions. The English nobility kept aloof from the court of the protector, he strove in vain to assemble a house of peers; the landed proprietors remained in sullen silence on their estates, such was the refractory spirit of the commons, that every parliament was dissolved within a few weeks after it assembled, and when one of his creatures suggested that the crown should be offered to the victorious soldier, the proposal was rejected by a great majority of the very parliament which he had moulded in the way most likely to be subservient to his will. But the case was very different in France. There the nation rushed voluntarily and headlong into the arms of despotism, the first consul experienced scarcely any resistance in his strides to absolute power either from the nobility, the commons, or the people, all classes vied with each other in their servility to the reigning authority, the old families eagerly sought admittance into his antechambers, the new greedily coveted the spoils of the empire, the cities addressed him in strains of Eastern adulation, the peasants almost unanimously seated him on the throne. Rapid as his advances to absolute power were, they could hardly keep pace with the desire of the nation to receive the chains of a master, and with truth might he apply to all his subjects what Tiberius said of the Roman Senate. — "Ohi homines ad servitutem parati."

Which were
all owing
to the
violence and
injustice of
the French
consul

We should widely err if we supposed that this extraordinary difference was owing either to any inherent servility in the French character, or any deficiency in the spirit of freedom among the inhabitants of that country when the contest commenced. There never was a nation more thoroughly and unanimously imbued

part of a body which has just no legal name.
I protest against that, and all the same part
of it which I may see in. This part I was so
little so ordered by the French Government that it
was published on the 1 July in the Journal de
Paris, 1793, 20 22

with the passion, both for liberty and equality, than the French were during the early years of the Revolution; and in the prosecution of that object they incurred hardships, and underwent sufferings, greater perhaps than any other people ever endured in a similar time. It was the magnitude of the changes produced by the Revolution, the prostration of all the higher classes which it induced, which produced this effect. When France emerged from the Revolution, almost all the old families were destroyed; commerce and manufactures were ruined, and the only mode of earning a subsistence which remained to the classes above the cultivators of the soil, was by entering into the service, and receiving the pay of Government. Necessity, as much as inclination, drove all into servility to the reigning authority; if they did not pay court to persons in power, they had no alternative but to starve. Necker, in his last and ablest work had already clearly perceived this important truth. "If by a revolution in the social system, or in public opinion," says he, "you have lost the elements of great proprietors, you must consider yourselves as having lost the elements requisite for the formation of a tempered monarchy, and turn, with whatever pain, to a different constitution of society. I do not believe that Bonaparte himself, with all his talent, his genius, and his power, could succeed in establishing in France a constitutional hereditary monarchy. There is a mode of founding a hereditary monarchy, however, widely different from all the principles of freedom; the same which introduced the despotism of Rome; the force of the army, the Prætorian guards, the soldiers of the East and the West. May God preserve France from such a destiny." What a testimony to the final result of the Revolution, from the man who, by the duplication of the *Tiers-État*, had so great a share in creating it (1)! *

Vast concentration of influence at this period in the hands of Government.

Madame de Staël has well explained the prodigious and unprecedented accumulation of power and influence which was concentrated in the hands of the first consul when reconstructing the disjointed members of society after the preceding convulsions. "Every mode of earning a subsistence had disappeared during ten years of previous suffering. No person could consider himself secure of his livelihood; men of all classes, ruined or enriched, banished or rewarded, equally found themselves at the mercy of the supreme power. Thousands of Frenchmen were on the list of emigrants; millions were the possessors of national domains; thousands were proscribed as priests or nobles; tens of thousands feared to be so for their revolutionary misdeeds. Napoléon, who fully appreciated the immense authority which such a state of dependence gave him, took care to keep it up. To such a one he restored his property, from another he withheld it; by one edict he gave back the unalienated woods to the old proprietors, by another he suspended the gift. "There was hardly a Frenchman in the whole kingdom, who had not something to solicit from the Government, and that something was the means of existence. The favour of Government thus led, not to an increase of vain or frivolous pleasures, but to a restoration of your country, a termination of exile, the bread of life. That unheard-of state of dependence, proved fatal to the spirit of freedom in the nation. An unprecedented combination, of circumstances put at the disposition of a single man the laws passed during the Reign of Terror, and the military force created by Revolutionary enthusiasm. All the local authorities, all the provincial establishments were suppressed or annulled; there remained only in France a si- movement, and that was Paris; and all the men in a pro-

(1) Necker, *Dernières Vues*, 235, 240.

driven to solicit public employment were compelled to come to the capital to find their livelihood. Thence has proceeded that rage for employment or situations under Government, which has ever since devoured and degraded France (1)."

Total de
struct on of
the liberty
of the press Another element which powerfully contributed to the same effect, was the complete concentration of all the influence of the press in the hands of Government, in consequence of the changes and calamities of former times. "The whole journals of France were subjected," says the same author, "to the most rigorous censure; the periodical press repeated, day after day, the same observations without any one being permitted to contradict them. Under such circumstances, the press, instead of being, as is so often said, the safeguard of liberty, becomes the most terrible arm in the hand of power. In the same way, as regular troops are more formidable than militia to the independence of the people, so do hired writers deprave and mislead public opinion, much more than could possibly take place when men communicated only by words, and formed their opinions on facts which fell under their observation. When the appetite for news can be satisfied only by continued falsehood; when the reputation of every one depends on calumnies, universally diffused, without the possibility of their refutation, when the opinions to be advanced on every circumstance, every work, every individual, are submitted to the observations of journalists as a file of soldiers to the commands of their officers, the art of printing becomes what was formerly said of cannon, 'the last logic of kings' (2)."

These profound observations suggest an important conclusion in regard to the influence of the press. It is recorded as the
are destroyed, and the balance in the state
preponderance of popular or regal power, it instantly changes its functions, and instead of the arm of independence, becomes the instrument of oppression. It immensely augments the power of the weapons with which the different classes of society combat each other; but the direction which this great engine receives, and the objects to which it may be directed, are as various
constitu
ferent c
but in a
and become, as in Republican America, the
oppression. The only security,

power.

(1) De Staël, *Pré. Franç.* ii. 229, 261 372, 373

(2) De Staël, *Rev. Franç.* iii. 263 264

